

Accessions

Shelf No.

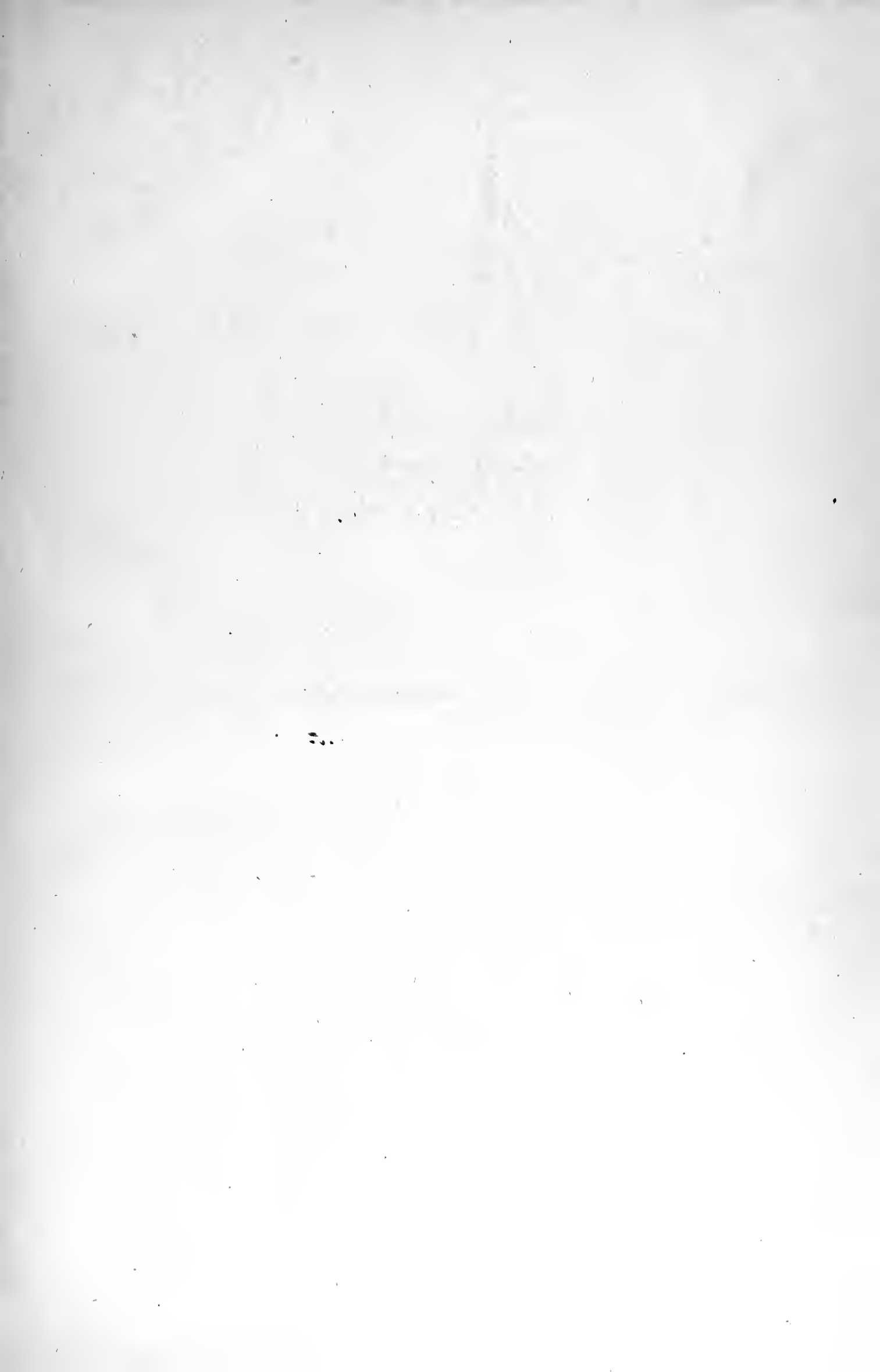
4320.1


V.1.



FROM THE
Phillips Fund.

Added May 22, 1865





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
Boston Public Library

<http://www.archive.org/details/indexweeklyjourn01hotz>

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF
POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS;

DEVOTED TO THE EXPOSITION OF THE MUTUAL INTERESTS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

4320, 1

VOL. I.

FROM MAY 1ST TO OCTOBER 30TH, 1862.

London:
13, BOUVERIE STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C
1862.

THE INDEX

CONTAINS

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTERS FROM THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN STATES.

LEADERS ON TOPICS OF INTEREST.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

THE COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES.

GLEANINGS FROM THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PRESS.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS, &c., &c.

Page

218-5

65922

CONTENTS.

	PAGE	FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE (continued)—	PAGE	LEADERS (continued)—	PAGE
Amenities of United States' Congress	223	Havana	6, 86, 117, 213, 358	Garibaldi's Attempted Revolution	268
American Question, the	79	Madrid	22	Italy, Manifesto of the Republicans of	379
„ Confederacies	379	Mobile	85	Intervention—What does it Mean?	57
Arrest of British Subjects in New Orleans	134	Nassau	38	Interference, the Right of	170
Baton Rouge, Fight at	335	New York 5. 38, 53, 164, 180, 196, 213, 230, 260, 277, 293, 307, 325, 341, 356, 373, 388, 404		Law, the Higher	361
Battles of 27th and 28th of June	195	Paris 5, 20, 38, 53, 69, 85, 102, 117, 132, 150, 164, 181, 196, 213, 230, 260, 277, 294, 307, 325, 341, 357, 388, 404		Latest Intelligence, the	248
Butler (Gen.), Letter to the Editor on	127	St. Thomas	54	Last Card of the North, the	233
„ Order for Execution of W. B. Mumford	159	Southern Planter	39	Louisiana Purchase, the	411
„ List of Southern Patriots	350	„ Prospects	54	Mexican Intervention	25, 41
„ Method of Disarming the People of New Orleans	327	Washington 4, 20, 37, 53, 85, 102, 116, 150, 181, 197, 373		Mexico, French Defeat at	122
„ Special Orders of	119, 166	French Defeat in Mexico, Mexican Account of the	127	Mean Whites of the South	201
„ and the French Consul	310	Gaines Mills, Battle of	243	Mediation : A Northern Notion	331
Campbell's (Lord) Motion	230	Governor of Virginia's Proclamation	237	Mason and Dixon's Line	346
Carmichael (Hon. R. B.), Arrest of the	133	„ Louisiana's	238	Maryland, Operations in	360
Circassian, Capture of the	143	Grand Conflict, the	211	Millowners, the : Are they to Blame?	315
CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS—		Gunboat Fight at Fort Huooger	108	News-making, Federal	26
Messages of President Davis on the Negotiations with the Washington Government, 93, 94, 95, 302		„ Letter from Richmond on	165	New Orleans, Federal Occupation of	40
Summary of Official Report of Campaigns in the West and East in February and March	149	Halleck's (Gen.) Despatches	182	No News	136
Official Report of the Naval Engagement in Hampton Roads	158	Harper's Ferry, Northern Account of the Capture of	367	Neutrality (English), and American Gratitude	267
Official Report of General Morgan's Campaign	318	Hatred of the Negro, the	271	Navy, the, of the Confederate States	344
Official Documents	134, 135	Honour to the Dead and Living	110	Our Name	8
Beauregard's General Order, Corinth	82	Lasley (Mr.) and others, Murder of	246	„ Object	8
Surrender of New Orleans	134	LEADERS—		Pearce, Signs of	41
Confederate Conscription Act	286	Allegiance, Oath of	10	Poor Law, the	42
Letter from Secretary of Navy	47	Army, Condition of the Federal	377	Pacification, an Opportune Moment for	104
Official Report on the Destruction of the Virginia	180	Armies, Ingredients of the Contending	153	President Davis's Message	312
Lee's Order after the Chickahominy Battles	327	„ Position of the Federal	248	Parliament, Prorogation of	152
Confederate Congress, the	22, 302, 388	„ Collapse of the Federal	230	Pickwickian Threats	137
„ Confiscation and Emancipation Bill	230	American Indians	332	Presidential Election, The Last, in the United States	168
„ Cause in Europe, the	255	„ Question, Debate on the	203	Political Parties	58
„ Reprisals, Correspondence on	276	„ Question in the House of Lords	232	Press, the Confederate	362
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—		Abolition Edict, Aspects of the	376	Past, the Errors of the	105
Cotton Prospects	34	Battles, the Recent	120	Productiveness of the South, the	105
Liverpool Letters, 2, 18, 34, 50, 66, 85, 99, 115, 130, 146, 163, 179, 191, 210, 226, 243, 258, 274, 291, 306, 323, 340, 355, 372, 387, 403		Belligerents, Position of the	216	Policy, the Want of a	408
London	82	„ Strength of the	264	Prussian Crisis, the	410
Manchester Letters, 2, 18, 34, 50, 66, 82, 99, 115, 131, 147, 163, 179, 195, 211, 226, 243, 258, 274, 291, 306, 324, 340, 356, 372, 388, 403		British Flag, Continued Insults to the	56	Recognition v. Mediation	120
Cotton	174	Bermuda, Seizure of the	73	„ Europe, England, and the English Government	296
„ Trade,Neill Bros. Circular	70	British Protection	234	Reprisals, their Justice and Duty	282
„ Prospects	34	Cotton Prospects	9, 34	„ Confederate	313
„ Supply, the	343	„ the Supply of American	73	Resources, Federal and Confederate	282
CRUIZE OF THE SUMTER—		„ Famine, the	154	Rebellion or War: the Consequences of a Misnomer	283
Our Confederate Flag on the Sea	11	„ Manufacture and Famine	249	Retaliation, Southern	395
Our First Prize	11	„ Substitutes for	363	Southern Securities	25
Good Hunting Ground	27	„ Supply and India	345	„ Feeling towards England	40
Still on the Spanish Main	27	Consuls, Federal Treatment of Foreign	90	„ Patriotism in Europe	186
No Sport	43	Canada, Defence of	121	State of Europe, the	74
A Sail: Friend or Foe	43	„ Position of, in the American War	200	Seward's Despatch	394
The Trail too Fresh	59	Corinth, Evacuation of	104	South, the, as a Literary Market	89
On the Look Out	59	Confederates—Are they Rebels?	136	„ the: What Constitutes it	344
The Yankee Captain and his Dollars	76	Campaign, the End of the Spring	152	Situation, the: What it Requires	184
Living in Clover	76	„ the Two	251	Slave Power, the	185
Cornered	187	„ in Virginia, the End of the	328	„ Trade, the, and the South	360
The Escape	187	Co-operation	314	„ States, the Westminster on the	393
A Yankee Skipper	204	Continental Money, Assignats and Greenbacks	297	Sheffield Manifesto, the	250
Burning Prizes	205	Delusions of the North	24	Smith, Mr., on England and Canada	300
Capture of the Vigilant and Evan Dodge	218	Diplomacy (French) in America	58	Thanksgiving, National	346
A Cruise in the Western Ocean	235	Decisive Moment, The	217	Union—What does it Mean?	72
At Cadiz	235	Despatch, The, of the 28th of May	265	Veracious Story, a	28
Burning of the Neapolitan	235	Editorials, 10, 26, 42, 58, 74, 106, 123, 139, 171, 204, 234, 252, 269, 333, 348, 364, 379		War, Latest News from the	
Diplomatic Relations at Washington	63	Disunion, The Undercurrent of	280	„ the, in America	!
District of Columbia, the	396	Disruption of the Union, the Cause of the	314	„ the	!
Extracts from English Papers	71	Duplicity, Northern, before the War	409	„ Who Commenced the	
„ Southern Papers, 7, 47, 135, 167, 199, 255, 261, 277, 295, 303, 319, 335		Federal Position in the South, the	296	„ News, the	184, 3
Evacuation of Maryland, English Press on	358	Financial Prospects, the	217	„ Features of the	200
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—		Finances, Federal and Confederate	266	„ Extension of the	232
Battle of Shiloh	39	„ Confederate	395	„ Tag of, in the North	264
Berlin	6, 196, 389, 405	Financial Prospects of the United States	138	„ Duration of the	298
Brussels	150	Factory Operatives, The Case of the	299	„ the Fortune of the	329
Charleston	164	„ Folk, the	378	„ a Long	329
Confederate States	85	German Unity	363	West, the	168
		Gladstone on America	392		

LEADERS (continued)—	PAGE	PRIVATE LETTERS (continued)—	PAGE	REVIEWS (continued)—	PAGE
West, The Celestial Empire of the	169	Columbus	36	Church in the Army	207
Wheat Trade, the, of Great Britain, France, and America	330	" April 29	84	Short Notices	236
Word with our Readers, a	216	Frankfort-on-Maine	68	Northern View of the American War	252
Lee, General	211	Gainsborough, U.C.	163	Recognition of the Southern Confederation	253
Leech's Sketches	334	Henderson, Kutecky	67	Home and Foreign Review	269
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR—		Houston	69	Three Letters from a South Carolinian, relating to Secession, Slavery, and the Trent Case	269
Southern Prospects	30, 45, 54, 78, 109	Liverpool	67	Port and Trade of London	285
Sydney Johnstone, Sketch of	36	Louisville	259	President Jefferson Davis	301
Short War	35	Mobile	3	Discovery of America	317
Present and the Future	48	" April 15	84	Washington Irving	333
Secession from a Northern Point of View	46	" 18, 30	101	Short Notices	334
American Civilization	62	" 30; May 2, 3	116	Southern Statement	349
Diplomatic Relations at Washington	63	" 28	293	Short Notices	350
Remunion: Is it Possible?	63	" July 4	293	Public Life of Lord Macaulay	366
Confederate Gunboats at the Mississippi	78	" 10	307	Blackwood: Ten Days in Richmond	381
European Political Heresies	78	" " "	19	Fraser: the Two Constitutions	382
England and the Confederate States	87	" April 13	20	Novel: a Bad Beginning	382
Bermuda and Circassia	110	" 9	101	Imperialism in France	398
Englishman in the South	102, 133	" 30; May 2, 3, 5, 6, 7	102	Distinction of Races	413
United States and Canada	157	Norfolk	3	America in the Quarterlies	414
Policy of the War, the	158	New Orleans	20	Short Notices	14, 415
Commercial Views on the late Co-partnership of American States	158	" April 2	37	Richardson (I. M.) on the Defence of Cities	260
Algerian Cotton Scheme	173	" March 15, 21, 23; April 4	115	Richmond Battle, Confederate Press on	131
Differential Tables	189	" April 23	164	" English Press on	118
Constitution and Spirit of the Opposing Armies	189	" May 15	180	" Southern Account of	148
Secession of the West	199	" June 21	212	Russell (Earl) and the Liverpool Shipowners	247
Federal Outrages	253	" July 27	260	Seward (Mr.) and Earl Russell	245
France and the Confederate States	253	" 4	324	Sibley's Campaign in New Mexico	319
Canadian View of Affairs, a	317	" August 9	36	South (The) in the Social Science Congress	106
Telegraphic Strategy	319	" 28	67	Southern Prospects	78, 109
Northern Angling for Sympathy	335	" April 26	148	" Railroads	143
Decree for a Servile War, the	383	" May 1	293	" Securities, Table of	55
Lindsay's Motion	198, 214	" 16	372	" Planters' View of the Coming Crop	39
LISTS OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING—		" June 12	356	Stonewall Jackson, Account of	191
Shiloh	83, 100, 147	" August 3	36	" Achievements	270
General	226	" Sept. 23	52	" Defeat of Fremont & Shields	195
Battles before Richmond	275	" 1	84	Sydney Johnstone, Sketch of	31
In Alabama Regiments	291	" April 25	148	State Prisoners in Fort Delaware	404
Secessionville	258	" May 6	259	THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
Fort Republic	274	" 16	259	Off to the Wars	12
Lovell (Gen.) on the Fall of New Orleans		" 30	324	En Route to Virginia	11
Mason (Mr.) on the Effects of Recognition	391	Richmond	36	A Famine and a Feast	27
Maury on the American Struggle	254	" 13 and 23	37	A Military Election	28
Mexican Intervention, "New York Herald" on	87	" July 10	115	Our First Adventure	60
Nashville, the Hunt of the	237	" May 21	67	A Triumphant March	60
New Orleans, Evacuation of	86	" Aug. 14 and 16	101	Taking the Oath	75
" Fall of	175	Savannah	132	Our First Camp	75
" Correspondence on	134	" 10, 22, 28	148	The Tune of Dixie	140
Northern Press, Gleanings from the	22, 47, 70	The Oaks	271	On the Scene of Action	140
" View of the State of the North	270	Winchester	143	My Messmates	348
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—		West Florida	108	Soldiers' Duties	348
1, 17, 33, 49, 65, 81, 97, 113, 129, 145, 161, 177, 193, 209, 225, 241, 257, 273, 289, 305, 321, 337, 353, 369, 385, 401		Wilmington	123	The First Visit of Death	365
Outrage in Alabama	247	Wisconsin	43	A Dinner Party in Camp	366
Pan-Handle, the	364	Ram Arkansas, the	13	The First Fight	397
Permanent Government of the Confederate States	15	Reign of Terror, the	14	Luxurious Living	398
Present and Future, the	45	REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	29	Mischief and its Cure	406
Press (English) on the Battle of Richmond	118	Beveridge's History of India	61	Conclusion	407
" (London) on the Evacuation of Maryland	358	Colden on Panics	44	TODACCO MARKET—	
PRICES CURRENT—		Constitutional History of the United States	76	July 2	147
Charleston, April 17	67	Life of William Pitt	91	" 8	163
New Orleans, March 14 to April 1	3	Southern Wealth and Northern Profits	108	" 16	180
" April 12 to 14	35	A Historical Parallel	123	" 24	195
" March 21	51	The American Disruption	124	" 31	211
Mobile, March 8 to 19	19	History of Frederick the Second	140	Aug. 6	256
General	35	Historical Parallel, No. 2	142	" 28	274
Prospects of the South	45	Abel Drake's Wife	156	Sep. 4	291
PRIVATE LETTERS—		Historical Parallel, No. 3	172	" 11	306
Anderson, S. C.	June 28	Embassy to the Court of St. James's, in 1840	155	" 25	340
Baltimore	April 22	Historical Parallel, No. 4	188	Oct. 2	356
" May 29	132	" No. 5	205	" 23	403
Charleston	April 30	Precis of the Wars in Canada	205	Van Dorn (Gen.) Advance of	303
" July 23	341	Trolope on Secession	236	Virginia, Destruction of the	180
Clarksville	May 8, 10	Historical Parallel, No. 6	206	Voice from Pennsylvania, a	286
		Colonial History of Virginia		Wood (Hon. Benj.) on the State of the Union	125
		Colonial History of Virginia			
		Southern Statistics			
		" Cotton Production			
		" Distribution of Property, Schools, and Churches			
		" Crime and Pauperism			
		Presidential Contest of 1860			

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Publication of this List is postponed at the earnest request of Friends, in whose opinion such publication might, under present circumstances, compromise some of our American Subscribers.

8022 Ch. fd. May 22, 1862

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Vol. I.—No. 1.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 1, 1862. to May 23, 1863 [PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	1
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	2
Liverpool Letter	2
Manchester Letter	2
Money Market	2
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Prices Current	3
Marriages and Deaths	3
Private Letters and Extracts	3
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Our Washington Correspondent	4
Our New York Correspondent	5
Paris—Attitude of the French Government	5
Berlin—German View of American Affairs	6
Havana	6
LEADERS—	
Our Name	8
Our Object	8
Latest News from the War	9
Cotton Prospects	9
Oath of Allegiance	10
Editorials	10
CRUISE OF THE SUMMER—	
Our Confederate Flag on the Sea	10
Our First Prize	11
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
Off to the Wars	11
En route to Virginia	11
REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	
History of India	12
Mr. Cobden on Panics	14
ADVERTISEMENTS	16

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE booming of cannon has just announced to London that the International Exhibition has been opened. The gorgeous ceremonial, the bright sunshine, and the considerable influx of foreign visitors, have not excited much enthusiasm. The metropolis is neither very gay nor very full. Perhaps the vacant chair of state has renewed the national sorrow for the loss of the good Prince, to whose sagacity the world is indebted for whatever advantages may be derived from International Exhibitions. And it is not unlikely that the great show at Kensington could not drown the remembrance of the cotton famine in Lancashire. It is certain that the distress in the manufacturing districts will cast a gloom over the season of 1862; a gloom that will deepen until the day of alleviation, though distant, becomes certain.

By an arrival from the Confederate States we have advices and files of Southern papers to the 2nd inst. The most essential items of intelligence will be found under their appropriate heads. Savannah was considered effectively fortified, when our informant left; and the fall of Fort Pulaski, long expected and inevitable, is regarded by him as not materially endangering the city itself. Fort Jackson must yet be taken before the Federals can come within shelling distance of the town.

Commander Buchanan, of the Virginia, reported to have been killed, was, at last advices, in Richmond, recovering from his wound, and the Virginia was under the command of Commodore Tatnall, so favourably known to the British public in connection with the Peiho affair.

Considerable quantities of goods and warlike stores had been lately introduced at Confederate ports, notably at Charleston.

The Nashville had been sold by the Confederate Government, and had since made a successful return trip with a valuable cargo.

The determination of the Washington Government to gag the press of Europe, is very particularly evinced by refusing to allow Mr. Russell to proceed to join the army before Yorktown, and the the English public is convinced that no reliance is to be placed on Northern intelligence. The *Times* had a brilliant leader yesterday upon the Northern News Manufactory. Our contemporary wants to know the use of loans and levies, when a salute of 100 guns, a thanksgiving, and a fiction, can be substituted for a victory; and further suggests that the Pittsburg Landing story "is only the first of many great campaigns yet to be accomplished in this tempting region of fiction." The *Times* also comments on the obstinacy of the Confederates in pretending to be alive after they have been killed by Mr. Stanton's pen:—"For ourselves, we are perfectly prepared to admit that Beauregard is dead. The press of Federal America is now the voice of the War department; the press 'obstinately persists' that Beauregard first had his arm shot off and then was killed. News from America is now an official matter, and this is the news. Beauregard may exclaim as much as he pleases, but for all newspaper purposes he is dead, and there ought to be an end of him. If he is going about the lines of Corinth and pretending to be alive, it is very indecent of him." A little more such action, and the despotism of the North will cease to be a crime, by becoming a palpably ridiculous blunder.

The capture of three Union vessels by the Patriot Henry, and the Teazer, under the shelter of the Virginia (Merrimac), in the presence of the Federal fleet, has produced the impression in Europe that though Mr. Stanton may easily capture the Virginia, or kill her commander, or sink her, with his goose-quill, it is certain that the Monitor thinks her a troublesome customer, and is not particularly anxious to come to close quarters. The English are eagerly looking for the news of the next fight between the iron foes; and this eagerness is participated in by the French. H. M. steamer Rinaldo, and the French war steamers Catinat and Gassendi are so anchored in the Hampton Roads as to command a view of the expected engagement.

On Thursday last Mr. Gladstone addressed the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and, of course, dwelt upon the topic which now engages the attention of statesmen, merchants, and even our artisans. The Right Hon. gentleman complained of the unmanliness of the North in asking us to make the six or ten million of the South our enemies. The struggle he considered well described by Earl Russell, as being on one side for supremacy and on the other for independence. Upon the principles of the war, he observed, "The Northern States of America have undertaken a military enterprise of enormous difficulty. It is but fair, I think, that we should record our sense of the vast and gigantic energies which they have unfolded in its prosecution. They have had certain successes in the field. But here again I fall back on our English experience. Revert to the annals of the War of Independence between the American colonies and this country, and see where were the successes in the field. It was not for want of such successes

that we did not conquer those colonies. It was because we found that when we had been successful in the field we were no nearer our object than before. It is not the question—when you are endeavouring to conquer a country—whether you can break up its embattled armies and drive them off the plain where they contended with you in fight. The question is this, and this alone—whether the heart of that country is set upon separation?"

We direct especial attention to our Paris correspondent's letter. We cannot venture to speculate on the effect of the Emperor's last appeal to the British Government; but we know that the influential classes in England would deeply regret the French taking precedence in the recognition of the Confederate States of America. Nor we do imagine that our Government can be uninfluenced by the condition of Lancashire. The memorable declaration of Earl Russell in reference to the accounts of the English army in the Crimea, that "they were horrible and heartrending," is truly applicable to the reports of the sufferings of our artisans in the north. It was stated on Monday that in Blackburn and the district of four miles around, it is computed that there are 154 mills and weaving-sheds, which in prosperous times employ nearly 40,000 operatives. Of these mills 16 are working full time, 13 five days per week, 46 four days, 38 three-and-a-half days, 17 three days, 1 two days, and 23 stopped. In the 23 which are closed, 8459 are entirely thrown out of employment, while about 20,000 are engaged four, five, and six days per week; and another 10,000 operatives only two, three, and three-and-a-half days per week. So there are nearly 20,000 operatives wholly and partially unemployed, representing nearly 40,000 of a population who are more or less dependent on parochial or other relief for the bare sustenance or necessities of life. An eye-witness of the misery has addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which he remarks, "Yesterday I was told of a poor factory girl, who was said to have been starved to death. I went down towards her house; but the funeral was to take place that afternoon, and I forbore to enter; for I felt that, even there, sorrow was sacred. But I made inquiries in the neighbourhood, and learnt that what was told me was almost literally true."

A meeting of factory operatives was held in Manchester on Tuesday evening. There were some sad tales of suffering told. The meeting adopted two resolutions:—1. "That in the opinion of this meeting the modicum of relief afforded by the Poor Law Guardians is totally inadequate to meet the existing distress." 2. "That in the opinion of this meeting the present mode of applying the labour test is unjust in principle and cruel in its operation on the labouring classes."

The opening of the Southern ports could not now prevent the ravages of famine; the wolf is already at the door. But it would prevent despair, by giving an assured hope of the return of plenty; and an attempt would then be made to efficiently aid the poor starvelings, for the effort would not seem hopeless. We repeat our earnest conviction that these things must give additional weight to the urgent

appeal of the Imperial Government, as notified by our Paris correspondent.

The visit of M. Mereier to Richmond is regarded as extremely significant of the determination of the French Government to put an end to the blockade. The suggestion that the journey was undertaken in consequence of the intention of France to withdraw her concession of belligerent rights, owing to the Confederate defeat in Tennessee, is worthy of the masterly genius of Mr. Stanton, and of the reputation of the Northern News Manufactory.

Our Berlin letter indicates an important and favourable change in the German view of American affairs.

The Russian loan of £10,000,000 has been eagerly subscribed. We may see by this, that a plethora of money is not always an indication of prosperity. The stoppage of trade, consequent upon the war in America, compels capitalists to seek new and less profitable investments. At the present moment, joint stock hubbles are at a premium. It is not surprising that the unnatural paralyzation of our chief trade should induce commercial gambling.

Another startling yet logical sign of the glut of unemployed capital, is the large amount subscribed for public works in India, and the consequent withdrawal of Indian labour from agricultural pursuits. It is highly probable that the American war will check rather than stimulate the production of Indian cotton.

Parliament reassembled on Monday, but no business of importance has been transacted.

In a Vera Cruz despatch, dated the 3rd of April, published in the Paris journals, it is stated, that France, not approving the convention of Soledad, the French troops at Tehuacan would return to Vera Cruz on the 4th, and set out again for the city of Mexico on the 15th of April. According to the same despatch, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière was to take possession of the forts along the coasts. A perfectly good understanding existed between Admiral Jurien de la Gravière and General Lorencez.

We have received telegraphic news from India. The Persians have occupied Herat, and are advancing on Candahar. British aid has been asked by the Afghans. Three days since, on the occasion of Lord Canning's return from India, our journals were reasonably enough congratulating Lord Elgin, his successor in the Governor-Generalship, upon the prospect of a peaceful reign. The little cloud in Afghan may frustrate such expectations.

We have two important items of intelligence from Italy. Victor Emmanuel has met with an enthusiastic reception at Naples. On the other hand, a well-organized military conspiracy has been discovered in Milan. The Neapolitan soldiers concerned in it were provided with poignards, pistols, and other arms, and contemplated attempting to get up a reactionary movement in Lombardy. About forty of them have been arrested. A similar conspiracy has been discovered at Monza.

A telegram from Ragusa, notifies that Hussein Pasha having attacked the insurgents, had been defeated with a loss of 2,000 men, 1,000 horses, four pieces of cannon, and heavy quantities of ammunition and provisions.

Amongst the noted and distinguished visitors to London are the Japanese Ambassadors.

The Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal churches of Marietta Ga., have all voted to give their bells to the Confederacy to be made into cannon.

As lead is in great demand, it is suggested that old tea-chests contain each from two to five pounds, which, cleaned with little trouble and melted, make a very fair article of lead. Every pound helps.

A balloon was seen to pass over a portion of Burke county, Ga., a few days ago. It descended on a plantation, threw out a lot of sand, ascended, and disappeared.

General Widder, of Alabama, has been assigned to the command of Port Pillow, on the east bank of the Mississippi River, about 70 miles above Memphis.—*New Orleans Picayune*, 15th March.

We have good news from Mississippi. The planters are piling up their cotton and getting it ready for the faggot the moment the enemy advances. They are also sending their servants up the river to work on the fortifications; and they say they are ready to make any sacrifice the Government may require.—*Memphis Appeal*, March 27.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, 30th April.

No other branch of commerce has been so much affected by the American War as the trade in the great staple article of cotton; other commercial pursuits have been made to suffer, either directly or indirectly; but the intimate relation of the cotton trade, as it existed between this country and America, prior to the serious disruption in the latter, makes the present state of things so much the more regretful and deplorable. Much of the world's wealth, and still more of its comfort, has either a close connection with, or has sprung out of, this particular trade; violent interference with any of the sources of supply could not, therefore, be otherwise than detrimental, but to be cut off altogether from the main channel of support, even for a limited period, involves an amount of calamity not very easily estimated, even by those most conversant with the subject. It is not, however, our intention now to enter upon details, the facts and figures bearing upon the present condition of the trade are almost too familiar to need comment at our hands. For months past the question has ceased to belong to one section only of the commercial community; the interests involved are of vital and national importance, and must, ere long, command the attention and sympathy proportioned to their magnitude. Fortunately for the world, the bounteous productions of a late series of years had stocked, to almost overflowing, all the great markets, and textile fabrics everywhere proved to be in such excessive abundance, that most of the contemplated evil has hitherto been averted. Now, however, the long period of shortened supplies of the raw material, and consequent lessened production of goods and yarns, is telling most seriously in many quarters, and prices are commencing to ascend a scale betokening a coming famine.

The possible effect of the world's demands upon the restricted supply at command can only be conjectured, nor can we venture to stay to contemplate the fearfulness that may arise when actual famine of the article shall force itself into unwilling observation. The apparent apathy now reigning must soon give place to the sternness of the reality, and then perhaps, if not before, will the true character of the American War receive its just appreciation.

Among those most immediately connected with the trade of the staple, it seems to have become a maxim that "anticipated scarcity is never realized"—periods in the cotton history have so often arisen when dearth seemed imminent but without having been realized, that we now still hear the old cry from some, that cotton will come somehow; the careful observer must, at any rate, yet fail to see it coming from the only good source of supply,—America; and it needs no prophet to perceive inadequacy from all other sources. The stock of American cotton in Liverpool, 1st January, was 279,400 bales, of all kinds 622,600. Total import since, 329,755. Stock of American, April 25th, 124,250. Total, 298,990 bales. The quantity afloat to arrive from Bombay is about 170,000 bales, or 50,000 less than at the corresponding period of 1861. These figures show the total available supply in the port, 1st January, to 25th April, to have been 953,000 bales. Spinners and exporters together have not taken out of the market two-thirds of the quantity used in the same time in 1861. Yet a decided inroad has been made upon the stock of 224,000 bales. With the falling off that we see must now take place in the imports, one of two things is inevitable, viz., a greater curtailment of consumption and export, or a rapid absorption of stock. Upon this phase of the subject, every one will be at liberty to make his own deductions; the figures are sufficiently alarming, without remarks from ourselves. Opinions may vary as to what might now have been the condition of things had no interruption of supplies from America taken place; but after so many months of curtailed production, it is obvious that none can doubt the truth of the assertion that stocks of manufacturers must everywhere be greatly reduced. The evidence of this meets buyers on every market day in Manchester; week after week increases their perplexity, as the advancing tendency of prices, and the firm position of manufactures become more decidedly manifest.

Of necessity, under the peculiarity of existing circumstances, some change of feeling and of action will ever and anon be seen in the Liverpool market. For the last four weeks there has been more uniformity of procedure, the intelligence from America giving no hope of any immediate peaceful indication. The spirit of warfare has, indeed, rather grown in intensity, and every new development has seemed only to add obscurity to the previous complications, increasing the anxiety as the termination of the strife has appeared at a remoter distance.

The daily transactions in cotton during all the past month have been on a large scale, activity of demand has been met by firmness, and higher pretensions of holders, and a weekly advance of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. has been secured in American descriptions, middling Orleans being worth 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound. The sales of the week, ending 25th instant, were 59,400 bales, spinners taking 33,900, speculators 19,820, and exporters 5710 bales. A quieter but yet firm tone has been apparent the last few days. The news by the Niagara tending to some perplexity of opinion none see any probability, even in the distance, of any new supplies. The Cotton Market at New York was firm and active; but certain idle rumours are afloat that the Federal Government are desirous of a settlement of differences, and without further loss of life and treasure. The French Minister's hasty departure from Washington to Richmond is not understood; and as most people would gladly hail the indication of returning peace, the pacific element is for the moment in the ascendant, caution enforces itself, and largeness of profits in some cases induce a readier inclination to realize. The sales of the past four days, including 5000 to-day, are about 24,000 bales, maintaining previous quotations, viz., Middling Uplands, 13 $\frac{1}{4}$; Middling Mobiles, 13 $\frac{1}{4}$; and Middling Orleans, 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ per lb.

MANCHESTER, 30th April.

As regards the stock of goods in hand here and the surrounding locality, it is quite impossible to give you the information required, as there are no statistics published, either for private or public circulation. From the fact of manufactured goods having remained stationary in price for many months now, and sellers finding much difficulty in effecting sales, at even lower prices than quotations, it is evident that the present stocks and production (which is now much curtailed), and abundant for all requirements, the home consumption, especially in Lancashire, will not now be more than one-half in ordinary years. I estimate the stocks held here in speculation for re-sale when prices advance at about one-third of the whole; and in most cases these stocks are held largely by individuals, who are sanguine of much higher prices, under all circumstances, as they contend that, in the event of your ports being open for commerce, the demand for goods will counterbalance any depreciation that in ordinary times would arise from a fall in the price of the raw material, from the fact that the Confederate States will require large supplies.

MONEY MARKET.—The Trade returns issued yesterday for last month. Compared with the corresponding month of last year there has been a falling off of £1,286,181, equal to 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the declared value of exports. Of this amount £1,118,353 occurs under the head of cotton yarn and cotton manufactures. The past quarter, compared with the same period in 1860, shows a decrease of £4,058,144, equal to 15 per cent.

Money is plentiful, and the prices of securities are generally firm. Yesterday the Russian loan stood at $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ prem.

The Corn Market was heavy, and sellers were obliged to submit to a reduction.

There is reported to be much demand for freight on steamers attempting the blockade. Ten and eleven guineas per ton were asked for ordinary freight, and as much as ten for military stores. Insurances against capture were daily being effected, at rates ranging from £15 to £26, the latter having been paid only in an exceptional case of peculiar risk. The recent private advices of the success attending ventures between Cuban and Gulf ports, and more especially at Charleston, will probably tend to considerably reduce these rates.

ORDERS OF GENERAL BEAUREGARD TO THE PLANTERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY, OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Jackson, Tenn., March 8, 1862.

More than once a people fighting with an enemy less ruthless than yours, for imperilled rights not more dear and sacred than yours, for homes and a land not more worthy of resolute and unconquerable men than yours, and for interests of far less magnitude than you have now at stake, have not hesitated to melt and mould into cannon the precious bells surmounting their houses of God, which had called generations to prayer. The priesthood have ever sanctioned and consecrated the conversion, in the hour of their nation's need, as one holy and acceptable in the sight of God.

We want cannon as greatly as any people whoever, as history tells you, melted their church bells to supply them; and I, your General, entrusted with the command of the army embodied of your sons, your kinsmen, and your neighbours, do now call on you to send your plantation bells to the nearest railroad depot subject to my order, to be melted into cannon for the defence of your plantations.

Who will not cheerfully and promptly send me his bells under such circumstances?

Be of good cheer; but time is precious.

G. T. BEAUREGARD,

Mobile Register, March 18. General Commanding.

The *Nashville Patriot* says that, on March 25th, Governor Johnson directed a letter to the officials of Nashville, requiring them to take the oath of allegiance, but the Common Council, by a vote of 16 to 1, refused to do so. The sixteen declined on the score that it was never contemplated that they should take such oath. The one who voted aye, said he would subscribe to the oath, but immediately resign.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

NEW ORLEANS PRICES CURRENT.

(From the latest received New Orleans Papers.)

CORRON. March 14th.—The sales reported during the past week comprise 300 bales on the spot, sold to the Navy Department at —; 150 bales for future delivery in New Orleans at 8½ cents for middling; and 100 bales on plantation at 7½ cents for middling; and 81 bales on the spot at 10½ cents to 11 for middling. We have heard of no transactions recently at more than 8½ cents for future delivery, although last month we noticed sales at 9 cents. Middling on the spot is quoted at 11 cents, but has sold higher for good staple.

There have been some further receipts, but as they were on special permits from the Governor of the State for immediate transshipment, they have made no addition to the stock.

Week's receipts, 1159 bales; last year, 22,450; total since Sept. 1, 26,333; last year, 1,714,900. Week's exports, &c., 1159 bales; last year, 69,550. Total exports, &c., 25,437 bales; last year, 1,469,470, including 885,930 to Great Britain and 295,240 to France.

STATEMENT OF COTTON.

Stock on hand, Sept. 1st, 1861 ..	10,118
Arrived to date	26,031
„ to-day	302
	26,333
	36,451
Exported to date and in transitu ..	25,337

Stock on hand not cleared, exclusive }
of amount in transitu } 11,214

Stock on hand last year .. 319,400

March 17th.—100 bales on the spot, sold to-day at about previous quotations. No receipts.

March 26th.—The sales comprise 600 bales on plantations, for early delivery at —. No receipts.

TOBACCO. March 15th.—There has been a good demand, but factors have either withdrawn their stocks from the market, or ask a greater advance than buyers are willing to pay; and we have not a sale to notice.

Week's receipts, 20 hhds.; last year, 503 hhds.; total receipts since 1st Sept., 1018 hhds.; last year, 17,320. Total exports, 3000; last year, 19,575.

STATEMENT OF TOBACCO.

Stock on hand 1st Sept., 1861 ..	13,121 hhds.
Arrived to date	1,018 „
Stock on hand not cleared	16,139 „
Stock on hand last year	18,375 „

SUGAR.—The market opened this week with a less active demand, and the receipts being quite liberal, prices for the better qualities—the only description which have been in brisk demand—gave way ¼ to ½ cent.; while during the past three days this downward tendency has been more general, and the prices have become so completely unsettled that we are compelled to omit quotations. The sales comprise 2600 hhds. during the early part of the week, fair to fully fair, closing on Tuesday at 2½ to 3 cents., and 2700 hhds. since, including 1200 to-day. This makes a total for the week 5300 hhds.

Sales, corresponding week last year, 6000 hhds. at 4½ to 5¼ cents. for fair to fully fair.

Week's receipts, 14,070 hhds.; last year, 7250; total since 1st Sept., 166,906 hhds.; last year, 138,750.

There is a great want of force to move the receipts, the labourers having mostly gone to the war; and planters are urgently advised to forbear shipments until there is a favourable change.

MOLASSES.—With moderate supplies, and a slack demand, the market has continued inanimate throughout the week; the sales embracing 1800 brls. during the first three days, at 13 to 14 cents for fermenting, and 16 cents for prime to choice, and 2500 brls. since, including 800 to-day, at 12 to 13, for fermenting, and 14 cents for re-boiled, which may be regarded as fair quotations. This makes a total of 3500 brls. In half brls., we notice sales of 650 packages, at 15 to 17 cents, for fermenting, and 18 for prime.

Our receipts are about 70,000 brls. in excess of last year's to the corresponding date.

Week's receipts, 6744 brls., and 426 half brls.; last year, 8430 brls. Total, since Sept. 1st, 337,931 brls.; last year, 268,480.

FLOUR.—The market has again exhibited a slight but already upward tendency, under which prices have improved 50 cents to 1 dol. per hrl., the sales up to last evening comprising about 2000 hrls. (in brls. and sacks), at 12 dols. for common, 14 dols. for fine, 15 to 15½ for superfine, and 16 to 18 dols. for good to choice extra.

Week's receipts, 3578 hrls. and 305 sacks.

CORN.—The receipts have been ample, but with pretty fair demand. Prices have been maintained without any variation, the sales comprising 3000 sacks, white and yellow, during the early part of the week, all at 1 dol. 10 cents, and 10,500 since, including 3000 white and yellow in store yesterday, at 1 dol. 7½ cents, and 2500 on the Levee, in several lots, at 1 dol. 10 cents.

Week's receipts, 20,534 sacks.

HAY.—The sales this week include 100 bales western hay at the extreme rate of 70 dols. per ton.

BEEF.—The market has continued quiet, and we have heard of no sales of any moment. At retail, dealers have realized 30 dols. for the prime, and 35 dols. for mess. The stock in the Inspection Warehouses, on the 1st inst., comprised 2000 brls. and trs., all army stores, against 1981 trs. and 1260 brls., at corresponding date last year.

Week's receipts, 437 brls.

PORK.—The receipts continue limited, and dealers realize at retail, 45 to 50 dols. for mess. The stock in Inspection Warehouses, 2000 brls., all army stores, against 9582 brls. at corresponding date last year.

Week's receipts, 106 brls.

DRY SALTED MEAT.—The receipts during the early part of the week comprised 100,000 lbs., which were sold at 25 cents hog round, since which there have been some further transactions at 23 to 25 cents.

BACON.—The receipts continue light, but there have been some further sales at 23 to 25 cents hog round. At retail, dealers realize 26 cents for shoulders, 28 cents for hams, and 30 cents for sides.

Week's receipts 106 hhds. and 15 trs.

COFFEE.—About 500 sacks sold at auction, at 50 to 50½ cents for Rio, and 51 to 55 for Cuba. Rio sells in retail lots at 60 cents.

SALT.—Dealers supply their customers at 8½ for Liverpool coarse, and 10 to 11 for fine. The stock of fine is nearly exhausted. Packing kinds sell at 4 to 5 dols. per sack of two bushels, and screened at 7 dols.

LATER DATES.

OFFICE "DAILY TRUE DELTA," April 1st, 1862.

COTTON.—The sales comprise 175 bales on plantation, for future delivery here of 8½ for middling, and 160 yesterday at the same. Receipts were nominal; stock, exclusive of amount in transitu 11,214 bales.

Clear sterling bills 65 to 70 per cent. premium; francs 2-75 to 3 fcs. per dollar. Sight dfts. on Confederate State Bank, par.

The following sales of stock at auction made this day:—

25 shares Crescent City Bank ..	85½
17 „ Canal Bank	134
10 „ Bank of America	130

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

DIED.

On the 5th of March, at Decatur, Jerome Bruce, aged 21 years, a member of Scott's Louisiana Cavalry.

On Saturday, 8th March, at New Orleans, Joseph, infant son of Raymond A. and Jennie M. Bourk, aged two months and eight days.

On Sunday, 9th March, at New Orleans, James Freeman, a native of Dublin, Ireland, aged 36 years.

On Sunday, 9th March, at New Orleans, David W. Farrier, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, aged 34 years.

On Monday, 10th March, at New Orleans, of consumption, Richard Walsh, a native of Ireland, aged 25 years.

On Monday, 10th March, at New Orleans, Jerome Joledano, in the 65th year of his age.

On the 8th March, at Belair Plantation, in the 69th year of his age, Captain Thomas J. Ioy, a native of Va., but for 25 years a resident of New Orleans.

On the 10th March, at Grand Junction, Tennessee, Nicholas Walsh, aged 22 years, a native of County Kilkenny, Ireland.

On Tuesday, March 11th, at New Orleans, H. H. Cogreve, a native of Germany, aged 42 years.

On Wednesday, March 12th, at New Orleans, Marie Antoinette Jagot, aged 59 years.

On Tuesday, March 11th, at New Orleans, John Sharkey, aged 56 years.

On Monday, March 14th, at New Orleans, Margaret Keller, wife of P. W. Macken, aged 23 years.

On Monday, March 17th, at New Orleans, H. Williams, aged 41 years, for 16 years, a resident of the city.

On the 19th March, at New Orleans, Mrs. Eliza I. Colson, at the age of 66 years, a native of Thomaston, Maine.

On Monday, March 17th, at New Orleans, Octave Le Blanc, Jr., aged 80 years.

On the 19th March, at Columbia, South Carolina, Alice Ann Rutledge, relict of the late Benjamin Huger Rutledge, of Sumter District, in the 66th year of her age.

On the 20th March, at New Orleans, William Garthwaite, aged 68 years, a native of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

On Friday, 21st March, at New Orleans, Mrs. Frederica Woolficy, aged 22 years.

On Wednesday, March 26th, at New Orleans, Anne Brennan, wife of Mathew Brennan, aged 43 years, a native of the County Sligo, Ireland; for 14 years a resident of the city. (Sligo papers, please copy.)

On Wednesday, March 26th, Mary O'Connell, wife of James Walsh, a native of Fremont, County Cork, Ireland.

MARRIED.

On Tuesday, March 4th, W. C. D. Vaught to Miss Isadore L. Walker, daughter of Felix Walker, at and all of New Orleans.

Oh Thursday, March 6th, Mr. James Goodwin to Miss Emily Augusta Hamilton, at and both of New Orleans.

On the 2nd of March, C. M. Bisbee to Miss Mary C. Giese Cramer, at Pass Christian, and both of Mississippi.

On the 13th March, Mr. William Tell to Miss Jane Eliza Richardson, at and both of New Orleans.

On Thursday, March 13, Robert Roberts to Miss Eliza M. Hammond, at Algiers, and both of New Orleans.

On Monday, March 24th, Mr. M. F. Burk to Miss B. M. Quinn, at and both of New Orleans.

On Monday, 17th March, Mr. William Roberts to Miss Amelia L. Carria, at and both of Algiers Lo.

On Monday, 17th March, Mr. Thomas M. Boland, of New Orleans, to Miss Sallie C. Miller, at and of Vicksburg, Mississippi.

On the 11th March, Mr. Eugene H. Duflilio, of New Orleans, to Miss Helena Guidry, of the parish of St. Landry.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

We have a mass of private letters from various portions of the South, kindly placed at our disposal by the recipients. Unfortunately, many of them, and those the latest and most interesting ones, came to us too late to receive that careful revision, which is indispensable, in the use of private correspondence.

We have, however, sufficiently noted their contents to agree heartily with a friend who writes from Liverpool, on the 29th April:—"A heavy mail is up to-day from the C. S. A., with dates, New Orleans, 29th March; Charleston, 26th; and I think I can safely say, that no letters have ever been received from the same quarter written in a more *determined tone*. The reverses of March had roused the country."

This is well and simply represented in the following extract, dated New Orleans, 27th March, 1862:—

"Our few reverses have produced no discouragement; the entire population is up in arms; the active operations of our revolution are only beginning, and will be briskly carried on. The hope of our final success is greater than ever."

The following is an extract from a letter by a lady of Mobile, whose husband and two sons are in the army, to her sister in Europe, dated March 16th. Referring to the general expectation of an attack on that city, she says:—

"The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth," and we poor worms of the earth have to bow to his decree. Whatever that may be, time will determine. . . . We regret to leave our house shortly, having sold it to an English gentleman, the only means, probably, to save it from at least temporary confiscation. Husband leaves to join his regiment below the city, and I shall board until it becomes time for me to leave. I wish I was on the other side of the water—not that I am afraid, or unwilling to do my share if I could help; but every woman is in the way now. We are awaiting, from day to day, the order requiring all women and children to leave the city. I have not decided yet where to go, but have a choice of a number of places of refuge tendered me. I hear often from ——. He is in fine spirits, and preserves excellent health, and is quite confident of winning his regiment before the war is over. I daily pray it may soon be. — bears the trouble better than I, or, at least, appears to do. She is a brave young woman, and her only regret seems to be that she is not a man, that she also might go out to fight these barbarous devastators of our homes and firesides. I am not so young and high-spirited as she is; but I do sometimes feel like her. Was there ever so inhuman, so unnecessary a war, since the world began? What have we done to these people, that they should come and take away our husbands and sons, destroy our property, or cause us to destroy it ourselves in very despair?"

Another letter, also by a lady, from Mobile, a few days later, says:—

"A schooner is about to run the blockade, and I am writing while Mr. — is preparing a bundle of papers, from which you will get the political news. It has not been good for us, but we must have reverses sometimes. We are all hopeful and confident, though many persons are very much alarmed at the danger of our city. I shall remain until the commanding-general orders the women and children to leave. — is already gone to the plantation.

"We had a great review of all the companies when General Bragg was here. He was splendidly mounted; and as he passed, men cheered him, and the ladies greeted him with their handkerchiefs, blessing him from their inmost hearts. His saddle-cloth and saddle was a present from a young lady—a just tribute to a brave man and a good man. He worked a great reformation among the soldiers while he was here. His first act was to close all the bar-rooms. Every soldier is at his post. No permits are granted, unless in cases of sickness, to leave the camps. All business in the city is suspended after three o'clock. The afternoon is devoted to drilling. Every man is required to be a soldier. John, too, is gone to the army; Dr. — kept him out a long time on account of his delicate health; but no one with a drop of blood in his veins can keep quiet in these times. If I had a dozen sons, I should say, 'go' to each of them, and could not love them if they were sluggish in such a cause. The women are working, too, in their way—nursing at the hospitals, and doing all they can to aid the soldiers. I was one of a party of ladies who cut out 3500 sandbags in half a day; 50,000 were ordered, and done almost as soon. We stand ready to do, and to die if necessary. Husband, and what is more, General —, are confident that we can hold Mobile. If the city is shelled, we are beggars. But I would rather live in Europe as a lady's-maid or house-keeper, than remain here, if the Yankees are to overrun us. I do not believe that any man or woman of gentle birth or rearing, will want to live here with that vulgar barbarian to rule over them. . . . Apart from these considerations, I do admire the Queen. She is a noble and a good woman, and was a devoted wife. I do really sympathize with her in her afflictions. . . . I am glad you are so well situated. Mr. — thinks as I do, and would give his eyes to have me with you at this time.

"I feel sometimes dreadfully despondent at the prospect of losing —, and —; but I do not despair when I think that God watches over all — wants me to go to the warm springs, but I could not live where I cannot get the news. I shall go to some place on the railroad. I do not like to leave home, and I feel like fighting myself at the thought of being driven from it."

Still, another is in a more cheerful mood:

"You must not think from what I tell you, that we have been at all gloomy. Tableaux vivants, fairs, etc., succeed each other, and we have quite a respectable theatrical corps, made up by the young gentlemen of the city, who are stationed at a convenient distance. All these things are for the benefit of the poor soldiers' wives and children; and this reminds me, that I must thank you ladies, individually and collectively, for your generous contributions to the relief of our sick soldiers. When I came to —'s name on the list, I was touched to tears at her generosity; but you have all been good and generous in thinking, so far away, of the poor and afflicted at home."

"There is great but quiet rejoicing over our magnificent victory at Corinth, for it is mingled with trembling dread at the details which soon will come; for many a wife here will be a widow, and many a mother childless, when they come."

One of the largest commission merchants of the city of New Orleans writes, under date of the 14th March. The writer's whole wealth consists in debts due him by the planters on their crops.

"Our cotton crop will probably all be burnt by the Confederacy. The expenses of the war are great, and the people in every State are determined to spend all they have to conquer, or die in the struggle. Old men and boys are going. Women will go—they want to go now. All ought to go against these mendacious Northern hordes."

The following little item, with which time and space compel us to conclude, will be interesting to many. It is dated Savannah, 27th March:—

"Provisions, though scarce, are not unreasonably high; some, indeed, are cheaper than ever before, because the planters, or rather, their overseers, send many more things to market than has been usual with us. At Athens, Georgia, beef is worth only 6½ cents a pound; eggs, 15 cents per dozen; chickens, 30 cents per pair, and turkeys, 1 dol. per pair. These rates do not look like starving prices. Even coffee and salt, though still enormously dear, are not as high as they have been."

Foreign Correspondence.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

[The chief value of the subjoined correspondence is its genuine impartiality, and the remarkable accuracy with which it reflects the drawing-room and official war-gossip, and the alternating hopes and fears entertained at the enemy's capital. With the most scrupulous care to hold an even balance between the contending parties, it is morally impossible for our correspondent to wholly withdraw his views and opinions from the colouring of the medium through which he receives them. He cannot be blamed, therefore, if he sometimes states as facts what we know to be partly, if not wholly, erroneous, and expresses doubts and makes comments which we know to be unjust to the South, and to the loyalty and unalterable resolution of its people. But we have thought it our duty to lay this correspondence before our readers precisely as we ourselves receive it, without the slightest attempt to make it conform to our own views or even to our own knowledge of facts. Thus forewarned, the reader cannot fail to find in it much exclusive information, not allowed to ooze through the hermetically sealed press of the North, and also valuable materials for forming a correct opinion of the progress of the war.]

WASHINGTON, April 8th.

It is probable that this steamer may carry out some important war news, as military movements at all points are now in rapid progress. Island No. 10 has proved a considerable obstacle, but the immense military importance of New Madrid, which was so shamefully abandoned, is now manifest, as our latest accounts represent that the Union forces are crossing over from that point below the Island, and that a land investment and attack will now be made. The Federals have thus far succeeded in all their minor and preparatory arrangements, having captured, almost without opposition, several batteries, and spiked the guns. From present indications, I think the fate of the Island will be decided within the next forty-eight hours, and that the probabilities are that it will be overcome. The Federal armies in Tennessee are now rapidly approaching the Confederates near Corinth. This expedition will move ultimately towards Memphis. There will probably be a great battle at this point within the next three days.

We hear nothing from the fleet which is attacking the forts at the Balize. There is no doubt of the attack having been commenced. We may hear also from that quarter in a few days, as also from Fort Pulaski and Savannah, at which points the operations have been renewed with vigour. But the great interest appears, after all, to concentrate on McClellan's advance in Virginia. I had already advised you of the removal of his troops to the York River, and his army has now commenced its march up the peninsula which is formed by the York and James Rivers. At the time I write this, we know that the advanced divisions of his army are in front of the Confederate defences near Yorktown. The place is defended by Magruder, with a reputed force of 30,000 men. I think this, as usual, over-estimated; but it is said that the defensive works are very effective, offering far greater obstacles than were expected. The advance has evidently been momentarily checked. No battle has yet been fought. There has been some artillery practice between the armies, resulting in trifling loss, but no approach to a regular fight. McClellan endeavours evidently to accomplish as much as possible without sacrificing life; and he may therefore make a regular siege approach to these intrenchments, instead of ordering them to be stormed. Should he do so, several days would elapse before any result could be reached. Except at this point we have no important demonstrations in progress in Virginia. If it was intended to attack Norfolk the design appears to be for the present postponed. The Merrimac has been daily and hourly looked for, but has not yet made her appearance. The Federals have made great arrangements to capture her when she makes her appearance, but I think she will prove a tough customer.

At no time since the commencement of the war has the suppression of communication between the two sections been more rigid than at present, and it is therefore impossible to learn anything of the existing condition of public sentiment in the Southern States. If the feelings which you entertain were universally shared, there would be no doubt of the *determination* of the Southern people; but you must not forget that you are able to enjoy so many things of which they are deprived; that your position and your situation is in every important respect so different from those who are now cooped up within their own territory, deprived of all comforts, and almost of necessities, such as salt and coffee; with their plantations desolated, their negroes escaping; and, above all, going forth to the battle field to offer up their lives—that these people, being after all but human, and having ties which render life and property valuable to them, must not be judged so very harshly if, finding resistance vain, they should finally yield—not that I now find any indications of this character. At present it certainly looks as if the resistance and determination of these people had increased rather than diminished; but it is well to keep in view these considerations and these influences.

We must now await the result of these military movements, as they cannot fail to have an important bearing although they may not bring any decisive political result. The success of the Federal army in Virginia must lead to the evacuation of Richmond and the abandonment of the principal portion of the state. The Richmond authorities would then, doubtless, remove to Montgomery. I await the effect upon the Governments of England and France of the new aspect of affairs. There will be, undoubtedly, great disappointment at the immense financial strength which has been shown at the North. The Government securities still continue strong, although not up to the highest point, but they have rallied from the recent depression; and yet it is well known that the expenditure is not less than two millions daily. Gold is rather higher, current rate 2¼ to 2½; sterling is therefore affected, and now ranges at 112½ to 113, the latter for Brown's bills, though, is easy.

WASHINGTON, April 12th.

Just as I was closing my last letter, we received the news of the surrender of Island No. 10. The particulars which have come to hand show that the movement of the land forces under General Pope, who crossed over from New Madrid, must have rendered the place untenable, and that they were compelled to abandon it. At the time of its capitulation it was only occupied by about 400 men, but contained seventy large cannon, a great deal of ammunition, several thousand small arms, &c. It is the loss of the ammunition and arms which are the severest evils to the Confederates, and it does appear to me as most extraordinary that, having in view its abandonment, they did not remove these things, which were portable and could have been carried away. Subsequently to the capitulation General Pope surrounded General MacCall with a force of 2000 men, and he also surrendered. No fighting was done. And this is again most unaccountable, and shows great pusillanimity on the part of the officer in command. Something is said of the unwillingness of the men to fight; if so, then the evil is still greater. Since the occupation of the island by the Federals we have no further accounts of their downward progress, and I do not know at present whether they will meet with any obstacles between this point and Memphis. The movements on the river have for the last forty-eight hours been almost forgotten in the contemplation of the serious fight which took place near Pittsburg Landing on Sunday and Monday, 7th and 8th April, and which has been, beyond all comparison, the greatest battle of the war.

For some days the Confederates had been concentrating near Corinth, Mississippi, to oppose the progress of the Federals, who had landed at Pittsburg Landing, about twenty miles from Corinth. On Sunday morning, the Confederates commenced their attack with about 30,000 men, the Federals having an equal number. The battle was desperately fought all day, but at nightfall the Federals were completely beaten. Their camp with all its equipage, 36 pieces of artillery, General Prentiss, and about 2000 men, were in possession of the Confederates, and the Federal army was pursued back nearly into the river. Reinforcements were, however, rapidly pressing forward to them, being already on the opposite side of the river; and during the night about 60,000 men, 40,000 under Buell and 19,000 under Wallace, were added to the Federal side. Next morning the battle was renewed with great fury. The Confederates were reinforced also in the course of the morning by several thousands, and had, no doubt, 50,000 men in the field. The fight continued with varied fortune; but the freshness of the Federals and their overpowering numbers were finally too much for the Confederates, and in the afternoon they gradually retired towards Corinth,

at which place it is supposed they are now entrenched. On this second day they are said to have lost not only the artillery which they had captured the day before, but several guns of their own. The slaughter has been terrible. The first accounts that reached us put the Federal loss at 18 to 20,000 killed and wounded, and the Confederates at 35 to 40,000. Such news sickened everybody. I never saw so palpable an effect produced upon a community. Men who had been most active for the war were staggered by such wholesale butchery. Whilst the Union men claimed a victory, it was felt that such victories were as bad as defeats. Subsequent accounts have, however, considerably modified these first statements. The Federal loss is now estimated at about 10,000, whilst that of the Confederates is regarded as equally large, if not larger. We have no Southern accounts thus far, and therefore have no other than the incoherent statements which have drifted over from the battle-field; no official statement having yet appeared. It is reported, and I believe it to be true, that Sidney Johnson was killed. Beauregard is also reported to have lost an arm, but this lacks confirmation. The loss of officers on the Federal side has been very severe, comprising many of the principal commanders. It will be many days before all the damage is known. The result of the fight has evidently been a drawn battle. The advantage of Sunday was evidently with the Confederates, and Beauregard believed that on Monday he would be able to capture the entire army; but the overwhelming numbers of the reinforcements not only destroyed his hopes, but resulted in his repulse and the necessity of retiring to his intrenchments at Corinth. The Southerners have fully redeemed themselves from any previous suspicions of unwillingness to fight by this battle. All the Federal accounts concur in the gallantry of the Southern soldiers, and the great ability and generalship of their officers. At the same time, the Northern men showed equal valour, otherwise the whole Northern army would have been dispersed on the first day. The Southern army was composed of Alabamians, Tennesseans, Mississippians, Texans, and Louisianians. The Northern men were from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, and a few from Pennsylvania. Whilst there is great anxiety to receive other particulars of this fight, and to know all the details, the public turns still more anxiously to the York peninsula, where the next great battle must take place.

McClellan's advanced columns reached the front of the Yorktown intrenchments on Monday. He finds that the entire country, about six miles wide from York River to James River, has been thoroughly intrenched. In front of their intrenchments the ground is low, swampy, and almost impassable. The weather during the week has been very bad, and the troops, being without shelter, have suffered greatly. McClellan has about 125,000 men and 500 pieces of artillery. These intrenchments were originally held by Magruder with about 20,000 men; but it is now reported that heavy reinforcements have been sent to him, and that General Jo. Johnston has taken the command in person, and that there will be 60 or 70,000 behind these fortifications. Thus there will be considerably more difficulty than was expected, and the advance of the Federals looks likely to be most seriously contested; and the slaughter in Tennessee will be renewed at this point, perhaps exceeded. It may be several days before anything important transpires, as McClellan will probably endeavour to reduce the fortifications by gradual siege approaches, rather than risk the enormous loss of life which would follow an attempt to take them by assault.

We are also looking every moment for the re-appearance of the Virginia (Merrimac); and as the Federals have made very great preparations to destroy her, there will be a most terrific naval engagement whenever she presents herself. She would have been out before this, but for the severe storm. Yesterday and to-day being fair, we may hear important news from her by to-morrow.

We have no important military news from any other quarter; nothing from Porter's mortar fleet, which is at work at the Balize; nothing from Fort Pulaski, or from Burnside's corps. Fort Magon refuses to surrender, and will stand a siege.

Weeks are now valuable to the Confederates. May will soon be at hand, and you know the warmth of the sun, even as far north as Camden, South Carolina. The fate of Northern troops exposed to the heat of the latitude below 33 deg., with its attendant diseases, cannot be mistaken. Already we hear of very great sickness in the camps that have proceeded southward. The Southern accounts say, that nearly one-half of the soldiers that have been occupying Ship Island have died.

Taking the stock market as a barometer of the popular feeling, the effect of the news this week has not been invigorating. Stocks are all down, with the exception of Governments, which hold their own barely. The

public are evidently stupefied at the contemplation of the loss of life that has taken place, and that which is still pending. Sterling exchange was scarcely so firm, but is held at 113, by regular bankers; gold went back to 101½—a most remarkable condition of affairs, and which cannot be explained on any of the well-established principles of political economy; but which, I think, can only be regarded as an abnormal state, and that ere long the legitimate laws of finance must assert their sway, and that the precious metals, in view of this enormous inflation, must speedily rise. Mr. Stevens, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and, of course, the highest authority on the subject, said, in his speech closing the debate on the Tax Bill, “that our debt on the 1st of July would be 800,000,000 dollars, and that our daily expenses are now 3,000,000 dollars per day.” And yet Government 6’s command as high a price to-day (94) as they did before the commencement of the war. How it is that this is managed it would be difficult to say.

I saw, yesterday, Mr. — (whom you know as one of our principal merchants), who had been to Nashville, and just returned. He is a very strong Union man, and has no sympathies with the Secession movement. In reply to my inquiries, he stated that the feeling in Nashville was intensely bitter and hostile to the Government; that even many who had been somewhat indifferent were now very much opposed to the Union; under a feeling of mortification that their section had been overcome—sectional pride having much to do with it—that his opinion was, that it would take many years to bring back anything like the former condition of things; and that if the Union troops went away, the country would go right back to secession; and that it was only in the presence of our troops that the people were restrained. Altogether, his account was entirely confirmatory of the absence of any change of sentiment. Still, he said, there were a great many Union men in Tennessee; but they had been Union men all the time, and that these men would now take possession of the political organization of the State, under the protection of the Federal armies, and that Tennessee would be nominally back into the Union. That the courts would soon recommence their jurisdiction; but, of course, their mandates could only be executed where the Government possessed the power to execute them.

The Bill for the Emancipation of the Slaves in the District of Columbia, having passed the Senate, is now before the House, and will become a law, as I do not believe the President will veto it. I doubt, however, whether there will be any other important agitation in the negro question.

OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT.

NEW YORK, April 15th, 1862.

The most important intelligence since my last, is a confirmation of the belief then expressed, that the Confederates won the day in the two days’ fighting at Tennessee Landing. In the Sunday battle, it was freely admitted that the Federals received a terrible thrashing; but it has since been asserted by newspaper correspondents of the press only, that the disaster of Sunday was recovered from on Monday, though without any advantage being gained. *Not a line confirming this alleged Union victory on Monday has been received officially by the Government*; while the Confederate authorities have been promptly apprized by General Beauregard, that the result of the two days’ fighting was a complete success of the Southern arms. The victory has been duly acknowledged in the Confederate Congress, and it is believed in by the mass of the Northern people themselves.

Why, the people ask, if the Union forces actually won the battle, does not the commanding General officially announce the important fact? Why remain silent a whole week if such an immense triumph has been achieved? Why was it, if we won the victory, that only a few hundred prisoners were taken by our army, while the Southerners took eight or ten thousand, including one whole regiment *en masse*? Why was it, if our success was real, that we literally withdrew from or abandoned the field on the second day, and permitted the Confederates to return unmolested to their strong entrenchments, with thirty-six of our guns, a large quantity of ammunition, and thousands upon thousands of prisoners? These are pregnant questions, and hard to answer by those claiming a Federal victory; but they will carry their own answer to all unbiassed minds; for they show on their face a brilliant, and, as General Beauregard expresses it, a “complete victory.”

So much for the two greatest and bloodiest battles that have thus far, in this campaign, been fought on land; the South, under Beauregard, and the smiles of an approving Heaven, has won them both; and hence-

forth, whatever may be their future destiny, Bull’s Run and Tennessee Landing (or “Shiloh,” as Beauregard names the battle-field in his despatches) will occupy the very brightest pages in the history of Southern conquest,—pages whose lustre shall be dimmed alone by the one that shall record the glorious birth of Independence!

Since the great two days’ contest, the Federals have been busy with their despatches, killing off General Beauregard; but their despatches rest on no more foundation than do the false newspaper despatches concerning the result of the (to them) fatal engagement.

The latest admitted loss of the Federals in that engagement—is killed and wounded, 10,000; prisoners, 8,000; or a total of 18,000. These are their own figures; but it is probable that their actual loss was several thousand greater, or little short of 25,000! This would comprise about one-third of the army engaged.

Since Saturday last, the Northern public have been anxiously inquiring why it was the Monitor, the crack vessel of the Federal navy, permitted the Merrimac and her consorts to perform the bold stroke they did on the previous day, without an effort to block them in their “piratical” act? The fact is certainly a remarkable one; yet no explanation of the failure to “pitch in,” has been offered. The Confederates, with an air of defiance and conscious strength, steamed up to the Union sailing vessels, of which there were a score or so near by; but they all put to sea at a double quick rate, excepting three, which were secured, and taken into Norfolk. Contrary to the first report, they all had valuable cargoes on board, which, of course, came very acceptable in replenishing the Confederate locker. Several shots were fired at the saucy fellows by some of the Federal craft; but the great Monitor took the affair very quietly, and suffered the rich prize to escape with their booty.

The letters from Fortress Monroe state, that it was deeply mortifying and humiliating to witness the daring capture of the vessels, and I do not doubt it; but, strange to say, the only word offered in defence of the Monitor for lying carelessly by, a silent spectator of the scene, is “Red tape!” Of course there was a true reason for the inactivity of the Monitor, but what that true reason was is more than the writer can tell. What the writer and everyone else does know, however, is, that the assertion has been frequently and confidently made, on the part of the Federals, since the first encounter, that the Merrimac would be taken or sunk the very next time she ventured out. Yet here she was, on a fine clear day, and within easy range of the Monitor; but not a shot was fired, not a motion made to draw her antagonist into battle!

That the very mention of the word Merrimac keeps the public in a flutter, is easily perceivable; while to the army of McClellan, in its move toward Yorktown, she is decidedly in the way. If she sees fit, she can keep hovering about the defences in the vicinity of that point, and thus compel the Union army to suck their thumbs, instead of sleeping within the tents of Yorktown. She is, also, a secure protection to Norfolk from a sea attack; and, in helping to guard the defences of Yorktown, she at the same time has a vigilant eye upon the great naval storehouse of the South, at Norfolk. Were the Merrimac out of the way, the Monitor could probably shell Norfolk, and capture it; but, with such a “monster” around, she prefers to keep as quiet as possible.

All sorts of schemes have been set afloat by the Yankees to destroy this impediment in their progress in the Peninsula; no less, it is said, than *two hundred* plans having been received at the Navy Depot within a fortnight! Their nature, however, is kept mum, as the publication of them would put the enemy on his guard. A plan to board and capture her has been freely talked about; but such an exploit is out of the question. Before the Cumberland went down, it has transpired that three efforts were made by her desperate crew to board the leviathan, but they were abandoned as impossible; and this fact (the impossibility of boarding) is also confirmed by those who have been in close and full view of the Merrimac: her build is such as to secure her from capture by boarding, and the only way she can be disposed of is, to knock holes in her by means of powerful shot, and sink her.

From the best information I have been able to gather, the Merrimac was not materially injured in her five hours’ furious contest with the Monitor. A ball, entering one of her port-holes, dismounted a gun; and in dashing into the Monitor, her ram was knocked into a sort of curve; but both these mishaps have now been remedied, not only by a more formidable ram, but by the addition of heavier guns than she carried on her maiden-trip. She is at present under command of Captain Tatnall.

The entire fleet of the Confederates, on their reappearance, fairly numbered twelve vessels; a very respect-

able squadron for a single Confederate port. The South has certainly not slept much over its naval preparations the past year, while the quietness with which their movements were conducted is the marvel of the longest-headed Yankee in the land.

There is little new in commercial or financial affairs. Stagnation reigns supreme. Stocks are still dull and lower. Exchange flat at 12½, and cotton rather firmer.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

(FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, 29th April, 1862.

I WRITE to prepare you for events of the utmost importance in their bearings upon the solution of the American problem. Without communicating to you details which are as yet, and perhaps will always be, secrets of State, and which come to me in such a manner, that I am not at liberty to use them, I may state that the Emperor has twice, through official channels, invited the British Government to co-operate with him in such a policy in regard to American affairs as would be most likely to bring about the termination of hostilities, and the opening of Confederate ports. I am further able to state, on undoubted authority, that he has for some time past been prepared either to recognize the Confederacy, or to declare the blockade ineffective, and, therefore, not obligatory. You will scarcely suspect me of making myself the chronicler of empty rumours when I add, that the Emperor has decided upon armed intervention, if friendly but firm remonstrances to the Federal Government should prove insufficient to put an end to the war.

From the first, the Emperor’s American policy has been far in advance of that pursued by Great Britain, and the delay of decisive action on his part heretofore may be ascribed solely to the obstinate inaction of your Government. His first representation was made as far back as June last, the second, some five or six weeks since. To both evasive and unsatisfactory replies have been made. I have reason to believe that France is now making to England the most urgent appeals for prompt and decided action. What may be the result, I have no means of foreseeing, but I am not without hopes that, reluctant as the Emperor is to act without the consent of England, if she still persists in her inaction, he will not much longer wait for her. You will have seen, by the newspapers, that a large squadron at Toulon, has received orders to take on board provisions, &c., for three months, and that the Couronne, an iron-clad steamer of the first-class, is to make an *experimental* voyage to America. I am inclined to think that these movements are intimately connected with, and closely concern, the cause of the Confederate States.

The three quasi Ministerial journals, the *Patric*, *Pays*, and *Constitutionnel*, which, for some months past, had observed most ominous silence on American affairs, have within a few days taken a very decided stand in favour of the South. All these symptoms I look upon as exceedingly encouraging to the cause you advocate, and lead me to believe that recognition, at least, is not very far distant. But I again repeat, the Emperor is unwilling to act without the concurrence of England; the continued obstinacy of whose Minister of Foreign Affairs, and blindness to what all here consider her obvious interest, may still produce delays. It does seem to me that if the next steamer does not bring news of any decided advantage obtained by the Federals, even Earl Russell will have to succumb to the pressure of popular opinion, which, from my point of view, appears to be well nigh unanimous in England, and is certainly so here in the higher classes.

I shall scarcely need to direct your attention to the sudden departure of the French Minister from Washington, on a visit to Richmond, as a most significant item of intelligence, especially when taken in connection with the information I send you.

I enclose the *Constitutionnel* of yesterday, 28th. The article I mark is valuable, from its being “inspired,” as I know positively, by M. Persigny.

Friends and foes of the South alike here consider the battle on the Tennessee as a brilliant success achieved by Beauregard. The “authorized” despatches from Washington, which attempt to palliate the disaster, are too clumsy to deceive anybody. It may be regarded as virtually admitted by the Federals, that the Confederates fell back slowly, and still fighting, behind their entrenchments, carrying with them all the prisoners (about 2000) taken, and 36 pieces of artillery they had captured the first day. Private letters received here cast strong doubts on the alleged death of General A. Sidney Johnson, and pronounce that part of Beauregard’s despatch referring to it fictitious.

The evacuation of Island No. 10 appears to offer a

precise analogy to that of Manassas Junction, having taken place five days before the Federals were aware of it. No wonder it was a bloodless conquest. The 6000 prisoners so boastfully claimed by the Federals, evidently to counteract the effects at home and abroad, of the Corinth disaster, dwindled down to a few hundred sick and wounded. You should hear the comments of French officers on General Halleck's bulletins

THE GERMAN VIEW OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS. (FROM OUR BERLIN CORRESPONDENT.)

BERLIN, 24th April, 1862.

PERHAPS nowhere in Europe has more sympathy been evinced for the North than in Germany. This is mainly attributable to the prejudice of the Germans against slavery, and their ignorance of American affairs. When the war broke out in America there were not, probably, more than a score of men in Germany that would have been prepared to admit that the old Federal Union did not constitute a sovereign central Government. It is not difficult to discover the reason of this. The intercourse between Germany and the United States had been confined almost exclusively to the North. To the Northern States had flocked the hundreds of thousands of German emigrants, in search of employment, and with the exception of the tobacco, cotton, and naval stores shipped from a few Southern ports, nearly the entire commerce between Germany and America had been conducted through Northern channels. At this period very few Germans possessed well-founded conceptions of the nature of American politics, or the state of American society. The works published on these subjects were either too meagre, or too grossly inaccurate, to convey correct impressions. Amid the prevailing ignorance, however, it was known that the North was opposed to slavery, whilst the South favoured it. Strange as it may appear, Uncle Tom's Cabin probably did more than everything else to create a definite, though entirely, erroneous idea with respect to the South. As a consequence of the influence of this libel upon Southern society, it is not unusual to meet persons in Germany, who conscientiously believe, that, in the Southern States, the masters possess unlimited powers of life and death over their slaves, and may commit the most horrible enormities upon them with impunity.

By a certain class of the German population, America was usually considered a land of liberty, where every man could do as he pleased, pay no taxes, and grow wealthy at will, almost without effort. The German Governments, on the other hand, were accustomed to regard America as an asylum for their domestic enemies, a source of impoverishment to their states, in attracting a considerable portion of their industrial resources, and skilled labour; and as an arrogant Power, which demanded immunities for its citizens greater than the German States were willing to accord to their own citizens, or those of another state.

News of the commencement of the disintegration of the Federal Union reached Germany at the moment when the idea of a German Union had already acquired no insignificant importance. At once, those that advocated Union in Germany proclaimed their attachment and sympathy for the American Union, which was to serve as the model for Germany. There were not a few statesmen, however, who, jealous of England, saw in the dissolution of the Federal Union, the destruction of the political equilibrium of Europe, as Great Britain, it was thought, would recover the supremacy of the sea. Others, again, saw without regret the fall of a Government, that had rendered itself obnoxious to Europe by its pretensions. In most of these cases, there was no inquiry made about the differences between the North and the South. The Union was sustained or opposed for its own sake.

Before the fall of Fort Sumter there were few statesmen, if any, in Germany who supposed that a war would be the result of the secession of the Southern States. When, however, the news of the proclamation of the blockade, and of the preparations for war made by Mr. Lincoln, was received, the Germans commenced to give to the subject their attention. Their interest in American affairs increased, as the consequences of the war made themselves more and more felt. Trade with America became stagnant, owing to the impossibility of procuring Southern productions, and of getting German manufactures to the South through the North. The Morrill tariff-bill had already created great dissatisfaction amongst the manufacturing and commercial classes in Germany. Still, the disastrous effects of this measure of protection on German industry were forgotten in the general commercial stagnation produced by the war. And so the one wish for peace took the place of all others.

Even before the commencement of hostilities, as uniformly since, the Federal Government had as-

siduously endeavoured to produce the impression through its agents in Germany, that the secession of the Southern States was only a rebellion of a small minority of discontented persons in those States. A few weeks, it was said, would suffice to suppress the Rebellion. In the meantime, the only information which reached the public in Germany was that contained in extracts from ultra-abolition journals of the North, and in the newspaper correspondence from Germans in the Northern States. Not a word was received from the South, and not a single journal in Germany is known to have undertaken to advocate the claims of Southern independence. It seemed generally conceded, that a conspiracy of slave-owners—for such the Washington Government proclaimed secession to be—could not be other than wicked. Can we, then, wonder, that the sympathies of the masses of the Germans at once became enlisted in behalf of the Union? Besides, not a doubt of the ability of the Federal Government to suppress the Rebellion was then entertained, and it was popularly accepted, that slavery must now receive its final blow.

The Washington Government, counting upon the prejudice against slavery existing in Germany, spared no pains to produce the impression that the great philanthropic object of the war was, the extinction of slavery in the United States.

When the news of the Battle of Bull's Run reached Germany public opinion received a shock, from which it has never recovered. The astonishment caused by this news was greater than that which followed upon the Battle of Solferino, and the war thus acquired an importance which it could not easily have obtained otherwise. Yet the German press continued to produce only the Northern side of the question. Whatever could be found in favour of the North was carefully translated and published in the newspapers.

The press, with very few exceptions, not only advocated the cause of the Union, but refrained from publishing anything from the English or French journals favourable to the South.

The series of defeats experienced by the North, on the heel of the destruction of the "grand army of the Potomac," and the incessant boastings of the Federal Government, finally produced their natural results. Military men in Germany began to examine the question attentively. The results of the operations of the Federal army, the information furnished by the English and French press, and that derived from intercourse with Southerners travelling or residing in Germany, were sufficient to cause a large number of officers to view Secession and the war from a far different standpoint. Nothing, perhaps, gained the South more consideration and sympathy with military men in Germany than the superiority of its army-organization over that of the North. Moreover, the prevalence of a strong *esprit de corps* amongst German officers contributed most materially to the extension of more just opinions with regard to the South.

At the same time, the Governments of Germany were not long in discovering, through their diplomatic agents, the true state of affairs in America. Gradually public opinion was undergoing a change, the more thorough because of the deceptions sought to be practised by the Government and press of the North. Still, there remained many of the type of the ultra-abolitionists of the North and of England, who rejected all propositions for the restoration of peace, except at the price of the extermination of slavery. With certain classes it continued to be a source of national pride to hear it stated by correspondents of the press, that the German population in America was rendering the most important services to the Union. By degrees the belief impressed itself upon large numbers that the preservation of the Federal Union depended entirely upon the German element in the North. The party opposed to extreme democratic institutions naturally espoused the cause of the South. A partiality for slavery cannot be said to have induced this result; it was simply the notion that the South was farther removed from Red Republicanism than the North. The friendship of this party for the South was alone potent enough to render the opposition of the ultra-democratic party more unrelenting.

By whatever party-name they may designate themselves, the Red Republicans of Germany have shown the bitterest hostility towards the South. Without regard to consistency, the so-called National party in Germany has supported the Federal Union. For if the avowed programme of this party is entitled to credence, it has for its object to secure a union of the German States very similar to that of the Southern States of America, although far more limited. Any attempt to institute a form of union which ignored the sovereignty of the separate German States would meet with no more violent opposition than from the National party. Not from any

just appreciation of the differences between the North and the South has the Union received the support of this party. It was the magic influence of the word "union," effacing all defects, and revealing only perfections. Slavery and union have been the two words of direful import for the cause of the South in Germany.

As time passed away, and the North failed to gain any success over the South, the enthusiasm of the friends of the North in Germany began to abate. The press, although reproducing everything which could benefit the North, ceased to comment upon the prospects of the Union. For several months scarcely a leading article appeared in a German newspaper on the American War. Quite remarkable is it, that not more than two or three pamphlets in the German language have been published to compensate for the meagreness of the information regarding American affairs afforded by the German journals. Whilst England and France have been flooded with defences of the South, only a single work has appeared in Germany as the champion of Southern rights.

Yet, with far inferior advantages for judging correctly, the public sentiment of Germany has been considerably modified, if not materially changed, in favour of the Southern Confederacy.

When the vastly exaggerated accounts of the Federal victory at Fort Donnellson were received, confidence in the ability of the North to conquer the South was rapidly expiring. This event served to revive the hopes of the friends of the Union in Germany, and had considerable influence upon those who were not yet convinced that the efforts of the North must prove futile. The censorship of the press in the North is having an effect unfavourable for the Union. One cannot fail to perceive a tendency to discredit everything reported by the Federal Government. Newspapers have commenced the practice of adding a note of warning to the telegrams received; and special confirmation of any accounts reported are beginning to be absolutely necessary, as many attach little or no importance to Northern accounts on their first reception. Pertinacity in false representations and boastings on the part of the Washington Government, the puerile statesmanship of the Northern Secretary of State, and the action of the North in the case of the Trent, have done much, though slowly, to alienate the sympathies of the Germans from the North, and to destroy all confidence in the Federal Government.

Nothing has probably so astonished the Germans as the conduct of the negroes in the South during this war. Where they have been expecting to hear of slave-insurrections, they have heard of slaves fighting for their masters. The colonization schemes of the North are beginning to be understood; and the Germans are rapidly ceasing to consider the extinction of slavery the object of the war. Dispel this illusion, and the principal link of sympathy between the Germans and the North will be broken.

If we restrict our inquiries to the two great Powers of Germany, Austria and Prussia, and to the commercial part of Germany, the Hanse-towns, we find that there is in reality no sympathy for the Union on the part of the Governments of either of these States. The Republican Administration made its first blunder with Austria by sending as Minister to the Imperial Court the most objectionable man in all America, the man that had moved the recognition of the Italian Kingdom in the United States Congress. Martin Kosta has not yet been forgotten by the Austrians; and although Austria breaks no faith towards the Federal Union, she has no sympathy for it.

To Prussia the arrogance of the Federal Government for the last few years, in demanding immunities for adopted citizens of Prussian birth, has become intolerable. The United States Government has not hesitated to enforce its demands by implied threats, without regard to the public law of Europe or the municipal law of Prussia. We do not believe that there exists at this moment any sympathy whatever on the part of the Prussian Government for the success of the Union over the South.

Evidently the higher classes and most of the officers of the army in Prussia sympathize heartily with the Southern Confederacy. The Government organ has gone so far as to express the conviction of the impossibility of a reconstruction of the American Union, and to counsel a peaceable separation as the most advisable for both North and South.

Bremen and Hamburg are cities which derive a great part of their prosperity from trade in Southern productions. Although these two cities experienced great advantages, by speculation, from the blockade for a time, the effect of no trade with the South has already commenced to react severely upon them. It is no secret that they would gladly acknowledge the Southern Con-

federacy if they dared; but that they would prefer to see the South victorious. Their sympathies are strongly in favour of the South, whether they be actuated by interest or sentiment.

Daily the Germans are becoming more familiar with the questions at issue in America, and in the same degree as their acquaintance with facts increases, do their sympathies change from the North to the South.

OUR HAVANAH CORRESPONDENT.

HAVANNA, 6th April, 1862.

Two steamers have arrived from New Orleans from Beswick's Bay, bringing several well-known merchants from New Orleans, with whom I have conversed; they tell me that the cotton burning question is settled, and that the possession of the cotton ports by the enemy will not open the cotton trade, or induce planters to send their cotton to market. The people feel assured, and believe that even should they fail to hold the ports, they cannot at any rate hold the country, and prevent cotton being sent to the ports; it will be a life and death struggle, and may be indefinitely prolonged.

The Southerners who have arrived here all agree in saying that though the North may carry on the war for years, they feel certain of their ability to resist. This is the universal feeling; and such people in such a country cannot be conquered; their powers of resistance will be severely tested, but the final result is not doubtful.

Since the arrival of the Vera Cruz steamer, rumours are rife here that the American Minister, Mr. Corwin, is about to conclude, or has already concluded, a treaty with the Juarez Government, contemplating pecuniary and military assistance against the allies, in consideration for important cessions of territory. These rumours are generally believed to be well founded.

MR. YANCEY'S RETURN HOME.

(From the New Orleans *Picayune*.)

We have the pleasure of announcing the arrival in our city, by the Opelousas Railroad, of the Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, one of the Confederate States Commissioners to Europe. He came from Havana, as announced in a special telegraphic despatch, in the schooner *Wide Awake*.

Mr. Yancey is in excellent health and spirits, though somewhat fatigued by his voyage.

He was received at the Opelousas ferry landing by a number of his friends and fellow-citizens, by whom he was accompanied to his lodgings.

On entering the rotunda of the hotel, on his return from dinner, about ten o'clock in the evening, a large crowd met Mr. Yancey and insisted on his addressing them, which he did in a speech of about a half hour.

He remarked, on rising, that it was within ten days of a year since he left the country as the representative of the Confederate States, to endeavour to procure the recognition of that independence for which his countrymen were gallantly contending. He should, undoubtedly, surprise his auditors when he told them that they had no friends in Europe; that they must depend for the accomplishment of the end for which they are striving upon themselves alone. And what he said of European feeling with regard to this Confederacy was equally true of its feeling towards the North, whose people, whose government, and whose press, the statements and writings of whose public men and literary writers, they believed to be altogether mendacious. The sentiment of Europe was anti-slavery, and that portion of public opinion which formed, and was represented by the Government of England, was abolition. At the same time it is very well understood and believed, that the pretences upon which this war was inaugurated, and is carried on by the North against us, were utterly false. They would never recognize our independence until our conquering sword hung dripping over the prostrate heads of the North. Their opinion of the character of the people of these States, and of the cause in which we are engaged, was derived altogether from Northern sources. They never see the journals and the periodicals of the South, and all the accounts they receive with regard to us come to them filtered through those of the North. They believe that we are a brave and determined people, and that we are resolved upon obtaining our independence by the most unyielding devotion to the cause in which we are contending. But they would like to see the two confederacies crippled by the war, and so would give aid to neither. He alluded to the erroneous and hostile opinions entertained in England with regard to the people of these States, which had been sedulously inculcated by the North, by whom we were habitually represented as cruel, lawless, and oppressive; that the owner had the liberty to treat his slave without reference to the laws of society or nature, and that the slaves were bred as the English breed their Durham cattle, &c. As to the blockade, he said that the nations of Europe would never raise it until it suited their interest. In his own private opinion, he believed that that necessity would occur by a very early day. He said it was an error to say that "Cotton is King." It is not. It is a great and influential power in commerce, but not its dictator. He alluded to the dependence which British statesmen placed upon the probability of obtaining cotton from other sources than America, and showed that this, to any practical extent or purpose, was impossible, and that the idea was a fallacy. He thought, he said, that the blockade was a blessing to the Confederate States,

for it was teaching, nay, compelling, us to depend upon ourselves, and to do that for ourselves for which we have hitherto been depending upon others, and they our deadliest foes. Mr. Yancey then counselled a firm, united, and generous support of the Government which has just been inaugurated. The chosen and the choosers were both in the same boat. The storm was raging, the wind was howling, and the waves were beating upon our bark. We had placed them at the helm. They might commit errors, but all history teaches that when there is mutiny in the crew the bark must go down. He concluded by expressing the strongest confidence in the final success of the cause in which we are engaged; and at the close was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers.

After a few eloquent remarks by Dr. Holland, in the same vein, and in the course of which the speaker bore testimony, as an eye witness, to the able and faithful manner in which Mr. Yancey discharged his mission in Europe, the assemblage separated.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

[From the *Richmond Examiner*, March 19.]

We learn that yesterday a Message from the President was sent into Congress, in secret session, recommending that all our prisoners who had been put on parole by the Yankee Government be released from the obligation of their parole, so as to bear arms in our struggle for independence.

The recommendation was urged as a retaliation for the infamous and reckless breach of good faith on the part of the Northern Government with regard to the exchange of prisoners, and was accompanied by the exposure of this perfidy in a lengthy correspondence conducted by the War Department. We have been enabled to extract the points of this interesting correspondence.

It appears, from the correspondence, that at the time permission was asked by the Northern Government for Messrs. Fish and Ames to visit their prisoners within the jurisdiction of the South, our Government, while denying this permission, sought to improve the opportunity by concerting a settled plan for the exchange of prisoners. For the execution of this purpose, Messrs. Conrad and Seddon were deputed by our Government as Commissioners to meet those of the Northern Government under a flag of truce at Norfolk.

Subsequently, a letter from Gen. Wool was addressed to Gen. Huger, informing him that he (Gen. Wool) had full authority to settle any terms for the exchange of prisoners, and asking an interview on the subject. Gen. Howell Cobb was then appointed by the Government to mediate with Gen. Wool, and to settle a permanent plan for the exchange of prisoners during the war. The adjustment was considered to have been satisfactorily made.

It was agreed that the prisoners of war in the hands of each Government should be exchanged, man for man, the officers being assimilated as to rank, &c.; that our privateersmen should be exchanged on the footing of prisoners of war; that any surplus remaining on either side, after these exchanges, should be released, and that hereafter, during the whole continuance of the war, prisoners taken on either side should be paroled.

In carrying out this agreement, our Government has released some 300 prisoners above those exchanged by the North, the balance in the competing numbers of prisoners in the hands of the two Governments being so much in our favour. At the time, however, of sending North the hostages we had retained for our privateersmen, Gen. Cobb had reason to suspect the good faith of the Northern Government, and telegraphed in time to intercept the release of a portion of these hostages, (among them Col. Corcoran,) who were *en route* from points further South than Richmond to go North under a flag of truce to Norfolk. A number of these hostages, however, had already been exchanged.

It now appears that, in contravention of the solemn agreement of the Northern Government, not one of our privateersmen has been released, and the Port Donnelson prisoners, instead of being paroled, have been taken into the interior, where they are still confined.

As a judgment upon this open and shameless perfidy of the North, it is proposed that our prisoners, who have been paroled by the Yankees, shall be released from their obligations. There is as little doubt of the honour of such a proposition as there is of its justice and meetness as a retaliatory measure for an act of flagrant perfidy.

At a large meeting at Ashton-under-Lyne on Wednesday, the following resolution was adopted by a majority:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the bounden duty of the people in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain and Ireland to use every moral means in their power, and to memorialise Parliament for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and an alteration in the maritime law of nations, that neutral ships of commerce shall pass freely over the waters of the world."

THE RUSSIAN ARMY.—For a long time after her Crimean disasters Russia ceased to recruit. A letter from St. Petersburg of the 21st, states that, "among the serious reforms contemplated in the War Department, that affecting the recruiting system is expected very shortly. The commission appointed for the purpose has decided on the principles of the project, and the Emperor has approved of them. All classes, without exception, will be liable to serve. Those who may be disposed to exonerate themselves will have to pay a certain fixed sum, and the Government will find substitutes in their place, choosing old soldiers in preference. The term of service is to be ten years, instead of fifteen."

WHO HELPS THE SOUTHERNERS?

THE following passages occur in a letter in the *Globe* of this evening, signed "A Liverpool Shipowner":—

"For the information of your contemporary, therefore, I may tell him—the greatest adepts in getting in screw steamers both from English ports and the Continent, are the Americans themselves located in Europe, who, since the repeal of the Navigation Laws, find no difficulty in making a vessel *quasi* English. But what is England's position and interest all this while? Is it to her interest to be with the Confederates and their 'domestic institution' and free trade, or with the Federals in their hostile tariffs and hostile institutions? for there can be no mistake about the latter. I fancy many of your readers would say, 'Free trade and peace for me' (and which, whenever the Confederate Government is recognized, we shall have)—whilst, I am quite certain, were even the Member for Birmingham himself to go round and poll the whole of the manufacturing districts tomorrow, he would find the majority in favour of 'Free trade and the Confederate States.'"

MEXICAN AFFAIRS.

The *Times* correspondent in Mexico, reviewing the state of affairs in that country on the 26th of March, the date of his letter, says that the Juarez Government has begun to levy forced contributions and taxes on foreigners. Numbers of foreigners, he says, have been ruined by these exactions, but the United States Minister, Mr. Corwin, has, nevertheless, gone out of his way to declare the tax legal. "Not satisfied with the forced contribution, the Government has just decreed a 'forced loan for 1,000,000 dols., to be apportioned among forty individuals, of whom some are Spaniards, and clearly exempted by treaty.'" The correspondent then continues:—

"All these iniquities, however, sink into insignificance when compared with the execution, or more properly speaking, the murder of General Robles. This gentleman, formerly Minister to the United States, served under Miramon; when the outrage upon the British legation was perpetrated he at once threw up his commission. He was arrested when within three leagues of the French outposts. The news of his arrest was telegraphed by Mendoza, the commandant of Puebla, on the night of the 21st. No reply was sent to this telegram, as Mendoza was known to be a friend of the general's, but a courier was sent off at once with directions to avoid Puebla, and make his way direct to San Andres de Chichicomula, the head-quarters of the Mexican army, with orders to try him under that disgraceful law of the 25th of January, and shoot him at once. Immediately his arrest became known every possible interest was made on his behalf. Being universally respected as a gentleman, a man of honour, and one who had the interest of his country really at heart, he commanded the sympathies of all parties. This was enough to insure his condemnation with the present party. Notwithstanding the most urgent interference on the part of Baron Wagner, and in open violation of the preliminaries, he was shot as a traitor on the morning of the 24th. Within my recollection no event has created so great a sensation in Mexico."

"The number of French troops who took up their quarters at Tehuacan appear to have been about 3000. Since then further reinforcements have arrived at Vera Cruz; and it is expected by the end of the month that General Lorencez will have about 10,000 men under his command—a force more than sufficient to make their way from one end of the Republic to the other. Yesterday advices reached this city that General Prim had been superseded by General Dulce, who had arrived at Vera Cruz, some say, with an additional 6000 men. Mr. Corwin has been indefatigable in his endeavours to frustrate the objects of the intervention. He has been doing his utmost to support the present Government by every means in his power; and to-day it is confidently reported that a treaty was signed yesterday, 'by which Mexico was to cede to the United States a portion of the Northern States and the waste lands in other parts of the Republic, receiving in return some 20,000,000 dols., and the assistance of 8000 men.' Although I cannot positively affirm that this treaty has been signed, yet I know that it has been for some time under consideration, and that it is nearly sure to be so as soon as certain intelligence of the march of the French reaches the capital."

"A Conservative organ, published under the rose, has just been handed to me, which states that the chiefs of that party have agreed to the following Articles:—

"1. To recognize Almonte as chief of the Republic and of the forces which adhere to this plan."

"2. The said Almonte to be fully empowered to enter into an arrangement with the chiefs of the allied forces to convoke a National Assembly, to take into consideration the deplorable state of the country, decide upon the form of government, put a stop to anarchy, and assure to Mexicans peace and order."

"This shows pretty clearly the opinion of that party."

The *Little Rock True Democrat* asserts, that when the enemy invaded Benton and Washington counties, Ark., the Federal commanders, took all young men they could find, put arms in their hands, then placed them in the front ranks, and told them they must fight. They were compelled to take the oath.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1862.

Our Name.

THE choice of name for a newspaper must needs be arbitrary, and is even more a matter of fancy than the choice of name for a child. No one expects an "Examiner" to be more acute in penetration, a "Spectator" to be more contemplative, an "Observer" more quick-sighted, or a "Courier" more expeditious than other journals less well-named. Nor would it be easy to discover any special appropriateness or inappropriateness in the currently accepted newspaper nomenclature, which ransacks the firmament and all that therein is, the beasts and fowls of the earth, and even the insect world, in search of its vocabulary.

While, then, we may claim that our name is no more inappropriate, nor more oddly sounding to the ear when first used, than newspaper names generally, we may also claim for it the rare merit of originality and novelty. But we contend that our name is by no means so inappropriate as at first glance might appear. If THE INDEX should be fortunate enough to point the way to a more speedy settlement of the unfortunate American war, or if it should serve as a guide to a better understanding of the real character of a greatly-calumniated people, we might well congratulate ourselves on the choice of our title.

The manners and customs of the Confederate States, their resources and capabilities, and the real status of their people in the work of civilization, are still a sealed book to the intelligence of Europe, despite the labours of statisticians, travellers, publicists, and philosophers. If to this sealed book, which contains much worth studying, THE INDEX can act that humble part which is intended to awake the interest of an indifferent reader, and induce him to turn over the pages, we shall have attained the highest reward of our labours. And if we can perform the same modest office for the people of the Confederate States, and tempt them to delve more deeply than heretofore, into the rich mines of British thought, and bring them back to a closer intellectual communion with the parent source of their language and literature, we shall have made THE INDEX both a significant and a proud name.

Our Object.

It has been thought advisable to issue this Journal for the following reasons:—In the first place, there are many millions of people, kinsmen of the people of this country, who have now been for some time shut out from all communication with the rest of the civilized world. To any statement of the loss and suffering they endure, it will be replied, that these are the consequences brought upon themselves by their own act; but the blockade which stifles them is also, in one most important direction, a blockade of the industry of Europe. Great interests are affected by it, entirely innocent of offence. If the Southern States formed a country like Japan or Madagascar, it might be of little concern here what the destruction of property or life with which they are visited, simply because they desire that self-government which Englishmen practise them-

selves, and usually commend to others. But, instead of isolation of this kind, they are more peculiarly and closely connected with the largest industrial class of Europe than any other country whatever. When interests so great as these are thus interwoven, nothing that affects the one can be matter of indifference to the other.

In the next place, it is notorious that the Government of Washington exercises now another rigid blockade,—that of the intelligence of the Northern people; permitting only that to pass which has first obtained its approval. The system of passports, and the employment of spies, has indeed been abandoned; but its control of the telegraph and censorship of the press have become more and more rigid. In many countries freedom of the press is restrained by law, and infractions of such law are visited with the penalties provided for them. In the United States the perfect freedom of the press is an absolute provision of the Federal Constitution, which declares, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Hence it is altogether beyond the power of the Supreme Legislature of the country to enact any law interfering with the liberty of the press, which stands upon the same foundation, and is sanctioned by the same authority as the Congress or the President, for all came into existence under the provisions of the same instrument. And if there be any one of them which was held more sacred than the others by those who framed that Constitution, that one is the freedom of the press. Thus, when the State of Virginia ratified the Constitution, she passed a declaratory Act, bearing date 26th June, 1788, in which are these words,—"*The liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States.*" But what the law cannot do, and what the Constitution absolutely prohibits, is now in full operation by those who are urging this war in the name of that Constitution; who vindicate their reverence for it by treating its enactments with contempt, and, with a logic happily unknown in Europe, break it to keep it intact.

Three great political principles were especially cherished by the founders of the Republic—freedom of person, of speech, of the press. The whole of these have been violated, not in some special instance, under peculiar circumstances, with hesitation or regret, but openly, throughout the whole of the North, on the most trivial occasions, and without the slightest affectation of concern. Apologists plead as an excuse, that the national safety is in jeopardy. Is, then, a Constitution intended as a guide in days of tranquility and ease alone? Freedom of person or of speech will not be endangered in times of prosperity and peace, but in those of turmoil and excitement; and thus at the only time when these safeguards of the Constitution come into vitality, they are spurned. This is as if a shelter should be carefully preserved so long as there be sunshine, to be levelled with the ground when it begins to rain.

And where is this national safety endangered? The Federal Union consists of an indefinite number of distinct states, each separately organized. At what particular cypher of an indeterminate number does the national safety reside? That number is now 34 states, but the national safety was not a matter of apprehension when there were but 20. It may be answered, that there has been a principle of constant growth, entirely free from danger. But the Union has safely existed under a reduced number. Of the 13 original states only 11 were in the Union for a period of two years. Where was the national safety then? Texas was an independent sovereign state, acknowledged as such by several Powers. The safety of no one was endangered by this, and if there was security at that period, why this alarm because Texas reverts to the position she held before? Further, the Constitution expressly provides for a condition of affairs in which one-third of the states then existing might be apart from and foreign to the rest. This is all that Secession amounts to—that a third of the states desired to occupy that position, in relation to the rest for which the Constitution expressly provided in the first instance.

But whatever the hollowness or the validity of

the excuses for the existing state of affairs, there can exist no doubt as to the fact that all the intelligence permitted to the public in the Northern States, and transmitted to Europe, is confined to such statements as meet the views of the Washington Government. The ear of Europe is condemned on the one side to silence, and on the other to listen only to that which has passed through a bureau, and has been approved by a censor. If this be so, it cannot but be desirable that some means should be provided through which the public may be enabled to hear both sides. None will dispute the old adage that "one tale's good until the other's told." The only manner in which intelligence can be obtained from the South, at the present time, is by the letters arriving, many of them from Englishmen and from writers whose standing in the community is well known. Of these not a few are coloured with strong personal feeling, but the majority contain information of much value. We shall be enabled largely to avail ourselves of these sources of information, and it is believed that, by a continuous and careful selection from them, much truth may be elicited. We propose to give weekly all intelligence of interest received from the North, and to accompany it with a commentary, in which we shall endeavour to point out what may appear to us entirely fictitious and what exaggerated. In this task we have reason to expect the assistance of those who, from long residence in the country, will be able to bring to the investigation the best of all implements—knowledge.

Of the importance of arriving at the truth in the present conjuncture few can entertain a doubt. There is, indeed, no problem of which the correct solution is so essential to Europe at the present moment as that which involves the question, whether a new Power is really added to the family of nations—whether a great outlet for the industry, and a vast field for the enterprize, of the Old World, are cleared from artificial obstructions; or whether this great movement is to prove but any abortive effort, to be crushed by greater power, and swell still further the magniloquence of 4th of July orations? It may be said that time will assuredly answer the question. But the steed starves whilst the grass is growing. Tens of thousands are pining in want this day, and their number must increase week by week; these cannot bid their hunger wait for years. The day will assuredly arrive when it must become the imperative duty of the European Governments to decide the question for themselves. Here, over a dominion the size of twenty kingdoms, there exists a Government now in the second year of its existence, appointed by the formal action of the Legislature of each of the Confederate States, and in each of them sanctioned by a vote of the people—maintaining in the field an army of more than 300,000 men—upheld by many millions of people, with a self-sacrifice, a devotion, and a unanimity rarely equalled in modern history, and sustaining law, order, freedom of speech and freedom of the press throughout its wide domain. As a question of fact, is this a Government or is it not? Once admitted to be such, it is then the bounden duty of other Powers to acknowledge and recognize the fact. If disputed, and held to be only an effort to form a Government, the Powers will, in that view, await the development of events. When and how finally to decide is an anxious consideration very rapidly approaching, critical in its consequences both to the Old and the New World. What effort can be idle whose aim is to bring forward evidence, and throw light upon the subject?

But when we state that the leading object of this journal will be to advocate the cause of the Southern Union, let it not be assumed that this will be done in the spirit of heated partizans. We believe it to be the cause of justice and of truth, and hold that it cannot be served by suppressing truth or distorting it. Our columns will be open to any writer of ability on the other side. The defects and shortcomings of the Southern States we shall make no attempt to conceal; on the contrary, we propose to call an error an error, and a defect a defect; taking as a guide the last message of the Southern President to its Congress, in which facts grievously depressing

are stated in simple English, with that manly candour which is above the fear of shrinking from the truth. There are those who thought the tone of that message, contrasting so directly as it did with the Northern style, was a proof of debility, if not of abandoned hope. Let those who thus judged study the events that have since occurred; the endurance of that little island, the vigour displayed at the battle in Tennessee, the judgment in the defence of Yorktown, the skill in the construction of the Merrimac; and they will find that these qualities may exist, and do exist, without Mr. Lincoln's policy of concealment, or the boastful arrogance of the North.

The Latest News from the War.

THE latest news from the war is calculated to verify the opinions of those who, from the first, held it to be impossible to subjugate a country so vast and so difficult as the Southern States, if the people were resolved to be free. For the first campaign of the Northern army allowances were naturally made. It was obvious that sufficient time had not elapsed to permit of that degree of discipline, without which an invading army must be exposed to disaster, and, if repulsed, to ruin. This cannot now be alleged. Six months were devoted to drill, and nothing but drill; all the materials of war were collected with an energy and recklessness of cost both unequalled. The number was stated at 700,000, and probably has actually reached 500,000 men under arms; and when so enormous an army was launched against forces very much smaller, with very inferior equipments, with resources impoverished and blockaded, it was natural for all who regarded merely the surface of things to look forward to a triumphal march. To the eye of the politicians of New York, the prospect would be still more delusive. With regiments of brave men hourly passing along Broadway; with evidences on all sides of the marvellous energy, wealth, and power, which every visitor to that city beholds with astonishment; with drums and flags and news-boys, and sympathetic excitement so contagious and so intoxicating—how was it possible for men, animated by passionate feelings and surrounded by such circumstances, to withdraw the mind from their influence, and look thoughtfully into other considerations distant and obscure, but which, on the actual field of battle, decide the fate of a campaign, or the issue of a war?

In truth, correct opinions were equally impossible with either section of the excited combatants, and could only be expected from those able to judge with calmness, to estimate the real proportions of facts, and, from experience or study of military history, to appreciate and foresee the difficulties which would be experienced in such an enterprise. This great army, after long preparation, moved forward, apparently with irresistible weight. The usual expression in the North was, not that it would defeat its opponents, but that it would "crush" them. At first there were small successes magnified, and proclaimed so loudly that many wavered in opinion as to the result. But who ever heard of an invasion that was not at first successful? No movement of the kind is attempted except by a superior force; and at the first onset that superiority sweeps all before it, as a great wave moving onward to the shore. But after a time that wave has lost its united force, it sinks into the sand, or falls back broken and subdued. This is really the question; not what may be the invading force or the effect of its first onset, but how far the impulsion will carry it, whether overwhelmingly to the end, or but midway to idle purpose.

The campaign is now, in point of time, far advanced; and what is the position of the Northern armies? That in the far West, as a result of the so-called victory of Pea Ridge, is driven out of Arkansas, and has fallen back into Missouri. That of the centre has narrowly escaped destruction on the Tennessee, and claims a victory because it was not wholly destroyed, and only lost a few thousand prisoners and 30 or 40 guns. That of the East,

after an unhappy march, solely to contemplate the scene of former defeat and return from it, is now arrested at Yorktown, with all military probabilities strong against it. From the expeditions on the coasts there come few tidings. To the North no news is bad news. An expenditure of three millions of dollars every day, and the rapid approach of the sickly season, are matters that cannot brook delay. In addition to these facts, there are others of grave importance. The empty theory, so often reiterated, of "Union sentiment" is thoroughly exposed; the negroes, said to be so cruelly used, strange to say, took no advantage of the opportunity to rise upon or even to desert their old masters; and the determination of the people of the South is proved in the destruction of their property as the invaders approach it.

The latest accounts render it plain that the battle on the Tennessee was a decided victory for the South. On the first day they routed the Northern army, captured a division with its general, drove the Federals to the river's brink, and occupied the whole of their camps. Night came on, during which the Federals were largely reinforced; but in spite of this the Southern army renewed the attack on the following morning, and again with success up to two o'clock. The magnitude of the reinforcements received by the Federals then induced General Beauregard to fall back to his original position, which he did in perfect order, unmolested by the enemy, who were in little condition to follow him; and taking with him the prisoners and guns he had captured. These are the facts deduced from Northern accounts. By the present mail it appears that Beauregard asserts the number of his prisoners to be 8000 to 10,000. In that of the guns he differs by one only from a detailed Northern account.

It appears that a Northern "semi-official" account has been published, which states that the Southern army was routed, and is now shut up in Corinth. Statements of this kind are a matter-of-course. What can be the use of controlling all the intelligence of a country to give facts simply as they occur? All Governments desire to avoid, if they can, the publication of disaster: and, in this case, the war, and all its consequences, absolutely depend on credit which may be prostrated any day by a panic. The statement itself is very easily seen through. If the Confederates were "routed," how comes it they were able to carry off, not only their own guns, but thirty-five or thirty-six of those of the enemy; and if General Grant pursued, how comes it he only went as far as "previous orders permitted?" Was anything in war ever heard of more absurd than orders to prevent a commander pursuing a "routed" enemy? What is the object of fighting a battle if the fruits of success are not to be gathered? Besides, General Grant himself states: "My force was too much fatigued, from two days' hard fighting and exposure in the open air to a drenching rain during the night, to pursue immediately." The account given by a Northern paper, the *Gazette*, appears to give the real truth, in these words: "On Sunday we were pushed from disaster to disaster, till we lost every division camp we had, and were driven within half a mile of the landing, when the approach of night, the timely aid of the gunboats, the tremendous efforts of our artillerists, and Buell's approach, saved us. On Monday, after nine hours' hard fighting, we simply regained what we had lost on Sunday; not a division advanced half a mile beyond our old camps of Monday except General Wallace's. The lowest estimates place our loss, in killed and wounded, at 3300, and in prisoners 3300 to 4000." That this was a great battle, and a victory to one side or the other, is very clear; and it is usually considered that victory rests with those who take the prisoners and guns, and not with those who lose them. Its moral effect throughout the South is apparent in many directions, and this is the most important of all the results of victory.

The statement that Fort Pulaski has fallen appears to be true, although given in the form of all most improbable—that of a surrender to gunboats. That it must fall if attacked from the rear has been regarded as certain, and this may have occurred. Isolated as it stands at present, the event would

have little importance, were it not that it will enable the gunboats to enter the Savannah River, and proceed towards the city: which, however, has repelled before now the attack of a great fleet and a combined army, and that when a village as compared with its present importance.

The Merrimac has again given considerable annoyance by the capture of three Northern vessels within sight of their fleet. Surprise is expressed that she did not proceed to attack the Monitor; but the harbour of Hampton Roads is very much restricted by shallows, as the last conflict proved, and it would hardly suit the Merrimac, with her draught of water, to give to the Monitor the selection of the spot for an engagement. Besides, she has a far more important duty to perform than that of engaging the Monitor, which is to keep the James River closed. In the present critical state of affairs at the lines of Yorktown, her service in sealing the James River is of more value than an army of 30,000 men. It would, therefore, be unwise to enter from choice into any encounter in which she might be disabled, even but for a few days.

The latest telegram gives the important intelligence that "General McClellan is in the best spirits, and sanguine of his ability to drive the enemy out of Yorktown and Virginia." Favourable facts must be very scanty when such information as this is conveyed to Europe. Nor is it apparent why that General's spirits should be so buoyant on making the discovery that he has placed himself in the most hopeless position ever occupied by an army in modern times. The Southern States cover a million of square miles, and in all that expanse it is difficult to discover a more awkward position for an army invading them, than to be planted on the end of a peninsula, between two rivers, and shut out from the country by a wall of fortifications. If these are of such strength as to require regular approaches—in other words, the slow operations of a siege—how many generations of men will be born and die before a country of that extent will be conquered at this rate of progression?

The truth is, that these advices simply vindicate the sound opinions expressed from the first in Europe—that, assuming the people of the South to be in earnest, the conquest of such a country is an impossibility. The Federals have done all that men could do, far more than they themselves believed to be within their power, far more than any one in Europe would have credited had it been predicted. But all this is vain. Let anyone consider their position at this moment, before they have even begun to feel the effects of exhausting marches, of deficient food, of a dangerous climate; and he will have little difficulty in seeing that they have undertaken what they cannot accomplish, and that a continuance of the war will only be ruinous to themselves and disastrous to other countries.

Cotton Prospects.

THE important intelligence we publish to day from our well-informed Paris correspondent gives a definite and tangible shape to the vague rumours which, for some days past, have been rife in the City and in Liverpool. There seems to be little room for doubt that the French Emperor has decided upon such measures as may most speedily lead to a termination of the war—friendly but firm remonstrance at Washington—an armed demonstration if this proves ineffectual. We fully concur with our Paris correspondent that France sincerely desires the co-operation of England, and would be reluctant to act without it; but if the repeated appeals to the British cabinet fail, as heretofore, in producing practical results, we believe that the Emperor will not reconsider a determination once deliberately taken. Surely a more tempting opportunity for playing in America, as in Europe, the role of tutelary Power of oppressed nationalities, and of placing England in the second rank in the decision of great problems of international politics, could not be offered to his comprehensive genius, than the continued refusal of Great Britain to take a decisive stand in a ques-

tion so closely concerning her most important interests.

Our object, however, is not at present to speculate upon the political bearings of this interesting intelligence. Assuming that French intervention is nearer at hand than we believe it to be—delayed as it still is by diplomatic complications of a serious nature—and that, in consequence, the Confederate ports are again opened to the commerce of the world, what will be the probable effect of this event upon the industry of Lancashire and the markets of Liverpool and Manchester?

To form an intelligent judgment on this subject, it must be kept in mind that, under the most favourable circumstances—the immediate repudiation of the blockade, supported by a competent naval force, to sweep every blockading vessel from the Confederate coast—the supplies of cotton must still continue for many months to be scant and dear. Nature has arranged for the Southern States a business season which man cannot invert. As the staple matures, the rivers, without which cotton lands are of little value, begin to rise; and during the long harvesting of the crops—the so-called picking season—bale after bale, in small lots, so soon as ready for the market, are placed on board the fleet of steamers which swarm on every navigable water-course. At the same time the seaport cities become healthy, and admit of the immigration of a large white labouring-class from the North, who are indispensable to the proper and prompt disposal of the crop. Thus, the picking, ginning, baling, transportation, and sale of the staple, are so nearly simultaneous, that when the last bale is picked on the plantation, the business season in the seaport is already drawing to its close.

Contrast with this the conditions under which the crop of 1861 is to be moved, should the ports be opened during the summer. The rivers are low, and navigable only for boats of the lightest draughts. Of such boats no new ones have been built for the trade, as is usual even in ordinary seasons; but a great many have been converted to warlike purposes. The cotton lies unginned in the plantations, and though a bountiful supply of Gunsey bags and iron ties from this country may, in a measure, remove this difficulty, these supplies must first reach the planter ere the cotton can be made ready for shipment. Suppose all these obstacles removed, whence shall come the necessary labour at the seaport? The class which always supplied it—even if it could endure the fatal summer heats, and yellow fever was banished from the Gulf coasts—now composes the bulk of the Federal armies. Will these be instantly disbanded, and if so, will the Confederates permit, without question, the same invasion which in another form they have poured out their life-blood to resist?

These are but a tithe of the insuperable practical difficulties in the way of a regular and sufficient supply of cotton until the winter months. But there is yet another and still weightier consideration. The cotton will not be sent us: we must send for it. The ships which will hasten westward will not go empty. We know that the South is quite as destitute of manufactured goods as we are of the raw material; and if there are five millions on this side the Atlantic waiting for cotton to give them work and bread, there are eight millions on the other side waiting quite as anxiously for cotton fabric to clothe their limbs. It can scarcely be estimated what an enormous amount of sheetings, shirtings, prints, muslins, and every form that manufactured cotton takes, the Southern population will be ready to absorb when their ports are open. Besides, this is the only manner in which the staple can be paid for; the whole former system of exchanges being levelled to the ground, and its very foundation upturned. The first in the race to take advantage of the change will find cheap cotton, and high prices for goods; the last in the race will find glutted markets for goods, and cotton scarce and dear.

We predict, therefore, that the effects of intervention, for at least the next six months, must be, not any considerable reduction in the price of cotton, but an unprecedented appreciation in the value of manufactured goods.

The Oath of Allegiance.

Or late years the common convenience of nations, and the maintenance of public peace and morality, have sanctioned a conviction at law in the case of absent persons charged with particular offences and termed, in legal parlance, *par contumace*. But this has only held in criminal cases, and has been narrowly watched in constitutional countries, as was notoriously the fact in the trials which arose out of the infamous Orsini Conspiracy. It has been reserved for the Government at Washington to endeavour to extend something like this principle to cases which widely differ from those to which this legal process has been allowed to apply. They have proposed an Act to Congress, to compel all subjects of the United States to appear before the consul or other accredited agent of their Government in foreign countries, and to take the oath of allegiance, of course under pains and penalties in case of non-compliance. Now, although past history and experience does not allow us to lay much stress upon the care or caution of the Federal Government in conducting its proceedings towards those whom, in defiance of common sense, and the unanimous and widely expressed feeling of civilized Europe, they persist in calling rebels, it will be useful to protest, in the name of law and order, against such assumption, and to point out how vitally it militates against the declared spirit of British freedom, as well as the interests of humanity at large. And, although such a protest would, of course, little affect persons who view with acquiescence, if not with favour, the overriding of the law of the land by the dictum of one man, and the annulling of the Supreme Judges' decision, or even action, by the bare authority of a Secretary of State, as has lately been perpetrated by Mr. Seward—the only instance in the history of the last century, except the infamous Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution; yet there are others who may view this attempt in its proper light, and whose voices may yet be heard with effect, when the howl of passion has exhausted itself by the mere force of its violence. In all cases where penalties are sought to be enforced against persons who do not comply with requisitions, the first duty which justice requires from those who seek to enforce the penalty is, to fix beyond a doubt, personal service of notice on the offender, and his reasonable knowledge of the requirement. The only instance where such action is known to us in England, as affecting foreigners enjoying the hospitality of this country, is the edict of the Czar of Russia, recalling to their country subjects of his, who either transgress some law of the Empire, or break some rule or condition, under which they were allowed to leave it. We have had an instance this week, in the public journals, of exile pronounced against Prince Dolgorouky, and penalties announced against him under such conditions. There are, also, certain cases of Prussian officers, with similar attendant circumstances; but there is this very marked distinction between their character and that of the persons sought to be affected by this Act: they left their country with this very condition attached to their absence, while the liability is sought here to be affixed by *ex post facto* legislation. Now, the law of asylum, accorded both by this country and France, to those foreigners who live peaceably under the protection of the laws, militates most materially against the assumption of penal jurisdiction over them, except in cases of criminal offences, provided for by extradition treaties; and, as to the spirit of the people of these realms, we need only suppose an exactly parallel case to test with what scorn and indignation an attempt of the kind would be scouted by the entire nation. Let us suppose a public notice was given by the Emperor of Austria to cite Kossuth before the ambassador, to take the oath of allegiance to the Government he has defied and fled from. Espartero, flying for his life after his unsuccessful bombardment of Seville, was safe from all process the moment he touched the deck of Her Majesty's ship *Malabar*, in the bay of Cadiz; and even the ruffian

Miramon was protected by the French captain, *Le Roy*, the moment he came under the tricolor, though justly branded as a burglar and murderer. It is fair to conclude, that any attempt at a public enforcement of penalties against persons peaceably living under the protection of the English and French laws, would rouse the just indignation of both those magnanimous peoples, who have proclaimed to the world their determination to support the *droit d'asyle* to the last drop of blood, and the last mite in the treasury. And yet, without a public and formal demand, how can the Act be brought home to individuals? On the whole, therefore, we must judge this to be but one other attempt at supreme and unaccountable despotism, which is the principle and action of the Government at Washington. *Le Roi le veut* is Mr. Seward's maxim; but there is another will which, perhaps, he will one day or other find out to his cost. In the meantime he may rest assured, that as far as the people of this country are concerned, they will take care that in these realms, at least, the Act, if passed, will remain a dead letter, as well as a lasting reproach against those who have endeavoured to foist upon the records of human law an edict which offends common humanity.

A SINGULAR illustration of the courteous and cousinly feeling entertained by the Northern Americans towards the people of this country has just come to our knowledge. One of the largest commercial firms in the United Kingdom, equally well known on both sides of the Atlantic, had returned to them, by the last New York steamer, all the circulars they had, according to long-standing usage, addressed to their numerous correspondents in the United States, with the following stamped endorsement:—

SENT BACK TO ENGLAND,
WITHOUT A REASON
FOR NON-DELIVERY.

At first it was supposed that the American correspondents had really refused to receive the circulars, the more as the firm had reason to believe that a war of persecution had been inaugurated against them on account of the views of one of the members of the firm on the American difficulties. Shipmasters had been warned that they must have no connection, however slight, with the firm in question, if they expected to be employed in Northern ports. But the existence of such private hostilities could not be made to account for the simultaneous return of business circulars by hundreds of correspondents living at places widely remote. It becomes apparent, therefore, that this return can only have taken place in pursuance of a general order from the Post Office Department, refusing to these circulars the facilities of the mail, a course quite familiar to the Washington authorities in the case of obnoxious newspapers, but never heretofore practised by any civilized Government towards the business correspondence of a friendly foreign country. It must be added that even Jeffries himself could not have detected treason or connivance with treason, in the contents of the circulars, and that the only imaginable reason for this summary disposal of them must have been the name of the firm printed on the back of them.

WE have great pleasure in announcing that the daring gallantry of Captain Wilson, of the *Emily St. Pierre*, and his cook and steward, is to be suitably rewarded by the merchants of Liverpool, who intend making a handsome presentation to them on Saturday next, the 3rd instant, at the Marine Association Rooms there. We also hear that it is proposed by the Mercantile Marine Association to present Captain Wilson very shortly a gold medal, as a mark of their approbation.

ONE of the rarest instances of patriotism on record, is that afforded by the banks of the city of New Orleans, which, though restrained by the authorities from paying out specie in large amounts, have for some time supplied, and at last advices still continued

to supply, the Confederate soldiers daily leaving New Orleans for the seats of war, with gold and silver in small amounts, at par, either for the bank notes of the respective States, or the notes of the Confederate Treasury.

THE spirit of poetic love for Old England has not died out in the Southern States, if we may judge from the following stanzas, which we find in the New Orleans *Picayune* of the 15th March:—

ENGLAND.

HER TWO DEFENCES.

Thou hast thy mighty bulwarks,
Thou Island of the Brave,
Who sittest on thy sea-girt throne
The Empress of the Wave:
Stretching thy sceptre o'er the sea,
With proud imperial smile,
Waving the banner of the free
O'er ocean and o'er isle.

Thou hast thy bristling ramparts,
Where thund'ring cannon roar;
Thou hast thy stately "walls of oak,"
At vigil round thy shore;
And many a gallant argosy
Breaks proudly ocean's foam,
Streaming thy pennon on the breeze
That waits thy treasures home.

Aye! spears like forests will arise
Around thy peaceful bowers,
Ere banner of a foreign foe
Shall flaunt on England's towers.
The strong will man thy battlements,
The weak will scorn to flee:
E'en woman rise in thy defence,
Oh, Island of the Free!

But thou hast a nobler bulwark
To guard thy hallow'd sod:
The Church, all glorious, lifting up
The banner of thy God!
The Church, though weak in carnal might,
Yet strong in faith and love—
Drawing her stores of life and light
From Treasury above.

Thou hast a dauntless people,
Right loyal to their Lord,
Whose ægis is the "Shield of Faith,"
Whose might, the spirit's sword.
Firm and gallant is their strife,
'Gainst wrong, and grief, and sin,
Their battle-field, the path of life,
Their warfare, all within.

Exhaustless are their treasures—
Though some do prize them not—
The Word of God, in palaces,
The Word in hall and cot:
The Balm of Life and words of peace
For every grief and wound,
And jubilees, or full release,
For souls that sin hath bound.

Oh, England, mighty England!
No towers can be thy trust,
No battled walls nor banner'd heights
Soon crumbling into dust:
The Church—thy life, thy true defence—
The arm of God shall be
For bulwarks and for battlements,
'Lone Island of the Free!

THE Federal generals have at last discovered a short and speedy road to Richmond, as will be perceived by the following from the New York *Post*:—

General Porter went up in the balloon at 5 o'clock this morning, and when about 100 feet above the ground the rope anchoring the balloon broke, and the General sailed off south-westerly toward Richmond. He was alone, but had sufficient calmness to pull the valve-rope, and gradually descended, reaching the ground in safety, about three miles from camp.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG ON THE SEAS.

On the 20th of April, 1861, the steamer Havana (of the New Orleans and Havana line) was lying at the wharf in New Orleans. About 12 o'clock a tug boat came alongside, with orders to take her across the river to Algiers; she had been bought by the Confederate Government, and her name was hereafter to be the Sumter.

On the 21st, carpenters were at work on her, tearing down the cabins on deck, cutting her up into different compartments, ripping up the decks, making store rooms, strengthening her with heavy beams for guns, &c. More than a month elapsed before she

could receive her armament. At length the happy day arrived when we were to go into commission with the following list of officers:—

Commander Raphael Lemmes, in command.

Lieutenants—	Engineer, J. M. Truman.
J. M. Kell.	Midshipmen—
Robert Chapman.	W. A. Hicks.
J. M. Stribling.	F. A. Armstrong.
W. E. Evans.	J. Hudgins.
Paymaster, Henry Myers.	J. D. Wilson.
Surgeon, Frank Galt.	J. Holden.
Marine Officer, B. K. Howell.	

At this time a melancholy accident occurred to mar our hopes. One of our midshipmen, J. Holden, and a boat's crew went out to place an anchor in the river to prevent the swinging of the receiving ship, the Star of the West, and while in the act of dropping the anchor the boat capsized in the rapid current, by which the midshipman and three of the crew were drowned.

A short trial trip up the river to test her speed, and try the guns, and we were ready for sea. On the 18th of June, having everything on board, we left New Orleans, and dropped down to Fort Jackson, where we anchored in order to give the men some exercise at the guns before venturing out to meet the foe, who were in sight, and no doubt anxious to take the first vessel of the Confederate navy. The Sumter remained at Fort Jackson, exercising at targets with both heavy guns, muskets, and revolvers. After some time had been passed in this constant exercise by day, and doubly more constant exercise by the mosquitos at night, a telegram came, saying the bar was clear. In a moment the clink of the chain could be heard coming in through the pipes, and every heart on board was full with hope. Two hours after we were quietly anchored near the bar of the great Father of Waters—having found that the blockading squadron was still at anchor on the bar.

The next and every day while we remained in the river, the dull, heavy reports of our large guns, and the rattle of musketry, startled the denizens of the marshes bordering the mighty muddy Mississippi. Just outside the bar could be seen the Brooklyn and Powhattan, steam frigates of the enemy, with a number of smaller steamers. The Brooklyn, we knew, was the fastest as well as the largest of the squadron, her armament being 21 guns, 9 and 10 inch. We kept a close watch on her movements.

Look at the position of the vessels! At anchor outside the bar were several ships eager to pounce upon their prey; inside the bar was one little steamer that, two months ago, was following the uninterrupted course of peaceful commerce, and now the navy of a vast empire was arrayed against her.

About the 24th of June, it was reported that the Brooklyn had left the bar. The Sumter immediately got under way and stood down the river; but the "big enemy," as we called the Brooklyn, had returned; so we went quietly back to our anchorage up the river. On the 29th, we got our last letters from those dear to us at our homes. Sweethearts and wives were drunk to on that Saturday night; for we all thought that when the next Saturday came around, some of us would not be there to toast the dear ones left behind.

Early on Sunday morning, the 30th, it was reported from the mast-head that the Brooklyn had left the bar, in chase of a vessel. Now was our time; in the twinkling of an eye our anchor was up, and the dense volume of impenetrably black smoke that issued from our chimney told that the engineers intended to do their part. Down the muddy stream we went. When within six miles of the bar the Brooklyn saw us, and changed her course. On we dashed, both ships about six miles from the passing point, and both doing their best to get there first.

The Sumter has the current in her favour, but the Brooklyn has the long-reaching guns, and, from the smoothness of the water, they can be played with terrible effect. We beat to quarters, intending to sell the little ship dearly if we found the enemy faster than ourselves. The Sumter crossed the bar and rounded the mud banks to the eastward; as she did so the Brooklyn gave her a shot from her pivot guns, which fell short. Then the race commenced in earnest; the Sumter leading, the Brooklyn in pursuit. A heavy squall of wind and rain came up;

neither vessel could see the other; when the clouds passed away there was our enemy under all sail and steam, and evidently gaining on us. We hauled up two points, which brought the wind so far forward that the Brooklyn could not carry sail; we left her astern once more. But now we were out of fresh water and into the salt, our boilers commenced to foam, and again this monster was rapidly approaching. We slackened our speed for a few moments, and then commenced the sixty-five turns of our wheel; we gradually left her, and at four o'clock (we crossed the bar at twelve) we had the satisfaction of seeing her give up the chase, put her helm up, and return to the mouth of the river. Then three hearty cheers went up from our little vessel, and the race was won. The Confederate flag was on the seas.

THE FIRST PRIZE.

THE two vessels from this time steered in opposite directions, and the Brooklyn was soon lost sight of. At sunset, the whole Confederate navy was alone on the broad ocean, consisting of one little steamer mounting five guns, and carrying as a crew, 100 men. What a force, to attempt to dispute the sea with the vaunted 20,000 men of our Northern enemies! Yet the die was cast, and I believe that no breast on board our little ship would have wished for shore again, even if such a wish had been practicable.

We steered for Cape San Antonio, on the west end of Cuba; the water so smooth and the vessel so steady, that, if it had not been for the constant exercise at the baterns, one could almost have imagined the Sumter a "painted ship upon a painted ocean."

After passing San Antonio, we got into the trade winds with a heavy head-sea; boarded and ascertained the nationality of a Spanish bark, and stood on our course to the West. On the 3rd of July, about three o'clock, p.m., made a sail in shore of us, beating to windward. From the courses the two vessels were steering, they would come in contact, and, to avoid suspicion, we kept steadily on our course. When within two miles of the stranger we hoisted English colours. Up went the Stars and Stripes of the United States from the stranger. The English colours were at once hauled down, the Stars and Bars replaced the crown of St. George; a shot was fired across the bow of the Yankee ship, and our first prize was secure. The ship proved to be the Golden Rocket, from Maine, bound to Cienfuegos. She had no cargo; and, not wishing to send a prize crew off at such an early period of the cruise—after having taken her crew to our own vessel—we set fire to the prize. It was about ten o'clock at night when the first glare of light burst from her cabin-hatch. Few, few on board, can ever forget the spectacle. A ship set fire to at sea! it would seem that man was almost warring with his Maker. Her helpless condition, the red flames licking the rigging as they climbed aloft; the sparks, and pieces of burning rope taken off by the wind, and flying miles to leeward; the ghastly glare thrown upon the dark sea, as far as the eye could reach; and then the death-like stillness of the scene; all these combined to place the Golden Rocket on the tablets of our memories for ever. But, notwithstanding the reluctance with which we did it, we would not have missed the opportunity for anything on earth. We wanted no war; we wanted peace; we had dear friends among those who were making war upon us; and for their sakes, if not for the sake of humanity, we hoped to be allowed to separate in peace; but it could not be; they forced the war upon us—they endeavoured to destroy us. For this, and this alone, we burn their ships and destroy their commerce; we have no feeling of enmity against them, and all we ask is to be let alone, to be allowed to tread the path we have chosen for ourselves.

We steamed away as rapidly as possible from this sight, fraught with so many sad reflections, and by one o'clock in the morning the last glimmer of the burning ship sunk beneath the horizon, and the Golden Rocket was no more.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

OFF TO THE WARS.

THE twenty-third of April, 1861, is a day long to be remembered in the local traditions of the city of Mobile. About noon the rumour had flashed through the town that the Governor of Alabama had accepted the services of the Mobile Cadets, and of another volunteer company, and had summoned both to repair instantly to the capital of the state, then also the provisional capital of the new-born Confederacy. Four hours are a brief space of time for preparation and leave-taking to men who are suddenly summoned from home and family and business to battle-fields a thousand miles away. Yet at four in the afternoon a vast multitude had already collected before the city arsenal, where the public arms were deposited, and in the capacious hall of which the two companies were then forming. An hour later the doors were thrown open, and forth stepped, with measured tread, Mobile's first contingent to the War of Independence. It was not now a holiday parade, such as had often enlivened the streets of the peaceful city. The showy uniforms in which, in happier times, harmless citizens delighted to play at soldiering, had been left behind, and officers and men were clad in a stout, serviceable gray, specially selected for a rough campaign. There was something, too, in the countenances of the men, their carriage and bearing, that would have indicated to a mere stranger more impressively than the swelling knapsack and the heavy blanket strapped to it, that the youths before him were animated by a stern resolve in the discharge of a patriotic duty.

At the wharf a halt and a "rest" were ordered, and then came the last leave-taking of mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives; the hand-shakings of friends and companions, the blessings of old men, the final exhortation of father to son, the sobs and tears of agonized women. There was a feeling of relief when the command "Attention" cut short the painful scene. A few minutes later, the two companies had formed again on the upper deck of the steamer, overlooking the agitated sea of human beings that overflowed the wharves and all approaches to them; for the whole population of Mobile had assembled to bid "God speed" to the brave young hearts that day departing, many of them never to return. And now the shrill whistle of the steamer, the splash of revolving wheels, the solemn toll of church bells, the booming of salute guns, cheers after cheers from thousands of lungs, waving of hats and handkerchiefs—and the city of Mobile had lost the *élite* of her youth.

Two hundred young men occupy a small space, numerically, in the population of a large commercial city; but among these young men almost every family of wealth and social standing had its near and dear representative. Most of them had been raised in affluence; a very large proportion were college bred; many had already given promise of distinction at the bar, in literature, or in the higher spheres of commerce. Now they had become common soldiers—mere unthinking machines; whose places, some said, might as well and better have been taken by men less valuable to the community. But the young men thought otherwise. They felt that in the struggle in which their country was engaged, every odd was arrayed against it. They felt that in a war for a nation's existence it was a privilege to be allowed to bear the first brunt; and that it became them, sons of wealth and luxury, to set an example of self-sacrifice, of cheerful devotion, of patient endurance, of orderly demeanour, and true soldierly discipline, to those less favoured by fortune. They did not wait for commissions, so tempting to youthful vanity and even maturer ambitions; but, with a full sense of the consequences, they stepped into the ranks as "enlisted men" for a term of twelve months.

The Mobile Cadets, being the oldest organized volunteer company in the state, claimed the honour of being the first in having their services accepted for actual duty in the field. When the proclamation

of President Lincoln destroyed the faint hopes of peace which had sprung up during the month of his hesitation, the company decided, by a vast majority, to place itself upon a war footing, and tender its services in the proper quarter. The small minority, whom circumstances prevented from joining their comrades were honourably excused, their places supplied by a most fastidious system of balloting among a large number of applicants, a simple and serviceable campaign uniform procured, all deficiencies in equipment and accoutrement supplied, daily morning and evening drill instituted; and in less than ten days a troop of young men, originally united for purpose of military amusement, had been transformed into a well-officered, well disciplined company of soldiers. Nor were the Cadets the only company which pursued this course. In Mobile, and in other cities of the Cotton States, as also in the rural districts, companies similarly situated acted in a similar manner, without awaiting each other's example. There was at first some doubt whether the authorities would receive this class of volunteers, and many weighty objections were raised against it, chiefly on the ground that these young men could be more useful to the state in less humble capacities. But the necessity of promptly pouring upon the exposed frontier of Virginia, then but a few days previously acquired to the Confederacy, troops having already at least the elements of effective organization, and a certain proficiency of drill, prevailed over all other reasons; and thus, on the 23rd of April, five days after the secession of Virginia, the Mobile Cadets received their marching orders to the "Old Dominion." The first levies of the South were exclusively among the gentlemen of the South.

A set of hurried notes, written at irregular intervals, mostly with no better desk than a camp-stool, or a knapsack laid on the grass, can scarcely deserve the name of journal. They were intended to reproduce more vividly at some future day the impressions of the hour to the writer's mind, rather than to serve as a record of adventures, of which, indeed, his connection with the company was singularly barren. Battles and sieges and hair-breadth escapes, therefore, the reader will not find in them, nor even the stories of painful marches or harassing retreats, or much if any of the soldier's stern work. Hardships and fatigues there undoubtedly were, but so light compared to those so bravely borne by others more fortunate in the field of action assigned to them, that memory refuses to chronicle them. The most these unpretending notes can promise is a glimpse into the interior of the armies of the young Republic while it was collecting its resources and gathering strength to resist the blow aimed at its vitals. The creation of an army of 400,000 men scattered over a territory of near a million square miles, within a space of less than twelve months, in the face of an enemy overwhelming in numbers, as in the appliances of war, by a Government scarcely formed, and dating but of yesterday, is a spectacle so novel and so replete with interest, that even the feeblest effort to throw light upon it may not go altogether unrewarded.

The writer's sole object, he frankly admits in advance, is to assist in bringing his countrymen, and their just cause, more favourably before a foreign public than they and their cause have been brought through the representations of their enemies. But he will not seek to further this object by falsifying facts or investing them with a fanciful colouring. To impartiality he does not pretend. No man thoroughly and earnestly enlisted in any cause, right or wrong, can honestly do so. Writing in a distant place of safety about companions in arms, who are still undergoing every hardship and privation for their country's sake, it would be difficult not to treat them with that loving-kindness and forbearance which, when he was among them, all imposed upon themselves the duty of practising toward each other. But if this bias may sometimes bear him to a more favourable judgment than a stranger would have pronounced, at least he can venture to promise that he will say naught he himself does not believe true, nor

suppress anything that is necessary to form a correct opinion. For this reason he has thought it better to leave his notes, rough as they are, without material alterations or emendations, and to be sparing of post-dated comments, except where such are absolutely needed for the intelligence of the reader.

EN ROUTE FOR VIRGINIA.

On board steamer St. Nicholas,
Alabama River, 25th April, 1861.

THE scene before me deserves a record, though my shoulder is strained, and my fore and middle fingers ache with "Carry Arms." Here, on the floor of the vast saloon lie some 300 men, so closely packed that it is actually impossible to tread through or between them. The folding doors of the ladies' saloon (for we have ladies on board, and not a little proud of them we are—the young wives of our second Lieutenant and of our Orderly Sergeant, accompanied by two unmarried sisters of the latter) have been closed, and though it is not nine o'clock yet, every one that does not wish to stand up during the night, has been compelled to occupy his considerably less than "three by six" on the saloon floor. I have been one of three lucky ones to whom the Captain has given a birth in his "state room," and I further enjoy a little corner at the first clerk's desk, whereon to write.

Fun and merriment run riot in the saloon, for "taps" has not beat yet. It is amusing to watch the good temper and real wit with which men defend their heads against some other men's legs, and the sham battles which are waged between inconveniently shortened antipodes. But even more pleasing is the cheerful readiness with which a place is sought and given to some luckless struggler who has neither cabin berth nor floor room. The more the merrier is the motto, and the saloon floor, omnibus-like, is never full, though I expect very shortly they will lie in strata like salt herrings.

Not a quarrel has yet occurred nor even a high word spoken, though there has been so much drinking that the officers threatened to shut up the steamboat bar. Strange enough, there has, however, been no drunkenness, the mental excitement apparently preponderating over the physical.

At various landings we have taken in other companies from the rural districts; stalwart, good-looking fellows, a little rougher in their manners and appearance than our city-bred gentlemen, but lacking in no essential of courtesy and good-breeding. In their green hunting shirts, for the country companies have not yet had time to uniform themselves, they have much the appearance of good-humoured savages. But they represent the best families in the land, and are most of them young planters, with a sprinkling of lawyers and doctors, and one or two editors among them. Our fraternization with them would not have been out of place among the scenes of the French Revolution, so exuberantly enthusiastic have been the demonstrations on both sides, though I doubt whether as much of the blood of the grape was shed on those bygone occasions as there was whiskey in these. Well, why not? In a day more we shall be under the rigid discipline of common soldiers. Everybody believes that our destination is Western Virginia, and perhaps a bit of Pennsylvania, and that in ten days we shall "have a chance at the Yankees."

We drill six hours a day on the upper deck, and the sun is exasperating. Many of us are "green" in the manual, and each of the older members acts as instructor to an "awkward squad." One or two of the more awkward ones were discovered late last night, long after "taps," rehearsing, in solitary despair, the hard-learned lessons of the day. The thing was too ludicrous and, besides, too well-intentioned to provoke more than a formal reprimand from the officer of the guard.

Yesterday the two Mobile Companies held a meeting, with one of the Captains in the chair, and one of the privates as Secretary, to pass complimentary resolutions to the owners and officers of the steamer St. Nicholas. The reason was, that while the Governor paid only for deck passage and

soldiers' rations, we, as well as the other companies, had all received first-class passage and saloon fare. Though 500 men, in rotation of companies, sat down to each meal, the tables from morning to night groaned under the weight of good cheer, and even the stock of fresh milk and butter and of ice, so scanty on crowded river steamers, had never given out. The resolutions were passed, and a collection made, amounting to 263 dollars, for the purpose of purchasing a suitable testimonial to the Captain and first clerk of the liberal steamer.

To-morrow, our third day from Mobile, we shall be at the capital, there to be formed into a regiment, and then "on to Washington!"

Reviews.

A Comprehensive History of India, Civil, Military, and Social, from the First Landing of the English to the Suppression of the Sepoy Revolt; including an Outline of the Early History of Hindoostan. 3 vols. By HENRY BEVERIDGE, Esq., Advocate. London: Blackie, and Son.

INDIA may be fitly described as the unknown country; not that, like China, it has been rarely and only partially explored; for the history of India is a record of foreign invasion and subjugation. India, too, has been held in great repute in ancient, in mediæval, as well as in modern times; yet the popular ideas about it have in all ages been dreamy, exaggerated, and in many respects essentially false. The India of imagination was merely a land of exhaustless riches. It had mines of diamonds, and mountains of gold. It was a place where wealth might be obtained without labour. It was the treasure trove of the earth. People were amused with, and believed, the extravagant stories told of the habits of the Indians, and they did not seek for any exact information. It is equally true and surprising, that educated Englishmen cared little for the history of India, or its social and political condition, until very recently. The brilliant harangues of Sheridan and Burke, upon the impeachment of Warren Hastings, display a wonderful ignorance of facts, as well as great imaginative powers. Macaulay's essays on Warren Hastings and Clive, not less imaginative but more truthful, created an interest in India beyond the acquisition of gold, gems, and precious stuffs; and the mutiny in 1857, and the consequent transference of the government, in name as well as in fact, to the Home Government, have aroused us from lethargic indifference, so that even members of Parliament are now obliged to study Indian affairs; and indeed it is most desirable that the dominant classes should acquaint themselves with the history and state of India. Such knowledge is necessary for the good government, progressive development, and preservation of the immense empire acquired by a fearful sacrifice of human life, and by an unprecedented combination of fortuitous circumstances. Impressed with these views, we feel deeply obliged to Mr. Beveridge for the production of a work which contains many opinions from which we dissent, which may not be sufficiently elaborate to satisfy the student or the politician, but which cannot fail to popularize Indian history, and to enlighten the darkness, not of the lower ten millions, but of the upper millions, who, by their votes and influence, sway the destinies of the British Empire. Its appearance is very opportune, at a moment when shallow demagogues are proposing schemes of government so inimical to the genius and wants of India, that their adoption could only result in England losing her Eastern dominions, and being thereby shorn of a considerable part of her national and commercial importance.

We regret that Mr. Beveridge has devoted so small a space, to the ancient and mediæval periods. But our author's very brief and necessarily imperfect summary of events, from about 1500 B.C. to 1600 A.D., is instructive. In the earliest times the people of India were

far in advance of their contemporaries in science, arts, and systems of government. How they acquired this knowledge is not related; but we know that during the intervening ages there has not been the slightest progress. Now, progressiveness, not only distinguishes man from the lower animals, but degrees of progressiveness distinguish race from race. With Oriental peoples, it may be remarked, there is always rapid, though limited development; with peoples who are not Oriental, there is generally a slow but certain progress. Perhaps the climate may bring about the difference; but whatever the cause, the fact is palpable and indisputable. Yet, ignoring this, and disregarding the teaching of twenty centuries, there are persons who prate glibly about the political progress of the people of India. We do not despair of moral and social advancement, because Western energy may give mobility to Eastern inertness; but it is chimerical to suppose that the natural Oriental inertness can be so subdued and eradicated, that hereafter the people of India may become self-progressive. It is not more absurd to imagine, that since the locomotive is propelled by the power of steam, it may, in due course, become self-propelling. India, left to herself, would recede to the position from whence she has been dragged by foreign aid, and then would stand still. The English rule may be bad, or it may be good and beneficial; but, with respect to India, there is no choice between some foreign domination and complete stagnation.

In ancient times, at all events, India was, in learning, in internal resources, in population, and in commerce, equal to, and in some of these things superior to, the nations that successively conquered her. It is altogether unjust to accuse the natives of a lack of animal courage, and we know that in physique they are not inferior to the more favoured nations of the West; and moreover, in India, because of their physical adaptation to the climate, their physical endurance is greater than that of other people. Surely under these circumstances, conquest, one might suppose, would be nearly impossible; yet, from the pre-historic period, until this present year of grace, the history of India is a record of successful invasion. The half-mythic Sesostrius, and the more than half-mythic Semiramis, are supposed to have made incursions into India, and that the former was successful, and that the latter—who, according to Diodorus, who takes Ctesias as his authority, had an army of 3,000,000 infantry, 50,000 cavalry, and 100,000 mercenaries—was defeated. But as soon as we get fairly out of the pre-historic period we find victory inclining to the invaders of India, whether their resources were large or insignificant. When the invader could not conquer by reason of the greatness of his army, he found the crudest cunning more than a match for the far-famed Oriental duplicity. By whatever arrangements India passed under the yoke of Egypt and Assyria, there can be no doubt its connection with Persia was that of a conquered country. The Indian expedition of Alexander the Great was triumphant, though, if we may credit the accounts thereof, it was not unopposed. In the mediæval times India was subjugated by the followers of Mahomet. In the beginning of the 17th century the English commenced to trade directly with India, under a Royal Charter; and a company of English merchants, aided by the moral support of the English Government, became masters of an empire extending over 842,232 square miles, with a population estimated at 180,897,000; and let it be remembered that British India has been won and held by what has been tersely called, a handful of Europeans—by a band of adventurers, not only aliens in race, religion, and manners, who were not only widely severed from their home resources, but who have done little to win the love, and much to incur the hatred, of the vast population over whom they rule absolutely.

Now, though we may offend the prejudices of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and political economists of his school, who think their misty speculations are more reliable than the lessons of experience and the evidence of facts, we confess that we conclude, from the frequent and easy conquest of India, that the peoples of India are not fitted or destined to govern, but to be governed. England

might follow the advice of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and leave India to her own resources; but England could not make India independent. Sooner or later the abandoned empire would fall under a foreign dominion; and for India the sooner the better. The true policy, nay, the sacred obligation, of the governing race, is not to idly or wantonly resign its functions, and leave the naturally subject race to its own stagnating, ruinous inertness; but rather, to maintain its supremacy intact, and to exercise its power for the furtherance of the happiness and well-being of the governed. We know our opinions are opposed to the views of those philanthropists who think they are quite capable of improving the moral government of the world, and who clamour for Indian representation, and for the induction of Indians into important offices. As we have seen, England cannot make India independent; but by sharing her authority with the native population she would imperil her own dominion. The Rebellion of 1857 was mainly due to the way in which the Sepoys had been petted and trusted. We were at no pains to conceal from them that we reposed on their loyalty and power. Fortunately, the East India Company had steadily refused to allow the native troops to be officered by natives, or the Rebellion of 1857 would have been still more menacing.

The East India Company has been treated with singular neglect; not that we think its dissolution was premature, but that its dissolution caused very little more excitement than the winding up of a large commercial speculation. Posterity will do John Company justice. The marvellous success of its administration will be made the subject of impassioned eulogy by future Macaulays. Its little beginning, its long-continued struggle against foreign and home aggression, its acquisition of a mighty empire, cannot fail to captivate the imagination. Succeeding generations will, perhaps, make a pilgrimage to Leadenhall-street, to gaze upon the site where once stood the India House—the palace of the merchant princes who ruled over the most extensive of earthly empires. We have erected no memorial to commemorate the existence of the greatest corporation that the world has known, and, indeed, a memorial would be superfluous, even ridiculous. John Company needs not a monolith. England's Indian Empire is the mighty monument of its mighty achievements; for the East India Company was an enormous success despite the Rebellion of 1857. The marvel is that the Rebellion was not more general, and that it had not broken out before. We look in vain for another instance of such a large conquered empire being held for so long by an alien race, without an effort to get rid of the conquerors. May the Imperial rule be as successful; and this happy result can only be brought about by closely following the main policy of the defunct East India Company. We may be told that the Crown has always had a veto upon the proceedings of the Company, and that the administrative powers of the Company were derived from an Act of Parliament. We do not dissent from these propositions; but we also maintain that, practically, the Court of Directors of the East India Company was the House of Commons for India—a House of Commons that morally and truly represented the interests of India, because its members were elected by the property classes only.

Not that we attempt to defend all the acts of the Company. It was wrong to make the native princes pay such enormous fines because they were rich and the Company was poor. We do not defend the crooked ways in which native princes were deprived of their dominions. We do not blame the Company for growing, but its borders might have been enlarged without duplicity. Verily, with nations "honesty is the best policy." We have no doubt that the Company acted unwisely in doing what it could to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India, seeing that European emigration might have been encouraged without any danger of an influx of the unstable penniless classes. Some persons have found fault with the financial management of the Company; but considering the work done, it appears to us that its indebtedness was unprecedently insignificant. We repeat that we do not desire to extenuate the errors of the Company;

but that while the Imperial Government eschews all that was evil in the administration of its predecessor, it should cleave to all that was therein good.

If the native princes were treated unfairly, strict justice was accorded to the people; that is, the judges were independent and incorruptible; and we hold that the independence of the judicial bench and of the magistracy is the corner stone of Imperial stability, since it is the source of general contentment and loyalty. Any attempt to make the judicial or magisterial office elective ought to be strenuously opposed.

In respect to religious toleration, the Company has bequeathed a noble example. Fanaticism has anathematized the East India Company for its determined stand against the Government or official propagation of Christianity. We confess that it seems to us the bounden duty of a Christian Government not to use its power to evangelize its subjects. We have no conception of Christianity as a religion that is to be enforced at the point of the sword. To preserve peace and public order, to administer justice, to guarantee the rights of property, to reward or punish men for their acts, not their opinions; these we conceive to be the special functions of Government, and not to usurp or attempt to usurp the Divine office of Christianizing the heart and controlling and ruling the conscience. The subject has a right to expect from his Government that he shall be allowed to enjoy and confess his religious opinions, and to act, unless such action is opposed to the public weal, according to the principles of his religion. The strongest argument that could be adduced against Christianity would be that it permitted and needed the aid of the civil power. We trust that the clamour of fanatics will not induce the Imperial Government to become the arbiter of opinion and not the judge of actions. It is the duty of the individual Christian, or of the Christian Church, to propagandize; but it is not less the solemn Christian duty of a Christian Government to forget and completely ignore religious differences. Those who ascribe the Revolt of 1857 to the non-missionary spirit of the country should remember that revolts have occurred in Christian countries. Complete religious toleration is not only the best but the most Christian policy.

We shall say nothing against the competitive examination system, because we are convinced it does not exclude any candidates on the score of inferior intellectual capacity. The Company was worked remarkably well by favour and the rule of seniority. It had its brilliant servants, and it had its equally necessary servants of moderate capacity. Official mediocrity is as indispensable for the safety of the State, as freight or ballast is for the safety of the ship. It is the fashion to laugh at official etiquette, or red-tapeism, as it is called; but there is no good government without it. We trust the Imperial Government will imitate the Company in preferring certain experience to uncertain genius; that long service will be esteemed a certificate of merit, and that in the majority of instances seniority will regulate promotion.

In short, considering the brilliant success of the East India Company, we hold that the history of its administration and policy ought to be the text book of the Imperial Government. Indian self-government is impossible, and any effort to make India politically independent will only render the dominion of England insecure without benefiting the natives of India.

We do not endorse Mr. Beveridge's opinions, but nevertheless we commend his able work as the best popular History of India that has yet been written.

The Three Panics: an Historical Episode. By RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P. London: Ward and Co.

WHEN Mr. Cobden speaks, the civilized world gives him an attentive audience. His eminence, as the great Apostle of Free Trade, merits such consideration. His views may be Utopian, but their enunciation displays so much common sense—that most uncommon and most useful of all mental endowments—that when we entirely dissent from his conclusions, we are amused and in-

structed by his arguments; and his eloquence is in itself peculiarly fascinating. His single-mindedness is always apparent; his earnestness is akin to fanaticism without being fanatical; his dashing dogmatism is untinged with pedantry or egotism; he is not a mere intellectual gladiator, and, though logical, he speaks from out of the fullness of his heart; his thoughts are not cold abstractions, but living creatures.

Still, despite his genius, it must be confessed by his most ardent admirers, that he has achieved nothing worthy of his fame out of the domain of Free Trade. Garibaldi is a giant in warfare, a child in politics. Mr. Cobden is the Garibaldi of Free Trade. In his own special vocation he is without a rival; when he directs his attention to other objects he sows abundantly, but he sows to the whirlwind. We deeply regret that his fine talents are partially wasted, and his public usefulness curtailed, by his connection with what is curiously called the Manchester Party, for it never represented, and has been formally and repeatedly repudiated by, Manchester. He professes the same creed as Mr. Bright, but his profession of political faith is modified in action by a sentiment of chivalry. Mr. Cobden abhors warfare, yet he would rather accept that dread issue than tamely submit to the chance of national disgrace. In addressing the House of Commons he made this memorable declaration:—

“I say that France ought not to have as large a navy as England. Nay, I go further, and say, that if I saw a disposition on the part of France to have as large a navy as England, and especially if I saw a disposition not to yield to the offer of an explanation, I should suspect France of having a sinister purpose in those armaments, and, if it came to a question of rivalry after that offer of explanation had been made, I would as cheerfully vote £100,000,000 sterling as I would £5,000,000 under the present system.”

Whilst Mr. Cobden's catholicity is unquestionable, it is evident he loves his native land better than any country under heaven. He is a distinguished agitator, yet never appealed to the ignoble passions of a mob, or endeavoured to create political capital by engendering social discord. The Puseyite clergyman and the Evangelical clergyman subscribe to the same articles; but the advancement of the former to the episcopal bench would be regarded as dangerous to the Protestantism of the Church of England; whilst the advancement of the latter would excite no alarm. In like manner, Messrs. Bright and Cobden profess the same principles; yet the accession to office of the Member for Birmingham would be looked upon as a political scandal, whilst the Member for Rochdale becoming a minister of the Crown, would not give rise to any uneasiness. Not that the sincerity of the one or the other is doubtful or doubted; but Mr. Bright is Radical and un-English; Mr. Cobden is Radical and English.

The three last panics of French invasion to which Mr. Cobden refers were, as events have proved, groundless. Neither was there the lame excuse for them, as there was for the panic when Napoleon I. made a powerful demonstration at Boulogne. We further admit that periodical panics are injurious, undignified; and induce imposition, if not attack, and lead foreigners to suppose that we have grown timid and pusillanimous. So far we entirely accord with our author; but in other respects we entirely differ from him. It seems to us that he has fallen into two capital errors,—1st, he has mistaken the agents for the cause of the invasion panics; 2nd, he has confounded the remedy with the disease, and assumed that since the panics were groundless our defensive preparations were needless. Because it is foolish to dread improbable calamities, Mr. Cobden contends that it is absurd to provide against the advent of possible and ruinous disasters.

John Bull is not less plucky and pugnacious than formerly. We are afraid he has great weakness for the game of war. He sermonises upon the horrors of the battle-field with an unction that belies his philanthropic hemoanings. During the Russian War there was no lack of volunteers for the ranks, and hosts of gentlemen, who might have lived at home at ease and in honour, hastened

to brave mutilation and death in the trenches. But we need not press a point that is frankly conceded. Mr. Cobden and his friends have on many occasions deplored the warring propensities of their fellow-countrymen.

A French invasion is not dreaded from an idea that it would lead to the subjugation of the country. If the foe landed we are confident that for the defence of the sanctity of home every Englishman would become a soldier, and, being a soldier, a hero. What we dread is the effect of an invasion on our commerce and property. When Lord Overstone was examined before a Select Committee, he was particularly asked what would, in his opinion, be the influence of an invasion upon the price of public securities? His lordship's answer was necessarily vague; but undoubtedly an invasion would inflict upon us a fearful, immediate, and lasting injury. It would take years to recover from the effects of a day's invasion. The monied classes are the panic-mongers. Mr. Cobden observes, “there can be no doubt that the proposal to add 5d. in the pound to the Income Tax, mainly contributed to put an end to the first invasion panic.” And we presume that Mr. Cobden will admit that, but for our increased armaments, we might get rid of a considerable portion of the Income Tax.

Are we to conclude that the monied classes, the most intelligent men of the country, are the dupes of political intrigues and of the military and naval professions, seeming that from year to year they have to pay an enormous fine for their gullibility? We think not. Nor do we agree with M. Ducois, whose opinion is endorsed by Mr. Cobden, that the members of an English cabinet have within the last thirty years increased their budget “to strengthen a somewhat uncertain majority in Parliament.” We are under the impression that the remission of taxes does more to strengthen a government than the imposition of taxes.

The panic-mongers did not take the trouble to inquire into the then *probabilities* of an immediate invasion. Ministers, military and naval authorities, intimated that the thing was possible. That was sufficient. It was in vain to contend that the French had no intention, or could not immediately invade Great Britain. There could be no rest or confidence until everything had been done that could be done to insure against the *possibility* of such a ruinous calamity. We refused to rely on the weakness of our neighbour, and preferred the security of the utmost development of our strength. The cause, then, of the panics was, that there were known means of insuring the safety of our property of which we had not availed ourselves. The panics were groundless, because there was no immediate need for the extra defences. We had time enough to perfect them before the foe could attack us. It may seem paradoxical to assert that the panics were groundless, and yet that the cause of them was substantial; but these propositions are reconcilable. True, we had not done what we could for the protection of our coasts, and it was equally true that our possible invaders could not immediately invade us.

Although we denounce the panics, we do not complain of the increased armaments. An independent nation cannot exist on sufferance; and if armaments can be limited by diplomacy, why not do away with all armaments? Iron-plated ships are better than wooden ships, but the change from wood to iron will involve a considerable outlay. Shall we agree with France to eschew iron ships? The old Brown Bess is less effective and less costly than the rifle. Shall we agree with France to abolish the use of the rifle? In a word, shall we base the security of the two countries upon mutual weakness or upon mutual strength? The effect of such a proceeding must be to reduce England and France to second or third-rate Powers. Other countries of inferior size and of less population might virtually rule us with their armaments; and if England and France were disarmed they could not compel a general disarmament. Or, if a general disarmament were effected, it could not be maintained inviolate except by armed force. The systems of arbitration and disarmament are illusive, because they sup-

pose a contract without guarantees, and which it would be the interest of some of the contracting parties to violate. An independent nation must stand by its independent strength, aided, of course, by its natural and political allies. So long as there is any means of defence neglected against possible invasion, we are running a foolish risk. If our coast defences cost us £20,000,000 sterling per annum, provided the money was wisely applied, we should not think the price too much for the insurance against invasion.

At one time Mr. Cobden was anxious to return to the expenditure of 1835. We will assume that he thinks the proportion then existing between the naval expenditure of the two countries ought to be maintained. Well, taking Mr. Cobden's figures, we find the naval expenditure of the the two countries was,—

In 1835—England, £4,245,723. France, £2,227,709.
In 1859— „ £11,072,243. „ £8,333,933.

That is to say, in 1835 our own naval expenditure was within a fraction of 50 per cent. more than the French expenditure; and in 1859 it was not 40 per cent. more. From this we learn that the French had been gaining on us. We are reminded by Mr. Cobden that 1859 was, owing to the war in Italy, an exceptional year, and that in 1858 our naval expenditure was 50 per cent. in excess of the French expenditure. What does that prove? That we must not trust to the apparent strength of our neighbours; that their naval power may be increased with wonderful rapidity; that though there was no ground for the three panics, there were excellent reasons for not delaying the improvements of our defences. Very candidly, perhaps, unconsciously, Mr. Cobden has adduced a strong argument in favour of increased armaments; and, to some extent, has even excused the panic-mongers.

Like Mr. Cobden, we have full confidence in the good faith and friendliness of Napoleon III., and we are no less strongly impressed with the immense advantages of a sincere alliance between England and France. But that alliance must be cemented by mutual independence, for it will only be jeopardized by diplomatic arrangement of mutual dependence. The agreement to limit armaments must result in ceaseless, jealous watching. Every ship commissioned, every gunboat ordered, every dockyard movement, would excite inquiry and irritating suspicion.

And there is another objection to the scheme of arrangement. Mr. Cobden proposes that the French Government shall give an undertaking to keep the French navy inferior to the English navy. The high-spirited French people would clamorously repudiate such an engagement.

Our naval expenditure since 1853 has nearly doubled, and it is possible that we may be able to reduce it; but from 1835 to 1853 the increase had only been equal to 33 per cent. Now, our armaments have increased with the increase of our wealth, and, we may add, with the growth of our population. Nor is it very strange that the more we have to insure the more we have to pay for insurance. We deplore our large expenditure, and should be glad to see it reduced. It is sad, very sad, that men should be so misled, so blind to their welfare, as not to do unto others as they would others should do unto them. But we must deal with humanity as it is, and not as it ought to be; and the wisest and kindest policy for men and nations is to protect their several rights as strongly as possible, and not, by unnecessary weakness, offer a temptation to wrong doing and aggression.

The Rose, The Shamrock, and The Thistle. A Monthly Magazine: No. I. Edinburgh: Printed and published by the Caledonian Press.

We wish this Magazine every success. It is carefully edited and well written, and whatever profits are realized by it will be for the advantage of the Caledonian Press, an institution for the employment of women in the art of printing.

Shifting Scenes, and other Poems. By J. STANYAN BIGG. London: W. Freeman.

THIS volume contains some poems above the average. Many of the thoughts are original, and the versification is generally smooth and melodious. We quote some stanzas from a short poem entitled "Far Away:—

"Ah! the heavens are too high,
And the sunshine and the light,
And the purple mountains far,
And the moonbeam, and the star,
And the round and rolling white
Of the sun-cloud, sailing bright
Through a sea of molten light,
And the shows of day and night
Seem not what they are!

"Evermore a glory breaks
Over peak and over plain
In the distance, far away;
And the gorgeous skirts of day
Hide the hollows full of pain;
Hide the rents, and hide the rain;
Hide the dark funeral train;
Hide the clouds that come again;
But no living thing can say
It hath touched the gorgeous day,
Which for ever, and for ever,
Glideth on, a golden river,
Far away! Far away!"

NASHVILLE.—The Federals have not altogether suppressed communications from Nashville—at least, we see that letters dated at that city still get through to New Orleans. We have had sight of one dated on the 9th, addressed by a lady in that city to a portion of her family here, which enables us to correct most favourably, and with entire authority, the newspaper reports by the Federalists, of the Unionist feeling which they found in that city. Written in the freedom of a correspondence entirely domestic, it relates incidents, of which we have obtained the liberty to mention several, as exhibiting the true disposition of the people of Nashville, and the noble spirit of patriotism which animates her women. The writer herself is one of those true-hearted Southern mothers, who have given their own time and cares to the comforts of the soldier, and inspired a whole family with the devotion of patriots.

She contradicts with indignation the Cincinnati story that the city of Nashville was white with flags the day the gun-boats arrived. There was not a single white flag, and only three Union ones. The following incident is well worth repeating:—

While a long string of Federals was marching along one of our streets a few days ago, a bright little fellow looked on very dolefully, and at last screamed out, "Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!" A Yankee said, loudly, "Pshaw, hurrah for the devil!" "All right," said the boy, "you hurrah for your captain and I'll hurrah for mine." A lady told me she heard him.

The ladies of Nashville keep entirely aloof from the enemy. The letter says:—

The young ladies never go in the street. Not one has received a Federal visitor. All have declined, with a single exception, in a single case, for a peculiar reason. The officers got a specimen of the manner in which they are regarded, at a place where they visited, in form, where a young girl of fourteen was present. She had a Southern flag on the piano. The officers asked her to play for them. She said she could "play nothing but Southern songs." They jestingly told her that she would yet marry a Federal officer; she spoke out: "Not to save her own life." One of them said he was a candidate for matrimony, and would like to marry a Southern woman. She said quickly: "There is not a lady in the Southern Confederacy would have you."

They got many hard lessons of the spirit of the Southern people, from the mouths of girls and boys, who speak for their fathers and brothers, who are absent in the wars, and for the race which is to succeed them.

The following passage has some significance:—

Col. Bryan's and several other houses were searched yesterday for the sick Texans. None were found, for on the day of the panic the healthy ones went all over town and took their sick comrades away; but some folks are mightily afraid of Texas Rangers and Morgan's men!

These things corroborate, from the very scene of action, the reports which are now going North, that General Buell is deeply disappointed at the reception of the Union forces at Nashville. He has been unable to discover any material out of which a Northern Government can be reconstructed, other than the military material which he carries with him; and it will take an indefinite amount of that to colonize and govern even a portion of the great region he has commenced traversing.

The *Yazoo Banner* states that Mr. John McFarland, of the firm of McFarland and Barkedale, New Orleans, has presented a splendid brass battery, consisting of six pieces, costing 40,000 dolrs., to encourage the raising of an artillery company in that county.

Among the members of the Orleans Guards Battery, who left on Saturday for the seat of war, we remarked Mr. Placide Canonge, the Louisiana poet, the versatile writer attached to so many papers of this city, and very well known as the manager of the Orleans Opera in 1860. Mr. Canonge left as a private in the same corps with his own son. In the same ranks is Mr. Amédée J. Vignaud, brother of the editor of the *Renaissance Louisianaise*, of which he too is a contributor. Mr. Rene L'Ordereau, a French literary gentleman, author of several successful plays, and who has been but a few months in this country, enlisted yesterday in the Orleans Guards, Company C, in spite of his fifty years.

PERMANENT GOVERNMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES. FIRST CONGRESS.

CABINET.

Jefferson Davis—PRESIDENT.

Alexander H. Stephens—VICE-PRESIDENT.

J. P. Benjamin, Louisiana—SECRETARY OF STATE.

C. G. Memminger, South Carolina—SECRETARY OF TREASURY.

Geo. W. Randolph, Virginia—SECRETARY OF WAR.

S. R. Mallory, Florida—SECRETARY OF NAVY.

John H. H. Reagan, Texas—POST MASTER GENERAL.

Thos. H. Watts, Alabama—ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SENATE.

ALABAMA—Clement C. Clay, William L. Yancey.

ARKANSAS—Robt. W. Johnson, Charles B. Mitchell.

FLORIDA—James M. Baker, Augustus E. Maxwell.

GEORGIA—Benjamin H. Hill, Robert Toombs.

KENTUCKY—Henry C. Burnett, William E. Simms.

LOUISIANA—Thomas J. Semmes, Edward Sparrow.

MISSISSIPPI—Albert G. Brown, James Phelan.

MISSOURI—John B. Clark, R. S. T. Peyton.

NORTH CAROLINA—George Davis, Wm. T. Dortch.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Robert W. Barnwell, Jas. L. Orr.

TENNESSEE—Langdon C. Haynes, Gustavus A. Henry.

TEXAS—William S. Oldham, Louis T. Wigfall.

VIRGINIA—Robt. M. T. Hunter, William Ballard Preston.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Dist.	ALABAMA.	Dist.	MISSOURI. (continued)
1.	Thomas J. Foster	3.	Casper W. Bell
2.	William R. Smith	4.	A. H. Condon
3.	John P. Ralls	5.	George G. Vest
4.	J. L. M. Curry	6.	Thomas W. Freeman
5.	Francis S. Lyon	7.	John Ryer
6.	Wm. P. Chilton	NORTH CAROLINA.	
7.	David Clepton	1.	W. N. H. Smith
8.	James L. Pugh	2.	Robert R. Bridges
9.	Edw. L. Dargan	3.	Owen R. Keenan
ARKANSAS.		4.	T. D. McDowell
1.	Felix I. Batson	5.	Thomas S. Ashe
2.	Grandison D. Royston	6.	Arch. H. Arrington
3.	J. P. Johnson	7.	Robert McLean
4.	Thomas B. Hanly	8.	William Lander
FLORIDA.		9.	B. S. Gaither
1.	James B. Dawkins	10.	A. T. Davidson
2.	Robert B. Hilton	SOUTH CAROLINA.	
GEORGIA.		1.	John McQueen
1.	Julian Hartridge	2.	W. Porcher Miles
2.	C. J. Munnerlyn	3.	L. M. Ayer
3.	Hines Holt	4.	Milledge L. Bonham
4.	Augustus H. Kenan	5.	James Farrow
5.	David W. Lewis	6.	Wm. W. Boyce
6.	William W. Clark	TENNESSEE.	
7.	Robert P. Frippie	1.	Joseph T. Heiskell
8.	Lucius J. Gartrell	2.	William G. Swan
9.	Hardy Strickland	3.	W. H. Tehbs
10.	Augustus R. Wright	4.	E. L. Gardenhire
KENTUCKY.		5.	Henry S. Foote
1.	Alfred Boyd	6.	Meredith P. Gentry
2.	John W. Crockett	7.	George W. Jones
3.	H. E. Read	8.	Thomas Menecese
4.	George W. Ewing	9.	J. D. C. Atkins
5.	James S. Chrisman	10.	John V. Wright
6.	T. L. Burnett	11.	David M. Currin
7.	H. W. Bruce	TEXAS.	
8.	S. S. Scott	1.	John A. Wilcox
9.	E. M. Bruce	2.	C. C. Herbert
10.	J. W. Moore	3.	Peter W. Gray
11.	Robt. J. Breckinridge	4.	B. E. Sexton
12.	John M. Elliott	5.	D. M. Graham
LOUISIANA.		6.	Wm. B. Wright
1.	Chas. J. Villere	VIRGINIA.	
2.	Chas. M. Conrad	1.	M. R. H. Garnett
3.	Duncan F. Kenner	2.	John R. Chambliss
4.	Lucien J. Doyre	3.	Vacant
5.	Henry Marshall	4.	Roger A. Pryor
6.	John Perkins, J.	5.	Thos. S. Bocock
MISSISSIPPI.		6.	John Goode, Jr.
1.	J. W. Clapp	7.	J. P. Holcombe
2.	Reubin Davis	8.	C. D. de Jarnett
3.	Israel Welch	9.	Wm. Smith
4.	H. C. Chambers	10.	A. R. Boteler
5.	O. R. Singleton	11.	John R. Baldwin
6.	E. Barksdale	12.	Walter R. Staples
7.	John J. McRae	13.	Walter Preston
MISSOURI.		14.	Albert G. Jenkins
1.	W. M. Cook	15.	Robt. Johnston
2.	Thos. A. Harris	16.	Chas. W. Russell

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I.—No. 3.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 15, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	33
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	34
Liverpool Letter	34
Manchester Letter	34
Cotton Prospects	34
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
A Short War	35
Prices Current	35
Marriages and Deaths	36
Private Letters and Extracts	36
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Our Washington Correspondent	37
Our Paris Correspondent	38
Our New York Correspondent	38
Our Nassau Correspondent	39
A Southern Planter's View of the Coming Crop	
The Battle of Shiloh	39
LEADERS—	
The Federal Occupation of New Orleans	40
Southern Feeling towards England	40
Signs of Peace	41
The Mexican Intervention	41
The Poor Law	42
Editorials	42
CRUISE OF THE SUMMER—	
No Sport	27
A Sail: Friend or Foe?	27
REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	
Southern Wealth and Northern Profits	43
The American Disruption	44
History of Frederick the Second	44
PERSPECTS OF THE SOUTH	45
THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE	45
SECESSION FROM A NORTHERN POINT OF VIEW	46
GLANINGS FROM THE NORTHERN PRESS	47
ADVERTISEMENTS	48

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

New Orleans is occupied by the invaders. On the 24th April, Federal gunboats passed Fort Jackson. Rather than have the city, so thickly peopled, bombarded by the enemy, General Lovell retired on the 25th, but not until he had removed all the ammunition and treasure, and destroyed the cotton and steamboats not needed for transport. On the 26th, the Federal commander formally demanded the unqualified surrender of the city. The city was defenceless, and therefore insult was added to injury. He ordered the Federal flag to be hoisted on all public buildings, and all the Confederate flags to be removed. The Mayor replied in words which will thrill the heart of Europe, and which make the temporary loss of New Orleans glorious. After remarking that General Lovell evacuated the city for the sake of the women and children, the Mayor spoke as follows:—"To surrender an undefended city," he continued, "would be an unmeaning ceremony. The city is yours by power of brutal force, not by the choice or consent of the inhabitants. It is for you to determine the fate that awaits us here. There is no man in our midst whose hand or head would not be paralyzed at hoisting a flag not of our own adoption. You may trust in the honour of the inhabitants, though you might not count on their submission to unmerited wrong. Your occupancy of the city does not transfer the allegiance of the inhabitants from the Government of their choice to one which they have deliberately repudiated. They yield the obedience which the conqueror is entitled to extract from the conquered." It is needless to comment on such an address. The heroic mayor of New Orleans faithfully represented the spirit of his country. The tone of the Southern press was never more bold, unflinching, and defiant, than at present. All our private Southern letters, and those that are being sent us from friends in Europe for perusal, are

sternly resolute, and implicitly confident. The Southerners are satisfied that nothing was left for the invaders but the opportunity of plundering the peaceable inhabitants, and the reversion of yellow fever. If any proof were wanted to convince the world that the people of the Confederate States cannot be subjugated, it is afforded by the manner in which the evacuation of New Orleans has been received in the South.

The City of New York brings us some significant hints about Corinth. Under date "May 2, evening," were told, "rumours are current that General Beauregard has fallen back from Corinth to Memphis." By the telegraphic summary forwarded twelve hours later, we are informed that "A Cairo despatch says, that the news from Pittsburg Landing is of the highest importance, but its telegraphic transmission is forbidden. Nothing is known here of the nature of the news." We may observe that the Federal Government does not usually keep back favourable news, and that a private letter from New York alludes to a Federal defeat at Corinth.

The purport of M. Mercier's mission is becoming known at Washington. The words of the telegram are:—"The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* affirms that a consultation has taken place at Washington, between the Federal Cabinet and the foreign diplomatic corps. The consultation referred to the French Minister's visit to Richmond, and the question of an armistice was discussed. It was believed that the French Minister, since the occupation of New Orleans, had concluded that the time had arrived when, under the instructions of the Emperor, he might step forward as mediator. Also that, in consideration of the monopoly of commercial advantages, and aid of some kind from the Southern States in regard to Mexico, the Emperor Napoleon had agreed to use his influence with the Federal Government to end the war upon terms securing to the Southern States an independent nationality, and that if the Federal Government did not accept his mediation, the Emperor would himself acknowledge the Southern Confederacy." If our readers will be good enough to refer to our Paris correspondence, which appeared in our issues of the 1st and 8th instant, they will find that the above is a confirmation of what we indicated as to the policy of the French Emperor, and the object of the French Minister's visit to Richmond.

It is reported that all the members of Congress from the Border Slave States, and other conservative members, "were considering the propriety of withdrawing in a body from Congress, thus precipitating a decision by the people of the whole country on the radical measures of confiscation and emancipation." It is evident that the Federal Congress is not a very good type of an united, happy family.

The Federals, not content with the paper blockade of the South, are about to partially blockade their own ports. "The House of Representatives had passed stringent regulations, empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to prevent the shipment of goods to foreign ports, whence they are unshipped to Southern ports." We ask, is not this a confession that the Southern blockade is ineffectual? If the

blockade were effective, there would be no necessity for stringent regulations to prevent the shipment of goods to Southern ports. It is very considerate of the House of Representatives to make such a candid confession.

The Committee of Ways and Means has reported an appropriation amounting to 226,000,000 dollars for the support of the army during the year ending in June, 1863. We expect that before June, 1863, it will be found much easier to appropriate money than to raise it.

We have the usual news from Yorktown. The siege is "progressing," but no progress is made.

Generals Jackson and Gustavus Smith have been strongly reinforced to oppose the Federal forces under Generals McDowell and Banks.

From all quarters we hear of the determination of the planters to abandon the cultivation of cotton in order to produce an abundant supply of food.

We elsewhere reprint an interesting letter on the harvest prospects in the South.

The Virginia is still the terror of the Federal navy. The Confederates are building a number of gunboats, and have nearly completed an iron-clad vessel as large and formidable as the Virginia.

Fort Mason was surrendered, conditionally, to General Burnside, on the 25th April.

Last night arrived, by the Seine, Mr. Johnstone and M. La Varenue, *attachés* to the French and English Envoys, with dispatches announcing the final withdrawal of Sir Charles Wyke from Mexico. A Spanish *attaché* accompanied them. Mexican Securities have fallen in consequence.

On Friday night, the subject of the distress in Lancashire was discussed in the House of Commons. No one denied the existence of the evil, but it was urged that the distress is not so great as it was in 1840 and 1841; that local resources were not exhausted; and that the Government had sent persons to the locality to act with the guardians. It was frankly admitted that the Poor Law might, under the special circumstances, require some modifications. Mr. Bright strongly deprecated any Government interference. Perish Lancashire rather than infringe on Mr. Bright's political creed! Mr. Gilpin reminded the House that the evil was not yet at its height. We may add, that no material improvement can be effected until the blockade is raised, and the Confederate States are acknowledged. We admire the exemplary patience of the operatives. It is certainly heroic. Meantime, whilst Commissioners are making inquiries and aiding the guardians, thousands are starving. Naturally, the innocent sufferers will not, until the grip of death is upon them, seek parochial relief, and so subject themselves to the disgrace of recognized pauperism. Our position is very serious. Are we right in observing a paper blockade, and in refusing to recognize the independence of the Confederate States? If not, we are assuredly responsible for the hopeless misery that prevails, and must increasingly prevail, in Lancashire.

On Monday, the House of Lords discussed the distress in Lancashire. Earl Granville, on behalf of the Government, admitted the extent of the suffer-

ing, but did not anticipate that the local resources would fail. A Government inspector has been sent to assist the guardians and local committees.

Victor Emmanuel has been well received in Naples, and in Sicily. The reported visit of Prince Napoleon is regarded as an evidence of the Emperor's intention to withdraw his troops from Rome.

There has been a little excitement in the Frankfurt Diet, in reference to the affairs of Electoral Hesse. In Prussia the elections have terminated in the return of a liberal majority.

Some disturbances in Portugal have been suppressed. The King of Portugal is about to marry the daughter of Victor Emmanuel.

We learn, by telegram from Scutari, "that a force of 8000 regular and irregular troops have attacked 3000 Montenegrins. The latter were repulsed, after a two hours' combat, with considerable loss."

The King of the Belgians is better, the dangerous symptoms having subsided.

From India, we have the summary of Mr. Laing's financial statement. The financial year commences with a deficit of £6,000,000. The present estimates show a surplus of £900,000, although nearly £1,500,000 is to be spent on public works in excess of the estimate for the current year. The revenue of the coming year would amount to £885,000 over the preceding year, if calculated on the same basis of taxation. The military expenditure is reduced to £12,200,000. The surplus is disposed of by increasing the Education grant to £500,000, and by bringing the public assignment up to £4,250,000. The import duties on piece goods and yarns are to be reduced to 5 and 3½ per cent. respectively, with immediate operation. The Paper Duty is abolished. The rates on beer and claret are reduced ½, and on tobacco to 20 per cent. *ad valorem*. The income-tax is reduced to 2 per cent., and, as regards small incomes, is abolished altogether. The total repeal of the tax is promised at the close of five years from its enactment. The cash balances for the year closed at £17,690,000.

Furrah has been taken by the Persians.

From Shanghai, we learn that the rebels have been again defeated.

The only item of general interest from Australia, is the rumour of fresh disturbances in New Zealand.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, 14th May, 1862.

The sales of cotton for the week ending 8th inst., amounted to 27,650 bales, of which 19,500 were taken by the trade, comprising 3,500 American, and about 14,000 Surats. The market was dull and depressed, under rumours of French intervention in American affairs, and closed at a decline of fully ¼ on American descriptions, and ½ in Surats, leaving Middling Orleans at 13d.

On Saturday, however, the tone of the market improved, in consequence of Mr. Layard's statement in the House, that Mr. Mercier's visit to Richmond had no diplomatic bearing, the sales reached 8000 bales at full prices, and the market wore every appearance of a brisk reaction. On Monday, however, the "Canada's" advices were received, reporting the surrender of New Orleans to the Federals, and the reviving demand was again checked, indeed some sales were pressed in the morning at ½ decline, but holders recovered their confidence as the day wore on, and the market closed dull with sales of 5000 bales at Friday's prices. On Tuesday the demand was languid, with sales of 3000 bales, and prices were scarcely maintained; but the report from Manchester was rather favourable, and a better business was expected to-day. The market, however, has again been damped by the news, per "City of New York," to hand this morning. By it the capture of New Orleans is confirmed, and the old rumour of French mediation is revived, and, though very little weight is attached to this report, it has had a most depressing effect on the market. Buyers have retired, and the few holders that are determined to force sales, must submit to a decline varying from ½ to ¾ in American cotton since Friday. For Surat cotton the demand is more active, and not more than ¼ decline can be quoted.

The sales to-day (Wednesday) reach 3000 bales, including only 700 American; and the nominal quotations may be given as 12½ for Middling Orleans, 12½ for Mobiles, and 12½ for Uplands.

A very lively interest has been excited here by the American news this week, and their effects on the prospects of our Cotton market have been eagerly canvassed. The capture of New Orleans was unlooked for, and people are not yet fully satisfied about its bearing on the question of future supply. The general impression seems to be, that no supplies worthy of notice will reach that port while it is held by Federal troops; and the alleged intention of the North to open it to trade, is expected to be as barren of result as their first experiment at Port Royal.

There are, however, some few who contend that cotton will reach New Orleans in moderate quantities as soon as the Federal gunboats obtain complete command of the Western waters, which, apparently, cannot be long deferred. They argue that if the Confederates continue to lose ground, some of the planters will prefer interest to patriotism; and, looking upon the Southern cause as hopeless, make the best they can out of the wreck of their private fortunes. To this it may be replied, that few will have the option of selling their crops to the enemy, for the Government orders to burn all produce exposed to seizure, are too stringent to permit of much evasion. Besides, there is every evidence that the great majority of the planters are warmly attached to the Southern cause, while the few who may be lukewarm at heart, will not venture to outrage popular feeling so long as the South has a fair chance of achieving its independence. It seems, therefore, very unlikely that supplies of cotton will reach New Orleans or any other port that may fall into Northern hands, so long as the Confederate armies hold their ground; and the Southern people, generally, are sanguine of success.

With regard to the revived rumour of French mediation at Washington, there appears as little ground for credence as formerly; certainly, the capture of New Orleans will not make the North more willing to entertain the thought of Southern independence, and it is well known that no settlement can be effected at present without that condition for its basis. The time may, and probably will, come, when both parties will listen willingly to foreign mediation; but the American people, are evidently not ripe for it at present.

Some rumours are circulated in town, to-day, that New Orleans has been recaptured by the Confederates, and that some disaster has befallen the Northern forces in Tennessee; but they are not authenticated, and are generally disbelieved.

MANCHESTER, May 13th, 1862.

SINCE my last report, the visit of M. Mercier to Richmond, and the probable consequence of French intervention, caused a very uneasy feeling here and few operations were entered into until the end of the past week, when the very able and terse reply in the House of Commons, by Lord Palmerston, in reference to our relations with France, stating:—"There has been no (what the French call) 'afterthought' on either part; there has been the most perfect frankness, and openness of communication between the two Governments"—coupled with what Mr. Layard stated on the subject on Friday evening:—"As far as Her Majesty's Government were informed, M. Mercier went to Richmond without any instructions from his own Government, and he might add that his visit had not been attended with any political results whatever"—gave more confidence to buyers, as these statements were looked upon as a proof of further assurances that our Government would adhere to their former policy of non-intervention. Consequently a more cheerful feeling prevailed on Saturday, to be dispelled, however, on receipt of news per Canada, reporting the capture of New Orleans by the Federals (yet to be confirmed).

To-day's market has been quiet; but, with some exceptions, prices are maintained with much firmness, and producers exhibit no great desire to press sales.

Buyers are acting very cautiously, and the amount of business transacted has been small, and, for the most part, at last week's prices.

In the event of a sudden termination to the war, and consequent influx of cotton, it may not be out of order, at this time, to anticipate the probable effect on the prices of manufactured goods. Taking the price of "Middling" Orleans cotton as a standard of value, the quotation this time last year was 7½d. to 8d. per lb., the price of 7 lbs. shirtings 7s. 7½d. per piece, and 8½ lbs. 9s. per piece.

To-day's price for cotton is 13d. per lb., and of shirtings 8s. 7½d. for 7 lb., and 10s. 9d. for 8½ lbs., thus showing that the advance in the raw material is 76 per cent., and in manufactured goods 14 and 19½ per cent. respectively. The advance compared with same time 1860

is 6½ per cent. on 7 lb., and 10 per cent. on 8½ lb. shirtings, whereas the advance on cotton is 80 per cent. Fine goods, such as jaconets, have advanced from 20 to 24 per cent. over the prices of May 1861.

As the consumption of the world increases, and is only lessened from temporary causes, and generally locally, is it probable that we shall decline in price here, even supposing cotton may fall 50 per cent.? The answer to this question remains for the future to solve; but from present prospects, I should infer that in the event of any decline on manufactured goods, this decline will be followed by as rapid an advance.

The consumption of Surat cotton being now largely on the increase, renders the supply of this article a matter of serious consideration. Taking the last clearances of shipments from Bombay, May 6th—expected to arrive in Liverpool by the middle of August—we have a supply of 327,889 bales. The quantity taken out of Liverpool for consumption and export to the 9th May, was at the rate of 18,630 bales per week. Should the same average continue, we shall only have 67,069 bales (five weeks' consumption, irrespective of the requirements for export) on the 15th August next.

COTTON PROSPECTS.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The reported occupation of New Orleans is doubtful, from all I have seen and read. If true, cotton is farther off than ever, for the Southerners will now find it more difficult to run any by the blockade, and they will not allow a bale to reach the city, to be sent away by the Federals. The wholesale burning is yet to come. Again, when the Southerners are ready to send cotton to market, means of transportation will be wanting, for you will observe that steamers are daily being destroyed, both by Confederates and Federals; and low rivers must be considered certain until November and December, perhaps later. I do not pretend to predict how high prices will go in this country, but I say, what cannot be disputed, that no cotton will be received here in any quantity till the end of the year. A few hundred bales may reach New York by way of the West, but every bale they can get will be wanted by the Northern manufacturers for their own use.

As to intervention, Count Mercier is reported to leave New York on the 11th of May; arrives in Paris, say on the 20th; has a conference with the Emperor, and if France concludes to intervene, months will elapse before anything definite could be done. In the meanwhile, unless the Lancashire mills stay entirely, American cotton must run out.

These are the condition and prospects of the cotton market fairly stated. If these views can be of any use to you, they are at your service, from one who owns no cotton, but has dealt in it all his life, and whose opinions are those of

A SOUTHERNER.

London, May 13th.

THE COTTON BURNING.—The *Mobile Tribune* has the following extract of a late letter from Athens, North Alabama:—"The cotton in Giles and Murray counties, Tennessee, has been and is being burnt, as the Federals approach. This is done with our soldiers—Scott's Louisiana Cavalry—but, in most cases, by the hearty consent of the owners. The people here are steady in their nerves, and nobody is running away. The cars only run to the State line, eighteen miles above this place. They go and return once a-day to Decatur. The bridges are all burnt beyond that point by our soldiers." The Rev. P. P. Smith, of Florida, in a letter to the *Southern Christian Advocate*, of Charleston, says that the planters in Florida are hauling their cotton into the open fields, away from their houses, to burn it if the Yankees should approach. The *Milledgeville (Georgia) Recorder* lauds the planters for their sacrifice of cotton:—"We are rejoiced to see evidence from all quarters of the South, that the planters are resolved to give all their lands and force to provisions, except a bare sufficiency to preserve cotton seed, and enough lint for domestic use. Hitherto the great pride of cotton planters has been in the quantity of production—the more bales the greater the triumph. Now the rule is just the contrary—the smaller the production the higher the reward, the brighter the patriotism, and the greater the reputation of the planter. We have the names of planters owning field-hands by the hundred, who will not plant a seed of cotton, but cover their broad acres in grain and other provision crops for 1862. Were this general the war would speedily terminate."

The correspondent of the *Liverpool Mercury* writes under date 29th April.—P.S. Since writing my letter I have received much private information as readers it almost beyond dispute that New Orleans has certainly fallen. It is true that no official advices have been received confirming the capture of the city; but from facts I have just obtained from a French source at New Orleans (though a friend here) with regard to the defences of the city, I can readily see that the Union gunboats once past the forts, resistance on the part of the city would be hopeless. It seems that the inhabitants counted mainly on a rear attack from the Federals, and here they were fully prepared for them; the front of the city, however, was entrusted chiefly to the care of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and once out of reach of the guns of these, the enemy had an easy victory. The commanding general at New Orleans, on the approach of the Federals, withdrew his troops, burnt all the cotton and other valuables, and then quietly surrendered the city. Government stocks are up 1½ per cent. this p.m., but the railways and Border State securities show only a slight improvement.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The following communication was received in a letter dated 26th March, 1862, from the South:—

A SHORT WAR.

This was the fond dream of many of us. It is well that we should banish every such thought now. Let us settle it in our minds that we are to wage a seven years' contest, at the very least. European interference we never desired, except to the extent of the breaking of the blockade, so that we might get arms and other necessities from abroad. But it now appears to us that even that much help from other nations would not have been to our advantage in the end. It is every way best for us that we should owe our independence absolutely to no human being outside of ourselves. It is for the security of future peace between the South and the North, that the latter should learn now, to the fullest extent, our ability to defend ourselves. The North believes that she can subjugate us. Well, let the experiment be now fairly made by her; and, when exhausted and worn out by the effort, she gives it up, there may be some hope of permanent peace betwixt us. And just so it is as regards the nations of Europe. They need to learn now what the Southern people are, and what resources they possess, and what exertions and what sacrifices they are willing to make in defence of their rights. And further yet, it is just so as respects ourselves.

All these Confederate States need to know, by the actual experiment of one another's conduct and bearing now, what is the true character of our new-born nation, of what stuff it is made, and what spirit it breathes. We may, therefore, be well content to bear our present troubles so long as shall be necessary. It is undoubtedly for the best that we should pass through the discipline of a long war. But present evils are always tolerable when they are the necessary prelude of future and greater good. A long and bloody war is not to be desired by us in itself. And we have the consolation of knowing that the South did not desire this war, nay, used every possible effort to avoid it. But it has been forced upon us, and neither our duty to God nor our duty to man will suffer us to withdraw our hand from the vigorous prosecution of it until those who have forced and are forcing it upon us shall be satisfied with the results of their experiment.

We have no doubt that we utter the sentiments of our whole people. It is one of the benefits of our late reverses, that the nerves of each patriot are strung high for every needful sacrifice, and every required effort. The spirit of the South is roused to a far higher pitch than at any previous period. Our Confederacy is just beginning to put forth her strength. She just begins to perceive that her adversary is in dead earnest. If the tremendous efforts of that adversary should not speedily end in exhaustion and collapse, the mighty resources and energies of this Southern people will ere long begin to tell in the struggle, and, God helping her, she will gloriously triumph.—*Charleston, March 26th 1862.*

PRICES CURRENT.

(From the latest received Confederate Papers.)

ALCOHOL.—The market is still dull, the only sale reported 50 bbls of 95 per cent. Western at 48 cents per gallon.

BARK.—We note sales during the week in small lots at 26 to 27 dols. per ton for No. 1, and 20 to 22 dols. for No. 2.

COFFEE.—There has been very little doing this week, the demand being confined to the wants of the retail trade—holders, however, have shown no disposition to sell except at full rates, consequently prices are unchanged. We quote prime Rio at 19 to 21 cents, as to quality; Laguayra 22 to 23 cents; Java 25½ to 26 cents, and Ceylon 24 cents per lb.

FISH.—Under a limited demand. The market has ruled dull, and in some kinds we note a decline. We quote—Codfish, 3 dols. to 3 dols. 50 cents per 100 lbs.; Hake, 1 dol. 75 cents to 2 dols. ditto; Alewives, 3 dols. to 3 dols. 50 cents per barrel; Herrings, scaled, 20 to 35 cents; ditto Labrador 3 dols. 75 cents to 4 dols.; ditto Eastern, 1 dol. 50 cents to 3 dols.; No. 1 Mackerel, 9 dols. 50 cents to 10 dols. 25 cents; ditto No. 2, 7 dols. to 8 dols.; ditto No. 3, large, 6 dols. to 6 dols. 75 cents; ditto medium ditto, 6 dols. to 6 dols. 50 cents; ditto small ditto, 3 dols. to 3 dols. 75 cents per barrel.

FRUIT.—There has only been a limited retail demand at previous quotations, viz., Raisins, MR., new, 3 dols. 45 cents to 3 dols. 50 cents; ditto, layers, ditto, 3 dols. 75 cents; Almonds, soft shelled, 12 cents to 15 cents per lb.; paper shell, ditto, 30 cents per lb.; Filberts 6½ cents to 7 cents; Palm Nuts 8½ cents; Pea Nuts 2 dols. to 2 dols. 50 cents per bushel; Cocoa Nuts, 35 to 40 dols. per M.; Zante Currants, 10 cents to 12 cents; Dates, 5 cents to 6 cents; Turkey Figs, 12 cents to 16 cents; Prunes, 18 cents per lb.; Sicily Lemons, 2 dols. to

2 dols. 50 cents per box, and ditto Oranges, 2 dols. 25 cents to 3 dols. 50 cents per box.

FLOUR.—The only demand prevailing this week has been for choice brands of Ohio and Howard-street superfine, which at the close is a shade better, and generally held more firmly; other descriptions have ruled exceedingly dull. We quote Howard-street and Ohio Super at 5 dols. 25 cents, and City Mills, ditto, at 5 dols. to 5 dols. 25 cents per bbl. Extra at 5 dols. 50 cents for Ohio and Howard-street, and 5 dols. 50 cents to 6 dols. 25 cents per bbl. for ordinary to choice shipping brands City Mills. We still quote Corn Meal at 2 dols. 87 cents per bbl. for Brandywine and City Mills, and Rye Flour at 3 dols 38 cents to 3 dols. 50 cents per bbl., with limited transactions.

GRAIN.—The market has only been moderately supplied this week, and under a good demand for both corn and wheat prices have ruled in favour of sellers. Of corn the supply has been readily disposed of at 50 cents to 61 cents per bushel at the opening, and 61 cents to 62 cents, with an additional cent for very prime parcels of white, at the close, and 50 cents to 57 cents per bushel for yellow, closing very firm at the last-named figures with a good shipping demand. Wheat has ruled very steady and firm, the figures at the close showing an advance on prime qualities. We quote fair to prime white at 1 dol. 33 cents to 1 dol. 60 cents; prime Southern red at 1 dol. 30 cents to 1 dol. 31 cents, and Pennsylvania ditto at 1 dol. 27 cents to 1 dol. 30 cents per bushel. Oats have been dull, and at the close we quote prime Pennsylvania at 37 to 38 cents, and Maryland at 35 to 36 cents per bushel. Prime Pennsylvania Rye is worth 72 to 73 cents, and Maryland 67 to 68 cents per bushel.

GUNNY BAGS.—We quote large size 4's at 25 cents, and 2's at 14 to 15 cents each.

GUNPOWDER.—Dapont's and Beatty's Blasting is worth 3 dols. 75 cents, and Sporting ditto, 6 dols. per keg.

HEMP.—The market is dull—we quote American dressed at 120 to 125 dols. per ton; Russia 155 to 160 dols. ditto; Rough American 6 cents; Manila 8½ to 8¾ cents; Sunn 6½ cents, and Jute 6½ to 7 cents per lb.

IRON.—There is no change to notice this week in prices. We quote—Baltimore Forge Pig 30 dols.; Charcoal, ditto, No. 1, 30 to 32 dols.; Anthracite, ditto, No. 1, 23 to 24 dols.; Scotch Pig, from yard, 25 dols.; American Bars 55 to 60 dols.; English, ditto, refined, 62 dols. 50 cents to 67 dols.; ditto, common, 57 dols. 50 cents to 62 dols. 50 cents; American Sheets 5½ cents; English, ditto, 3½ to 4½ cents, and Russia, ditto, 17½ to 18 cents per lb.

LEATHER.—The demand has been about equal to the supply, consequently the market has ruled firm. We quote City Slaughtered Sole, 28 to 30 cents; country, ditto, 26 to 28 cents; Rough Skirting, 25 to 28 cents; Spanish Sole, 26 to 29 cents; City Harness, black, 30 to 35 cents; country ditto, 20 to 30 cents; Upper, in rough, 3 to 4 dols. per hide; Calf Skins, 60 to 75 cents, and finished, ditto, 80 cents to 1 dol. 10 cents per lb.

MOLASSES.—The transactions have been very limited, the sales being confined to supplying the wants of the retail trade. We quote Muscovado at 22 to 26 cents; sour, ditto, 20 cents; Porto Rico, 28 to 35 cents, as to quality, and New Orleans 50 to 52 cents per gallon.

NAVAL STORES.—We quote Spirits Turpentine at 1 dol. 20 cents to 1 dol. 25 cents per gallon; other articles we quote nominally as before, viz.—Common and No. 2 Rosin at 7 dols. 50 cents to 8 dols. 50 cents per barrel; Tar 9 to 10 dols., and Pitch 7 dols. 50 cents to 8 dols. per bbl.

POTATOES.—The stock continues large. We quote them at 60 to 80 cents per bushel, as to quality.

PROVISIONS.—There has been a fair demand for dry salted meats for export, but other kinds have not been active, the demand being for the city trade and ship stores. We quote Mess Pork at 13 dols. per bbl., prime Mess at 12 dols. 50 cents, and Prime at 10 to 11 dols. per bbl. Bacon—Shoulders and Sides at 4½ to 5 and 6 to 6½ cents, and Hams at 7 to 9 cents per lb., as to quality. Bulk Meat at 4 cents for Shoulders, and 5 to 5½ cents for Sides, and 5½ to 7 cents per lb. for Hams. Lard is quiet at 8½ to 8¾ cents per lb. for prime Western Leaf. We quote Mess Beef, in limited request, at 15 to 16 dols., and No. 1 ditto at 12 dols. 50 cents.

BUTTER.—We have no change to notice; prime qualities are still in demand for trade purposes. We quote New York State at 23 to 24 cents, and Roll at 15 to 18 cents, as to quality. We note sales of fresh selected Eggs at 12½ to 13 cents.

CHEESE.—Is rather firm; we quote Eastern cutting at 8 to 8½ cents; English dairy at 8½ to 9 cents, and New England dairy at 6½ to 7½ cents per lb. as to quality.

RICE.—Small lots are selling at 7 to 7½ cents per lb. for Carolina.

SUGAR.—We still note a very limited demand, although the market is steady. The sales comprise about 200 bbls., mostly grocery descriptions, within the range of quotations, viz.: common to good refining grades, Cuba at 6½ to 7 cents; good grocery ditto at 7½ to 7¾ cents; prime Porto Rico at 8 cents, and choice ditto at 8½ to 8¾ cents per lb.

SEEDS.—There is nothing doing, we quote clover nominally at 5 to 5 dols. 25 cents per bushel, as to quality; Timothy at 2 dols. to 2 dols. 25 cents, and flaxseed at 1 dol. 90 cents to 2 dols. per bushel, with limited sales.

SALT.—We have a still further decline to notice this week. We now quote ground alum at 1 dol. 10 cents; Marshall's and Jeffery's and D'Arcy's fine at 1 dol. 75 cents, and Ashton's ditto at 1 dol. 90 cents per sack, with only a limited business.

TALLOW.—We quote city-rendered at 9 cents. country at 8½ cents to 8¾ cents, and rough fat at 6 cents per lb.

TONACCO.—The inquiries have been principally for the medium grades of Maryland crop, all of which have moved off as fast as offered, while both the low and finer grades have been neglected. We continue to quote: Maryland—Inferior to common 4 dols. 50 cents to 5 dols.; good to common 5 dols. to 5 dols. 50 cents; medium 5 dols. 50 cents to 7 dols. 50 cents; good to fine brown 7 dols. 50 cents to 8 dols. 50 cents; fine brown and colony 10 to 11 dols.; upper country common to fine yellow 3 to 15 dols.; ground leaves 4 to 12 dols. Ohio—Inferior to good common 4 to 5 dols.; red and spangled 5 dols. 50 cents to 7 dols. 50 cents; good and fine red and spangled 8 to 10 dols.; good and fine yellow 10 to 13 dols. Kentucky—3 dols. to 8 dols. 50 cents. for lugs, and 9 dols. 50 cents to 18 dols. for leaf.

WOOL.—No change to notice this week.—The market is still dull. We quote—Unwashed at 25 to 28 cents; tow-washed at 39 to 43 cents; pulled 30 to 31 cents for No. 1, and 34 to 38 cents per lb. for merino. Fleeces are quoted at 35 to 45 cents. per pound.

WHISKEY.—The sales for the week comprise some 500 bbls. of Country and Western at 24 to 25 cents. per gallon, including 100 bbls. to-day at 24 cents, at which the market closes.

NEW ORLEANS, April 14th.

The past week has been marked by some depression in general business, and by an almost total suspension of financial operations. The market was amply supplied with capital throughout, and rates of discount uniformly ruled in favour of borrowers and holders of paper; but the war movements engrossed the whole public mind, from the opening to the close of the week, and the demand for accommodation could not have been considered better than nominal at any time on the part of any class of borrowers or dealers in paper. At bank, there was a trifling daily movement noticeable in the way of renewals, but applications for new discounts were of a more restricted character than at any previous date from the commencement of the present year.

STOCKS AND BONDS.—The inquiry for this description of securities has almost entirely subsided within the past few days, and operations of any kind have been of too restricted a character to receive special notice. The success of our army in Tennessee caused holders of some favourite classes to considerably advance their asking rates, but buyers were too much absorbed otherwise to devote the required attention to investments of any kind, and operations for the time were but little better than nominal. Offerings of the better description continued exceedingly light, and there is no demand noticeable for the lower grade securities. Of course, prices are well unsettled, and we can only refer to the following as approximating figures, viz.:—

NEW ORLEANS STOCK MARKETS.

Canal Bank, 100 dols. paid	135 to —
Louisiana, 100 dols. paid	170 to —
Louisiana State, 100 dols. paid	170 to —
Mechanics and Traders, 100 dols. paid ..	99 to 100
Citizens' Bank, 100 dols. paid	225 to —
Bank of New Orleans, 100 dols. paid	99 to 100
Southern Bank, 100 dols. paid	118 to —
Union Bank, 100 dols. paid	98 to 100
Crescent City Bank, 100 dols. paid	87½ to —
Merchants' Bank, 100 dols. paid	90 to —
Bank of America, 100 dols. paid	125 to —
New Orleans Sixes, 1000 dols. Bonds	110 to —
New Orleans Railroad Bonds	110 to —
Jackson Railroad Bonds, 8 per cent.	100 to —
Jackson Railroad, 25 dols. paid	12 to —
Opelousas Railroad, 25 dols. paid	12 to —
Gas-Light Company, 100 dols. paid	212 to 212
Louisiana State Sixes	110 to 115
Southern Oil Company	50 to —
Confederate Treasury Notes	par
Confederate Bonds	92 to —
No. City Railroad Company, 100 dols. paid	200 to —
Opelousas Railroad Bonds	100 to —

SPECIE, &c.—Receipts of uncurrent Bank Notes have shown a further reduction for the week, and the brokers have cheerfully exchanged all that were offered to them of the issues of banks in other Confederate States at the revised figures in the subjoined table:—

GOLD AND SILVER.

American Gold Coin	— to — per cent. prem.
Do. Specie, old coinage ..	— to — " "
Do. Specie, new coinage ..	— to — " "
California Gold, per ounce	— to —
Mexican Dollars	— to —
Spanish Pillar Dollars	— to —
Five Franc Pieces	— to —
Sovereigns	4.80 to 4.85
Napoleons	3.80 to 3.85
Spanish Doubloons	16.25 to 16.50
Patriot	15.65 to 16.00

And 13 to 20 per cent. premium.

BANK NOTES.

City Banks	12 to 15 prem.
Mobile	5 to 8 "
Alabama State	3 to 5 "
North Carolina	3 to 5 "

South Carolina	3 to 5 prem.
Georgia	3 to 5 "
Northern Bank of Mississippi	par.
Virginia	3 to 5 prem.
Tennessee	3 to 5 "
Kentucky	— to —
Missouri	— to —
Com. and Ag. Texas	— to —

Operations in Exchange have been almost wholly suspended, and the market wears an unusually apathetic appearance. Offerings of foreign bills were exceedingly insignificant throughout, and the inquiry for this description, was at no time much better than nominal, while the supply of domestic ruled precisely as for several weeks past, and transactions in it comprised no round amounts at any time, so far as particulars have thus far transpired.

We now quote as follows:—Clear sterling bills, 70 to 75 per cent. premium; francs, 3 fr. to 2 fr. 75 per dollar; sight drafts on other Southern States, par at bank, and 1 to 1½ per cent. discount in the out-door market.

The last official returns to the Board of Currency were highly satisfactory.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Saturday evening, April 12th, 1862.

COTTON.—Nothing reported. No receipts. Nominal stock, exclusive of amount *in transitu*, 11,214 bales.

TOBACCO.—We did not hear of a sale. No receipts. Nominal stock, 16,184 bbls. Actual stock, about 14,000.

SUGAR.—With no shipping facilities, there is no demand, and the sales are confined to retail transactions. Prices irregular and unsettled.

MOLASSES, 50 bbls. Slightly fermenting, sold at 16 cents. The market is extremely dull.

FLOUR.—The Committee of Safety are selling sacks at the tariff rates.

CORN.—We notice some sales from warehouse at the tariff rate of 1 dol. 20 cents per bushel. None appearing on the levee.

OATS, BRAN, and HAY.—Nothing reported.

BEEF.—Tires and bbls. of irregular weight are selling at 18 cents per pound.

PORK.—None on Sale.

BACON and LARD.—Small sales, at the tariff rates.

WHISKEY.—Rectified, made from Louisiana Rum, retails at 1 dol. 20 cents to 1 dol. 25 cents.

LOUISIANA RUM.—We hear of small sales, at 40 to 50 cents.

FREE MARKET.

Eighteen hundred and eighty families were supplied at this market during the past week, by the following distribution:—7 bullocks, 214 bushels of corn meal, 13 bbls. of rice, 142 sacks of potatoes, 13 bbls. of molasses, 4 bbls. mackerel, 2 boxes of codfish, 900 cabbages, 1000 bunches of leeks.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

At Cheraw, on Tuesday evening, 18th March, by the Rev. J. T. Brown, Lieutenant James H. Powe, C.S.P.A., to Josephine E., the daughter of the late William H. Robbins, Esq.; all of Cheraw.

On the 14th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Dr. Cummins, George N. Moale to Miss Nellie DeC. Wright, daughter of Robert Clinton Wright, Esq.

On the 14th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Dr. McJilton, A. S. Kirkpatrick, Esq., of Monmouth, Ill., to Miss Annie Stevens, of Baltimore county, Md.

On the 10th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Mr. Rolfe, William A. Wood to Miss Alphonza Elizabeth Merrikin; all of that city.

At Richmond, on Thursday, 3rd April, at St. Paul's Church, by Rev. R. Gatewood, Major A. Sinclair Cunningham, C.S.A., to Miss Ellen W., daughter of the late Captain William E. Stark, of the Marine corps.

On the 12th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Father Slattery, Louis Kalbus to Miss Mary Ann Mitchell.

On the 8th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Mr. Cooper, Mr. Isaac J. Williams to Miss Jane E. Adams; both of Somerset county.

On the 13th March, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Henry Elbert, Thomas H. Walker, of New York, to Miss Charlotte C. Brown, of Baltimore, Md.

At Christ Church, on the 15th April, at Baltimore by the Rev. N. H. Schenck, William H. Carter to Mary W., eldest daughter of Robert Cook; all of that city.

On the 13th April, at the residence of the bride, by the Rev. G. L. Staley, Israel Holtzman, of Allegany county, to Miss Rebecca E. Reed, of Mount Washington, Baltimore county, Md.

On the 24th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. A. G. Thomas, James B. Wright to Miss Charlotte E. Grace; both of East Baltimore.

On Tuesday, 22nd April, at Emanuel Church, Baltimore, by Rev. N. H. Schenck, John H. Bash to Lottie Hayes; both of that city.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, by Rev. Neville Rolfe, James Trutt, of Baltimore, to Miss Sallie E. Cowan, of Harford county.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, by Rev. M. Slattery, William J. A. Beatty to Miss Charlotte Jane Sangston; both of that city.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, by Rev. L. E. Morgan, J. Harry Forbes, of Xenia, Ohio, to Annie M., youngest daughter of the late Mark Grafton, of that city.

DIED.

On Tuesday evening, 16th April, at his residence, Rockland, Baltimore County, William Fell Johnson, in the 64th year of his age.

On Wednesday morning, 15th April, at Baltimore, Charles Bradenbaugh, in the 43rd year of his age.

On the 15th April, at Baltimore, Patrick Manning, in the 38th year of his age; a native of the town of Clifton, parish of Oma, county of Galway, Ireland; but for the last eleven years a resident of the above place.

On the 4th April, in Talbot county, Md., Christopher Harrison, in the 87th year of his age.

On Saturday, the 5th April, at Baltimore, John White, Esq., in the 81st year of his age. For many years he had withdrawn himself from business and general society, but by his own fire-side he enjoyed the affectionate intercourse of those dear to him, and a small circle of attached friends. To the last his vigorous and cultivated intellect retained its force; and the strongest tribute to his memory, from those with whom he has just parted, is their keen sense that their loss is irreparable.

On the 20th April, at the Sisters of Providence, in Baltimore, Britannia Ferguson, in the 17th year of her age. The deceased was a native of Richmond, Va. Her death was one of calmness and Christian hope.

On the morning of the 24th April, at Baltimore, Mrs. Hannah Dickehut, in the 77th year of her age.

On Wednesday evening, 23rd April, at Baltimore, Robert Starr, in the 51st year of his age.

On the 24th April, at Baltimore, Frances, wife of John Welch, aged 27 years. May she rest in peace.

On the 23rd April, at Baltimore, of consumption, patiently and hopefully borne, in the 60th year of her age, Alice, relict of the late James Reilly.

Of consumption, at the dwelling of his mother, 199, Biddle-street, near Ross, Dr. Charles Walter, aged 28 years, 9 months, and 2 days.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, George A. Holly, in the 29th year of his age.

On the morning of the 22nd April, after a protracted illness, which she bore with Christian fortitude and calm resignation, Emmeline Howard, wife of George D. M. Olure, and youngest daughter of Henry and Mary Most.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, Sophia Martin, in the 50th year of her age.

On Tuesday morning, 22nd April, at Baltimore, George Watchman, aged 58 years.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, after a severe illness of seven years, George Andrew Holly, in the 29th year of his age.

On the 21st April, at Baltimore, at her residence, 115, N. Caroline-street, Ann, wife of the late Captain James Simpson, aged 86 years.

On the 21st April, at Baltimore, of typhoid fever, Caroline C. Bayer, aged 28 years.

On the morning of the 21st April, at Baltimore, after a short illness of thirty hours, Mary Feodrich, aged 18 years and 5 months.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following is from a merchant's letter to his English correspondent:—

"NEW YORK, April 26.

"I have yours, with copy of letter from Nashville. If the feeling exists as represented by your correspondent, and of which I have no doubt, it will be a long time before we can get cotton or trade. Before we can accomplish anything in the right direction, the parties waging war must learn the spirit and temper of their foe, and address themselves to it, which, this far, they have entirely ignored. From what I learn from Baltimore, the entire South has never been the unit in purpose and action they now are. I am informed that all things, such as vessels, armaments, plate, &c., are freely tendered to the cause of resistance. The siege of Yorktown continues, and here great doubts and apprehensions are felt if the whole Virginia line can be defended. The siege will be a long, if not an unsuccessful, one."

The following is from the South, and was written to a member of a leading firm on this side:—

"COLUMBUS — , 1862.

"You are no doubt fully posted by advices which reach England of the movement of affairs on this continent. July last was the time the Lincoln Government fixed for suppression *entire* of the little rebellion, as they call it; and so far they have made little progress, with all their immense army and navy, and bawling, all how long, they will continue in their suicidal course God only knows. Every day, however, that they keep up the warfare, but

helps the independence of the South; and if continued for two years would place us in a grand position, by bringing out our resources—developing mechanical and manufacturing elements—so as to make us the most independent people and nation in the world. I consider the feelings now prevailing in the North are for revenge; and with the party in power, to sustain themselves in that power, which is really no more than a military dictatorship. I thank God I am in a country where the civil law predominates, and freedom of speech and person reigns supreme. My interests have suffered by not going to New York; but if I had done so I should have been 'Bastiled.'

"I am quite inclined to believe that both England and France will adopt some course before long to cause a withdrawal of the blockade.

"You would be astonished to see the unlimited confidence which exists all through the country of the ultimate success of our arms. There is very little excitement, and no scarcity of the necessaries of life."

Extract from a letter from Savannah, March 28:—

"I am afraid you are doomed to disappointment about recognition, the Northern successes being apparently great, but will prove futile, and by the 1st of July they will be driven through Maryland into their Northern haunts, or I am much mistaken. We are only waking up to the enormous struggle before us, and men are flocking to the standard of the Confederacy from all quarters. By the 1st of June, if necessary, we will have a million of men in the field, and all armed in one way or another; besides a fleet of iron-clad gunboats. About here we are preparing for a stout defence; the scoundrels may shell Savannah, but they cannot hold it for two hours. All Georgia would flock here, on the telegraphic announcement that the first gun had been fired, and would fight them from house to house. The lead is being taken from pipes and window weights, not because we are short of it, but to make sure of having enough, and all points to a long and sanguinary contest. The enemy may annoy us here all summer, and, notwithstanding their dread of fevers, may attempt a bold stroke, and if so, a good, sound thrashing is in store for them. We are all getting used to war, and its rumours, and every one is employed in some way or other to alleviate its worst evils. Women are making clothes for the soldiers, and many of them nursing the sick; they are here and elsewhere ministering angels. How England, and English hearts, can stand by and see all the rules of modern warfare violated, as they are by the Northern vandals, I cannot understand; evidently the race is degenerating. Towns are fired into without a moment's warning, and women and children killed in the street. It is horrible, but they will have judgment visited upon them for it. If ever a people were in earnest, our people are now, and the veriest coward will fight to the bitter end against such a set of scoundrels. We don't care about their advancing into our country, feeling assured, that any who get back will have a sad tale to tell. Tennessee and Kentucky are heart and soul with us, and their passage through these portions of the country on a retreat will be peculiarly unenviable. I firmly believe, that by the 1st of July, there will be a dearth of Yankees this side the Ohio and Delaware. Your drivelling Whig Government are doubtless elated at the success of the North, and more particularly at Abe Lincoln's emancipation schemes, but there is a bitter pill for all of the Exeter Hall school to swallow before the close of 1862. The North have not common honesty in dealing with the negroes, and they won't stay with them. At Port Royal, they have a few hundred disaffected and inquisitive darkies, who, when opportunity serves, run off. Negroes now supply Fort Pulaski with fresh provisions, and carry the mails faithfully. Depend upon it, all their talk about contraband is bosh, emphatic bosh. The city is in a good state of defence, and what we are now doing is to perfect that state. Business men want the recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain, in order to facilitate the opening of the ports, but the general public don't care two straws about it.

"The South will work out its own salvation, but it would have bound her to the old country by many ties, if it had been done, and when it is too late your Government will find out the terrible mistake they have made. We expect and hope our commissioners will be withdrawn. By 1st August you will have a letter from me dated Baltimore, if not Philadelphia; this is not a silly boast; for if you ever heard of men gathering to their country's standard faster than they are here, I never have."

"PHILADELPHIA, 25th April, 1862.

"I am sorry to see, from the tone of your last letter, the gloomy views to which the friends of the South are yielding under the influence of the exaggerated accounts trans-

mitted to Europe through Northern sources, of Federal successes. The friends of the South here, I assure you, feel no despondency. The only point on which they entertained any anxiety was as to the temper and spirit with which the Southern people would meet their reverses, and in regard to that, ample and satisfactory evidence comes from nearly the entire South, of the determination to make every sacrifice, and encounter any extent of suffering which may be necessary to secure the success of the holy cause of resistance to Northern domination. All eyes are now turned upon the two points—Corinth and Yorktown—where, in a great measure, rests the solution of the question, how long this unnatural struggle is to continue. The battles of which they may be the fields even at this moment, but which cannot be deferred many days, must, if disastrous to the Northern arms in both, or either, of those places, cause a terrible panic in financial circles throughout the North. Nothing but the strong conviction entertained in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, of an early termination of the war by the submission of the rebels, sustains the value of Government securities. One serious reverse at either of those important points would open the eyes of capitalists to the folly of the views held by them. As soon as it shall appear that the task of subjugating the South is to be prolonged, not for a few more weeks or months, but for one or more years, an apprehension as to the security of the Government issues will begin to pervade the public mind, and a fear of repudiation will gradually grow up and extend. It is becoming very doubtful whether the present Congress will be able to agree upon and pass a tax-bill. A canvass of Republicans took place two or three nights since on the subject, which broke up without coming to any agreement. I conversed last night on this subject with an ex-Senator, who stated his conviction, that no taxes could be collected in the Western States, and that any attempt on the part of the Government to collect them would be met by open resistance. He looked upon repudiation as inevitable."

"NEW ORLEANS, 4th April, 1862.

"By letters lately received, I am called upon to make provision for the support of my family abroad. Exchange here has been selling at rates ruinous to the purchaser. The sugar crop of last year amounts to about a million lbs., more or less, of excellent quality, of which somewhat less than half has been sold at from 30 to 40 dollars per hhd. Provision crops, such as corn, potatoes, peas, &c., are abundant. Pork is selling at 45 to 50 dollars per bbl. The determination, so far as I can learn from all sources, to neglect cotton, and to raise enormous provision crops, is imminent among the planters of the South. I find money abundant here, and could readily sell the mortgage notes which I hold.

"The whole country has been thoroughly aroused by our late reverses. Indeed, our people appear but now to begin to have a due sense of the magnitude of the conflict in which we are engaged. We have abandoned all expectation, not only of aid, but even of justice and fair-play, on the part of England; and I must say to you, that our former friendly sentiments towards that Power are gradually becoming alienated, and will, unless checked, eventuate in positive hostility.

"The burning of cotton has thus far lighted the footsteps of the enemy across our border, and you may rely upon it, that henceforth they will get possession of none of the staple, whatever success may attend them. A fleet of thirty or forty enemy's vessels are collected in the river above the pipes, and an attempt upon the fort is momentarily expected. Every confidence appears to be felt here in the result."

Extracts from letters from New Orleans:—

"MARCH 23rd, 1862.

"If this letter reaches you, advise my family in Ireland that we are all perfectly well, and that there is, in my judgment, no chance of a termination of war for years to come. European intervention can only do so—of this you can best judge. I do not believe in any interference myself. I never doubted that we shall succeed unassisted and alone; in due time working out our own salvation."

"MARCH 21st, 1862.

"We expect an attack here soon, and every man from 18 to 45 is under arms, and in camp round the city. I see no hope of an early termination of this war; it has therefore only commenced. Our only currency is Government paper, and private "shin plasters." Gold is 65 per cent. premium to-day.

Extract from a letter from a merchant in New Orleans, dated March 16th:—

"My brother and myself have been for the last week with our regiment—the 2nd battalion of Crescent Rifles—

encamped at the Metarie Ridge, on part of what used to be the old Hopkin's plantation, two miles down the Pontchartruni Railroad. Yesterday I received your letter of 23rd January, from Liverpool. Mr. Yancey brought it from Savannah. He came down to our camp, and we received him in hollow square; but he did not address our corps. We learned from the officers, however, that he says we have no friends in England; and that, under God, our own right arms must fight and win our cause. Since the publication of Lord Lyons' abolition despatch to Earl Russell, a very bitter feeling has sprung up here against England; and the old country will rue for many a long day the opportunity she has allowed to pass of free trade with the South, which now, I fear, may be considered lost for ever.

"Numbers of your friends have left to join the Bishop (General Polk) and General Bauregard in Tennessee. Janvier left yesterday, and so did De Buys and his brother of the Star Insurance Company. Our camp is called Camp Caroline, in honour of our colonel's (J. F. Girault) wife. As to the final result of the war, no one doubts the success of the Confederate cause, though the struggle may be protracted.

"In thirty days we shall be ready to send off a very powerful iron-clad steam ram and battery combined, fully equal to the Merrimac. I write from town, having a furlough for a day."

SAVANNAH, March 10th, 1862.

[Extract.]

COTTON is unchanged in Griffin, 7 cents for middling, 7½ cents good middling. Albany the same. Augusta strict middling, 7½ cents to 7½ cents good middling, 8 cents middling, fair 8½ cents to 8½ cents. Columbus 6½ cents to 7 cents for middling. It is difficult to get insurance in either of the above places. We are trying to buy some cotton in some plantations, but have not succeeded as yet. Some planters have too high notions.

We do not think that planters in general will plant much cotton, unless the blockade is raised shortly; at any rate, they will not make more than ½ to ½ crop, as they are all turning their hands to grain.

SAVANNAH, March 22nd, 1862.

[Extract.]

THE general aspect of affairs is so gloomy, and the prospect of raising the blockade so distant, that we have concluded for the present not to buy any more cotton; the place where it might be stored might be evacuated, which now seems the order of the day; and the whole of the investment lost.

SAVANNAH, March 28th, 1862.

[Extract.]

THINGS begin to look rather gloomy, and we do not think that there is the slightest prospect of peace, or even of the blockade being raised; and if it was raised, business could not begin for at least two months. A vessel is loading in Charleston at 6 cents, and freight payable in advance. We tried, but in vain, to get some room, as we think the vessel will succeed, and cotton will do better in Europe than here; it may have to remain stored a very long time.

Cotton is unchanged since our last. Sterling 70 per cent premium.

THE COTTON COMING FORWARD.—There is great activity in the cotton trade at points where our forces hold possession. The first shipment up the Mississippi since the commencement of the war is thus announced by the correspondent of the Chicago Times with Foot's fleet:—"The Government despatch steamer De Soto, which arrived this morning from Fort Pillow, brought 300 bales of cotton, taken at Osceola by a detachment of our land forces attached to Commodore Foot's flotilla. This is an interesting bit of intelligence, the more so from the fact that the above shipment of cotton is the first sent up the river since the commencement of hostilities. Other quantities will be sent to this place. The region about Fort Pillow is a very extensive cotton district, and Fulton, the small town just below the rebel fortifications, has long been known as a heavy cotton-shipping port." The Nashville Union reports that Tennessee cotton is also fast finding its way to market. The Union says:—"There is great briskness in the cotton market at present at this point. Loads are constantly passing through the city on their way to the river. One boat, the day before yesterday, left with some 200 bales. Buyers are scouring the country in all directions as far as the protection of the Federal lines extend, and sometimes even further. The planters are acting like men of practical sense, and are quick to trade. Good middling brings 16 and 17 cents in specie or United States Treasury notes, and 22 and 25 in current Tennessee paper. There is no holding back on the part of the planters. They all fully appreciate the immense benefits which reviving trade will scatter over an almost bankrupt country. One thing has forced itself upon the minds of those even who were unwilling at first to admit the fact—interference with private property which has not been included in the rebellion will not be made by Federal troops. All parties now feel secure in this respect."

Foreign Correspondence.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

[The chief value of the subjoined correspondence is its genuine impartiality, and the remarkable accuracy with which it reflects the drawing-room and official war-gossip, and the alternating hopes and fears entertained at the enemy's capital. With the most scrupulous care to hold an even balance between the contending parties, it is morally impossible for our correspondent to wholly withdraw his views and opinions from the colouring of the medium through which he receives them. He cannot be blamed, therefore, if he sometimes states as facts what we know to be partly, if not wholly, erroneous, and expresses doubts and makes comments which we know to be unjust to the South, and to the loyalty and unalterable resolution of its people. But we have thought it our duty to lay this correspondence before our readers precisely as we ourselves receive it, without the slightest attempt to make it conform to our own views or even to our own knowledge of facts. Thus forewarned, the reader cannot fail to find in it much exclusive information, not allowed to ooze through the hermetically sealed press of the North, and also valuable materials for forming a correct opinion of the progress of the war.]

WASHINGTON, April 28.

THE city here is quite mad with joy at the fall of the "Crescent City," announced to-day from Fortress Monroe; but certain of the more cautious readers of events cannot disguise their apprehensions that the demonstrations may be premature, considering that we have twice before had the same news from the same source. And, although the great probability of the event renders its reception more than usually reliable, yet I cannot help remarking that the telegrams in both instances are based upon information only, and derived from very suspicious sources; for no one can have even a slight acquaintance with the negro, but must be fully aware of the almost insane desire to manufacture news, and the wonderfully able manner in which they adorn that and make up a lie so as to deceive even the most wary, pervades the whole race. And this may be a most clever contrivance, after all. The wish may have been father to the thought, and the name of the general who signed the despatch is strangely significative of the head that may have planned it. The fact, too, that some of the New York papers add to the previous notice, that "the operators, who had cut the communications on leaving New Orleans, returned—time not stated—and found the place in possession of the enemy," must be an invention, because, as the telegraph could not work, it was physically impossible this fact could have reached us.

Be this as it may, the public will not hear of any but implicit belief, and are extremely sore that the information of our previous victories—Fort Henry, Fort Donnellson, Pea Ridge, Island No. 10, Roanoke, Newbern, Nashville, and Huntsville, here appreciated to their full significance—have not attracted the notice, and received the due praise and treatment in Europe that they really deserved. There seems a well-grounded expectation in well-informed quarters, that with the possession of New Orleans, the Custom House reopened, and ample protection offered to the transactions of commerce, it cannot but happen that the monied and commercial classes will seize the opportunity of renewing the long-closed-up trade of the port. The merchants and bankers here, it is known, advanced largely on the crops; and we may fairly expect, if the Mississippi be kept open by the gunboats, they will procure the cotton so as to obtain the balances in their favour, and sell the stocks still uncovered by their advances. It is this consideration which, if the capture of New Orleans be really an accomplished fact, will open the eyes of Europe to the value of the acquisition by the Federal forces.

Florida seems destined to give annoyance to the blockading squadron. Jacksonville has been evacuated under "a necessity," which is reported as being "an unfortunate one." From one of the residents there, who passed up to Rhode Island, where he has relations, we learnt that this abandonment was against the feeling of the inhabitants. Florida is one of the chief sources of supplying fresh beef for the Confederate army, and its conquest would inflict great inconvenience now that the railway communications of the South-West have been seriously interfered with. I learn from a cotton buyer just returned from Tennessee, that there is no lack of sellers in that State; the small men preferring to get cash instead of the barren story of burning their stocks. In fact, though there must naturally arise some irritation and many complications in settling the country again under the Federal rule, yet, by firm and gentle treatment, passions may be allayed; and by a conscientious and patient devotion to the general interests of the nation, the Government may in time secure a firmer and better Union than ever before existed. At the same time, I am bound to say that the instalment of Andy Johnson in the government of the State he had so reviled was a most injudicious measure, which is bearing evil fruits to the Northern cause.

Cameron's release from arrest under President Lincoln's indemnity, does not by any means meet with

universal approbation, but the plot is not yet played out. *Nous verrons*. From Harrisonburg we learn that General Banks is fully entrenched, Jackson having fallen back on Gordonsville, forty miles easterly, at the junction of the Alexandria and Orange and the Virginia Central Railway; McDowell still occupies the heights on the Rappahannock, over against the town of Fredericksburg. The steamer Yankee, on the 22nd, went up, through the obstructions, to seven miles below the town. We hear but little of the Merrimac, but it's confidently reported she has been fitted with a new and stronger prow, and has been iron-plated three feet below water-mark. The weather has been very unfavourable for the last week, but with fine days we may look for her daily. The Galena and Vanderbilt, however, which arrived in Hampton Roads on the 23rd, are burning to encounter her. There are also rumours of four other iron-plated steamers being ready to issue with her from Norfolk, under Tattall's orders; so we shall have some new naval experiments for the French and English officers to criticise.

At all events, there seems no lack of energy on the side of the Confederates to meet their enemies; not only are the lines in front of McClellan well manned and armed, but forces are moving from Richmond, as well as from the Shenandoah Valley, to concentrate against an attack on the capital, whether from McDowell, or McClellan—General Ewell is said to have 8000 men at the crossing of the river, and General Smith to be strongly entrenched with 30,000. There seems, also, to have been every kind of zeal shown in the service of enlistment all through the Southern States. At Fort Pulaski, there is a story that one of the engineer officers had misdirected the fire of the batteries, in order to conceal defects which he had himself committed at in building the fort, so as to cheat Government. A shell burst in unloading, which killed three men and wounded one.

Beauregard is strongly reinforced, and has informed his Government he is prepared to hold his own, if not repeat his last blow. Now that the rivers are falling, there is less chance of his victory being snatched from him by gunboats, as was undoubtedly the case on his former essay; but General Mitchell's possession of the Memphis and Charleston Railway must, inevitably, hamper his communications.

All things considered—as I wrote to you last week—the heat of May, which we are just beginning to feel, is the best friend the Southern cause has; and there are awkward accounts afloat of diarrhoea both in the armies of Grant and McClellan.

The report from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* is making a good deal of talk here to-day.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

From the Washington correspondence of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, under date of the 28th, we select the following:—

"A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

"The current report to-day on the street is that the Government is in possession of information which may possibly lead to a cessation of hostilities for the present. A mediation and compromise forms the basis of this report. A special message from the President to Congress, on this subject, is even hinted at. A few hours may bring about a wondrous change in our warlike movements."

Don't believe in it. Mr. W— says, "if New Orleans is taken, the backbone of the rebellion is broken, and he does not see how the Southern people can collect their forces and strength together again, so as to make a successful resistance." He says General Winfield Scott told him when New Orleans was taken, then the backbone of the rebellion was broken, and President Lincoln would probably declare an amnesty. Mr. W— thinks this may be so; if some such course is not pursued, he thinks no settlement will be arrived at, as the Southern people will not be in a humour to make any under unconditional surrender. E. don't believe in any proclamation of amnesty. The most of the people say neither the North or the South are in a temper to make any compromise.

I give you all I hear except one thing I forgot. It is rumoured that the *Norfolk Day Book* states that Beauregard has had another victory at Corinth, taken 9000 prisoners, and that Foote has had to retire to Island No. 10. The street is full of wild reports. Government stocks have been run up very high, and the above may be for stock purposes.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, May 13.

M. MERCIER'S visit to Richmond has been for the past week, and still continues to attract the undivided atten-

tion of the Parisian press; and while the newspapers devoted to the Northern cause seem to take delight in circulating the wildest speculations with regard to that demonstration, those whose relations with the different Ministers entitle them to a sort of quasi-official standing, are evidently engaged in preparing public opinion for an earnest move of the French Government in the American question.

This is by no means a groundless supposition, for the *Constitutionnel* of the 8th instant, which, as you are already aware, draws its inspiration from M. de Persigny, contains a most significant editorial; indeed, it sets the whole question upon such unequivocal ground that it leaves no room for the slightest doubt. The *Constitutionnel* concludes its editorial thus:—"Our policy is far from supporting the institution of slavery, but at the same time that it endeavours to find the means to eradicate this institution without provoking revolutions and heaping ruins upon ruins, it is deeply interested in the fate of the French industry, and the Carolina negroes cannot throw the operatives of Lyons and Roubaix into oblivion."

"The policy of the *Constitutionnel* resolves itself in two words: *conciliation, mediation.*"

When, in connection with this conclusion, it is known upon most undoubted authority that M. Mercier is expected in Paris on or about the 26th instant, none but those whose intelligence is plunged into complete darkness by a species of Yankee monomania can mistake the fact that France has decided to take some decisive steps to relieve the daily increasing distress and sufferings of its working classes, which have been brought up to consider the Government the great and only curer of all evils, whatever be their source or nature, and which are far from being as enduring as the English operatives.

True it is, there exists some diversity of opinion with regard to the best policy to be adopted in the premises; but, with the exception of M. Thouvenel, who is said to be opposed to the South on account of his Orleanist tendencies, all the other members of the Cabinet fully agree upon this all-important point, *i.e.*, that something must be done immediately to avoid the closing of the cotton mills, upon which millions of lives are entirely dependent. It is even positively asserted that M. Rouher, the Minister of Commerce, has fully impressed the Emperor's mind with the fact, that unless some assurance be given to the cotton spinners of a forthcoming supply of that staple before the end of next month, the worst is to be apprehended.

Whether M. Thouvenel will finally yield his Orleanist sympathies to the more practical views of his associates is still doubted. But in the high diplomatic circles—even in the Senate Chamber—it is currently reported that should M. Thouvenel persist much longer in his unfriendliness towards the South, a change of Ministry is to be looked for; and that M. de Persigny, who is known to be a strong friend of the Southern Confederacy, and a stern advocate for its unconditional recognition, is already designated as the person to take charge of the Foreign Office. However, things will remain in their *statu quo* until M. Mercier's arrival in Paris, when the Government is determined to move, with or without the concurrence of England.

Old England is losing the ancient prestige which encircled her Royal crown. Once the proud ruler of the destinies of the European continent, she seems now to be contented humbly to resign her former supremacy.

In the present crisis, the conduct of England is astounding. The English Ministry is fully aware of the impending catastrophes which threaten to tear asunder the very basis of her industrial prosperity; her gigantic India cotton scheme has proved to be an utter failure, for the present at least. Indeed, the *London Times*, satisfied with the imperious necessity of some decisive action upon the matter, came out a few days ago with an editorial, headed, "What is England to do?" France has for some time past been making the strongest appeals to the British Cabinet to combine their mutual efforts to put a stop to the existing state of things in America. Each forward move of the Federal army towards the more Southern regions of the Confederate States is welcomed with the sombre flare of the blazes destroying and reducing to ashes millions of dollars' worth of property, as also of the cotton upon which rests the principal basis of England's commercial wealth. Each advanced step of the Northern army into the South but unravels the sad story of more sad forthcoming disasters. And yet there is an hesitation to pursue the only course which might, in saving the English people from fearful privations, secure the existence of the present Cabinet, and avert the threatened blow.

It must be now, for all sober-minded men, a self-evident proposition, that the American Union is among the things that were, and that all further attempts to reconstruct the former state of friendly feelings between the North and South, will prove as vain and fruitless

as would be the undertaking to infuse a new principle of life into a corpse. It must be plain to every close observer of the last year's American events, that the only object to be certainly attained by the continuance of this iniquitous war, is the destruction of Southern property, and the laying waste of the Southern fertile soil. Indeed, a portion of this year's cotton crop has already been burnt; much more of that staple is likely to meet with the same ominous fate. Very little of it, if any, has been sown; the next crop is, therefore, more than uncertain at this present moment, and will, no doubt, be entirely annihilated if this war continues much longer.

In presence of all these incontrovertible facts staring at England in the face, can we not ask with propriety, "What will she do then?" I leave this question to her due consideration.

NEW YORK, April 29.

The whole of the talk here is, of course, the fall of New Orleans; but there is enough on our hands on the money question to make most of us nervous. The Chamber of Commerce's Special Committee on the Tax Bill have made their report, which has occasioned most serious apprehensions. I send you the seven items under which they have classed the tariff proposed, and adopted entire by the Chamber, to be recommended to Congress.

1. A tax of 1 per cent. on all sales of goods, merchandise, and other property, whether wholesale or by retail	Dollars.
2. The tariff of Customs' duties	115,000,000
3. An excise, or tax, on cotton of 2c. per lb.	50,000,000
4. An excise, or tax, on tobacco of 20c. per lb.	24,000,000
5. An excise, or tax, on whiskey and other liquors at 25c. per gallon	30,000,000
6. An excise, or tax, on malt liquors of 5c. per gallon	25,000,000
7. A direct tax on real and personal property	8,000,000
	12,000,000
	264,000,000

You have plenty of financiers in England who will detect at a glance the fallacy of these figures. I can assure you, that here the feeling is one of grave alarm, the tax of 1d. per lb. on cotton being a direct premium on foreign competition in that staple in the markets of England and France. And "Who is to pay these 264 millions?" is becoming more and more widely asked, and the answer is never satisfactorily given. People are beginning to see the real strain all this conquest and subjugation must inevitably lead to. There are, it is true, a great many who ought to know better, who talk of the large resources the Government will draw from confiscated lands in the South; but who will guarantee the title? It will cost more to maintain the possession than the land can possibly be worth. So that though the city is flaunting with banners, and cannon are booming in honour of victory, there is a gloomy feeling of apprehension pretty widely spread.

The capture of New Orleans has made our market quiet; holders generally not disposed to give way. Spinners don't come in yet. The stock has been reduced by the sales of the past ten days, and spinners, if they continue to run, will have to buy again soon, and considerable. There is a great deal of talk about large supplies coming from the West, but I think the quantity is very much exaggerated.

OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

(From our Nassau Correspondent.)

NASSAU, April 12.

There is a strong feeling at this place that the European powers must shortly recognize the Confederate States. Our merchants are particularly struck with the thorough inefficiency of the blockade. It does not close the Southern ports, and running the blockade has long ceased to be an adventure. The only effect of the pretended blockade is to increase the rates of insurance for vessels bound for Southern ports, and it allows Federal ships to annoy neutrals and make a few captures. The European powers, by respecting our ineffective blockade, are giving the Federals an unfair advantage, for it enables them to inflict a serious injury on the Confederate States at a trifling, on at all events, an inadequate expenditure of strength and money. Is there any doubt still existing in England that the blockade is a sham? If so, I think the perusal of the accompanying extract from the *Nassau Guardian* will remove it, and convince the most sceptical:—

A GREAT deal of curiosity has been expressed of late as

to the extent of the commercial relations of Nassau with the Confederate States of America. To gratify this very general desire, we have carefully examined the official records of the Customs, and are enabled to present subjoined a complete list of all the arrivals from Confederate ports since the commencement of the Federal blockade.

It is not with the view of expatiating on the effectiveness of the latter measure that we have compiled this table, but to show to our merchants the importance of the trade that has recently grown up, and which, if properly fostered, may attain much wider proportions. The majority of the vessels mentioned below have again run the blockade into Confederate ports; but of these we need not present a record.

It is a notable circumstance that the arrivals from the Southern States are far more numerous than those from the North, with which our intercourse is free and unrestrained:—

1861.

June 17. Sch. Parker, Smith, Fernandina, naval stores.
 „ 18. Sch. W. H. Northrop, Silliman, Wilmington, lumber.
 Aug. 7. Sch. W. H. Northrop, Silliman, do. do.
 „ 13. Sch. Victoria, Certain, do., rice.
 Sept. 4. Sch. Mary Adeline, Carlin, Charleston, do.
 „ 9. Sch. Hampton, Gladding, Savannah, do.
 „ 19. Sch. Atkinson, Fitzinger, Georgetown, do.
 „ 20. Sch. Victoria, Vincent, Beaufort, S. C., do.
 Oct. 2. Sch. Carrie Sanford, Haggett, Wilmington, lumber.
 „ 8. Sch. Mary Louisa, Bettilini, Jacksonville, naval stores.
 „ 12. Sch. British Empire, Parsons, do., lumber.
 „ 15. Sch. J. W. Anderson, Black, Savannah, naval stores.
 „ 15. Sch. Adeline, Smith, Savannah, naval stores.
 Nov. 4. Sch. Lucy R. Waring, Smith, do. do.
 „ 6. Sch. John R. Wilder, Gardner, do., rice.
 „ 7. Sch. H. F. Willing, Gill, do. do.
 „ „ Sch. Gen. Ripley, Phillips, Charleston, do.
 „ 8. Sloop Mary, Baker, Savannah do.
 „ 15. Sch. Garibaldi, Bettilini, Jacksonville, naval stores.
 Dec. 5. Sch. Prince of Wales, Adair, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 6. Sloop Belle, Moore, Charleston, rice.
 „ 7. Steamship Ella Warley, Swasey, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 10. Steamship Theodora, Lockwood, do. do.
 1862.

Jan. 10. Sch. Garibaldi, Bettilini, Jacksonville, naval stores.
 „ 18. Steamship Kate, Lockwood, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 29. Sch. Col. McRea, Perry, Georgetown, S. C., naval stores.
 „ „ Sch. Arrow, Dennis, St. John's, Fla., do.
 Feb. 6. Sch. Alert, Howe, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 8. Sch. Louise, Byers, do., rice and cotton
 „ 10. Sch. Courier, Davis, do., cotton.
 „ 12. Steamship Nelly, Moore, do., do.
 „ 13. Sch. Sue, Smith, do., naval stores.
 „ 16. Steamship Kate, Lockwood, do., cotton.
 „ 24. Steamship Cecile, Peck, do., do.
 Mar. 3. Sch. Chase, Allen, do., lumber.
 „ Steamship Ella Warley, Swasey, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 4. Sch. Sir Robert Peel, Guage, Charleston, cotton and naval stores.
 „ 8. Steamship Cecile, Peck, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 10. Sch. Zaidee, Adair, do., cotton, and tobacco.
 „ 11. Sch. British Empire, Parsons, Jacksonville, naval stores.
 „ „ Steamship Kate, Carlin, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 12. Sch. Kate, Sabistan, do., cotton and lumber.
 „ 17. Sch. Laura, Ferklenberg, do., do.
 „ „ Sch. Carrie Sanford, Haggett, St. John's, Fla., naval stores.
 „ „ Sloop Coquette, Moore, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 22. Sch. Argyle, Davis, Charleston, cotton and naval stores.
 „ 27. Sch. Victoria, Fowler, St. Johns, Fla., naval stores.
 „ „ Sch. Annie Deans, Morse, Fernandina, do.
 „ „ Steamship Nashville, Gooding, Georgetown, S. C., ballast.
 April 2. Sch. Pride, Davis, Georgetown, S. C., cotton.
 „ 3. Steamship Economist, Burdge, Charleston, cotton.
 „ „ Sch. Rutherford, Green, Charleston, cotton.
 „ 7. Sch. Sarah, Russell, do. do.
 „ „ Sch. Acorn, Habenicht, do. do.
 „ 8. Sch. Louisa, Tolle, do. do.
 „ „ Sch. Chase, Habenicht, do. do.
 „ 9. Sch. Elizabeth, Rumley, do. do.
 „ 10. Steamship Cecile, Carling, do. do.
 Total 68, of which 35 since 1st January.

A SOUTHERN PLANTER'S VIEW OF THE COMING CROP.

From the Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel.

IN the estimate I now make of our necessities and our resources, I regret that I have not access to that exact information which I should desire, but still I hope this article may serve a good purpose in availing the people and their representatives to the truth of our situation. The estimate presents nothing to make us doubt, still less despair; its aspect is all hopeful, if we will but do our whole duty. I assume that we are virtually cut off from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, that Virginia and North Carolina can hold their own, and that the remaining eight States—Cotton States—must feed and clothe themselves. I shall confine myself entirely to Georgia; and now, can we in this State feed ourselves? I answer yes, if we cultivate no cotton, or at most, not more than one-fifth of an acre to the hand.

Georgia has a population in round numbers of 1,100,000—650,000 whites, 450,000 blacks. To give bread to the blacks will require at least 5,000,000 bushels of corn. For seed and bread for the whites 2,000,000 bushels of corn. To make meat for the whole population will require 1,000,000 hogs and 200,000 cattle, and these will consume 23,000,000 bushels of corn and peas—counting what is necessary to fatten them and to keep up the stock for the future. I assume that we have a million of hogs and three or four hundred thousand cattle, and do not count the sheep as meat producers, for they ought all to be saved for their wool, to clothe the soldiers.

We certainly have as many as 125,000 mules and horses, which will consume 5,000,000 bushels of corn, in addition to 7,500,000 bushels of oats, shelled or in the sheaf. I estimate only 1,000,000 of bushels of corn and peas for the sheep; and we thus see that we must produce 37,000,000 bushels of corn and peas in Georgia, allowing that we feed only our proportional part of the army, and that the army consumes as economically as other people. We must add on another million of bushels of peas for seed, and we have thus 38,000,000 of bushels to be produced this year. Can we do it? We can, if we will cultivate 4,000,000 of acres in corn, with a hill of peas to every hill of corn. At an average of eight bushels per acre—certainly a fair one—we shall get 32,000,000 bushels of corn, and an average of three bushels additional for peas will give us 12,000,000 bushels of that fine food—total 44,000,000, or 6,000,000 bushels to spare, under favourable circumstances of cultivation, and with genial seasons.

Have we 4000 acres of open land in Georgia, not now sown in wheat and oats? I hope so, but it is certainly doubtful. Mr. Bigham tells us that twelve years ago the nine States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, had of improved land less than 25,000,000 of acres—less than 3,000,000 to a State. Georgia, of course, had largely more than an average then—perhaps four or five millions—but she has not greatly extended her arable land since, for though much land has been cleared, much also has been abandoned or “turned out.” I estimate that we will regain five and a half millions of acres of land in Georgia, cultivated in wheat, oats, corn, and peas in order to feed ourselves—distributed as follows: 500,000 acres in wheat, 1,000,000 acres in oats, 400,000 acres in corn and peas, to say nothing of barley, rye, potatoes, and sugar cane. I make no account of rice, which is never intrinsically worth a dollar per hundred weight, though it usually sells for three or four times that sum; and can never enter largely into the food of a great or a free people.

I believe we can make enough on 5,000,000—half a million in wheat, 1,000,000 in oats, and three and a-half million in corn and peas. The production would then stand probably: 28,000,000 bushels of corn, 10,500,000 bushels of peas (excess of half a million); 10,000,000 bushels of oats (no excess, for the horses and mules would consume 7,500,000; 1,500,000 would be required for seed, and the balance for calves and sheep); wheat 4,000,000 (a deficiency of 550,000 bushels, allowing seven bushels per head for all the whites, including seed.)

We have, then, certainly not more than enough improved or open land in Georgia to produce our food and necessary clothing, even if we had a superabundance of labour. But, in reality, we have no more labour than is necessary to produce our food and clothing, had we ever so much land. I do not believe we can put into the fields this year much land, if any more, than 200,000 farm labourers. Nearly all the whites who have heretofore laboured in the fields will be soldiers; and deducting the young negroes and those who wait upon the household, those who live in the towns and those who have gone with their masters to the war, we shall only have about 200,000 blacks to cultivate the fields. My estimate of half a million acres in wheat is 2½ acres to the hand—a liberal, perhaps an over estimate. 1,000,000 of acres in oats is five acres to the hand—and certainly we have not more than that amount sown. 4,000,000 in corn and peas will be twenty acres to the hand—as much as can be cultivated.

In view of these estimates, which are believed to be substantially correct enough for all practical purposes, is there an owner of land or labour in Georgia who would not fail in his duty, who would not be criminally remiss, did he plant one foot of land in cotton, other than enough to produce fifteen pounds to each member of his family, for clothing, and who did not plant the very last acre of land he had, and could cultivate, in corn, peas, potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables, for food? And after the wheat and oat harvest, should he not plant every acre of wheat and oat land in peas, or at least, every one which would produce more in peas than in crab grass?

If all will do their whole duty, I feel no apprehension except on one point—clothing for the feet, shoes. Our sheep, I believe, will abundantly clothe 100,000 soldiers, and perhaps 100,000 or 200,000 others, and the remainder of the population, including the negroes, must be clothed in cotton. We can make some shift for hats. But it will require the leather from 200,000 Georgia cattle to give one pair of shoes to all, white and black. We are, unfortunately, not great consumers of beef, cattle being mainly slaughtered for the towns, and it is doubted whether we kill 50,000 a year, certainly not 100,000. We prefer bacon, rearing mainly the hog, which consumes more and pays worse in this country than any of our domestic animals; while we greatly neglect cattle, and especially sheep, the latter of which consumes less and pays better than any other animal. But, in the worse case, we can make shoes with wood bottoms and cotton uppers. As to tea and coffee, and perhaps in a measure, sugar and molasses, we must make up our minds to dispense with them. Surely we can, if we are undegenerate descendants of the men and women of '76, and if our political life for the last twenty or thirty years has not wholly corrupted and debased us, and emancipated us as well of hardness, endurance, and patience of privation, as of public virtue. Considering all these facts, the

State Legislatures not being in session, ought not the Confederate Government, charged as it is with the public safety, at once enact a law, with the severest penalties, prohibiting the planting of cotton beyond one fifth of an acre to the hand, and granting a bounty of ten dollars per hand to all those who, having heretofore cultivated cotton, and having already sold last year's crop, would plant none at all this year? Such a bounty would not amount to a million of dollars, and would enable those who received it to buy enough of last crop to clothe their people.

I should be glad to see this communication copied throughout the State, and to have every one into whose hands it may fall read it to his neighbours. I have written it only to do good—not for notoriety. Respectfully,

V. M. B.

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

SUNDAY morning, everything having been in readiness, General Hardee moved up his division to within a mile of the enemy's encampments, which extended between Lick and Owl Creeks, a distance of six miles, and from Pittsburg Landing, on the river, four miles into the interior. At early dawn the column commenced steadily advancing, and before it was yet light, were upon the enemy, who were taken completely by surprise; and, being panic-stricken, fled towards the river, deserting their camps, and leaving behind them all their camp equipage and one battery of light artillery.

This was on the enemy's right, at a place known as Shiloh Church. In half an hour after the attack, the entire Federal camp was aroused, and their forces, which Federal officers who were taken prisoners estimated at 70,000 men, put under arms. Following Hardee's advance a general movement was made by our line, and by nine o'clock the battle raged at its height. Steadily our troops commenced advancing, the enemy slowly falling back, desperately disputing every foot of ground. At ten a.m. we had captured three batteries and rifled guns, the gunners and horses being killed, and the supporting force of infantry driven back into the woods, hotly pursued by our conquering troops.

At eleven o'clock our generals became satisfied that thus early in the day we had gained a victory, as at all points the enemy, unable to withstand the terrible charges of our infantry and the murderous fire of artillery, which mowed them down by scores, were giving way. At twelve o'clock we had charged five batteries, four of them successfully.

Up to one o'clock, p.m., our advance was a series of continued successes; and at a time when the enemy were giving way along their line, a temporary panic seized one of our regiments, the result of which was the death of our commanding general, A. S. Johnston. Seeing that the regiment was wavering, and our line at that point beginning to bend, the old hero, with hat in hand, rode in front of them, urging them to come on, saying, “this will never do, we must drive them away.”

The regiment was rallied, and again advanced, while General Johnston rode to another position on the field, apparently unhurt. He dismounted from his horse and told a friend that he was fatally wounded, he feared. In a few minutes after getting off his horse, he lay down and died, having bled to death from a wound in the leg.

At no time, from noon until six o'clock p.m., did the enemy, who, at dark, were driven to the river, fully five, and at some points six miles, through their encampments, retake a position or any of the batteries, six in number, from which they were driven, or the guns captured. The main body of our forces approached to within a mile of the river, and would have captured the entire army, had it not been for the decimating fire kept up by the gunboats, and the guns of which the enemy sought protection.

Horses and mules that had been shot were running furiously over the field, trampling to death the wounded soldiers, who were unable to move to places of security, if such there were to be found. The landscape of the field, where lay friends in death who had but a moment before been enemies in life; the wounded as they begged for assistance; the uncontrolled rush of animals over dead and dying, the confusion incident to the occasion, was a picture, the sight of which appressed an appetite of desire to witness the horrors of the battle-ground, and filled one with a disgust and holy awe of war and its sufferings.

Night settled over the combatants, we occupying the Federal encampments, they huddled together along and under the banks of the river. At intervals of every few minutes during the night, a fire was kept up on us from the gunboats and batteries on the west side of the river, while our forces were busily engaged in removing the captured cannon, small arms, and stores, a large portion of which were taken off during the night, and are now in a place of safety.

Early on Monday morning, the enemy having received large reinforcements, advanced from the river in the direction of their former encampments, and before seven o'clock, the battle was renewed with all the fierceness of the day previous. Firmly and without flinching, for five long hours, our weary, fatigued, and exhausted troops held the enemy at bay; but about ten o'clock we withdrew to a position two miles distant from the scene of the first day's engagement, where we remained the evening, taking possession of their former encampments, which were not destroyed, although a large portion of everything valuable had been removed the night previous. Our artillery kept up a heavy fire until five o'clock, checking the advance of the enemy, and enabling us to remove our entire army and its equipments to Monterey, some eight miles distant, where the main portion of our army now is.

General Tom Crittenden is reported by the prisoners to have been killed early on Monday morning; he was undoubtedly on the field. General Beauregard was among our troops in the hottest of the fight on Monday, cheering them on and inspiring them by his presence. I saw him standing on a stump, with uncovered head, and as column after column would pass, he remarked, “fire low, boys, fire low.”

Taken together, the effect of the two days' engagements cannot be but of the most beneficial character upon the future of our arms.

We have met and conquered a superior force of the best troops in the Federal service, not Yankees, but stout, stalwart Western men, accustomed and inured to all the hardships of a frontier life, thoroughly drilled in the manual of arms and well disciplined.

There are reports that an armistice of three days, for the purpose of burying the dead, has been asked for and granted, but I can obtain no authentic confirmation of it.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade. Subscription, 28s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1862.

The Federal Occupation of New Orleans.

SUFFICIENT light is now thrown upon the vague and cloudy accounts of the Federal occupation of New Orleans, to make it certain that the city has been abandoned without an attempt at defence, after the bulk of the valuable property stored there had been destroyed or removed and that the Confederate troops in that locality have gone to reinforce Beauregard on the frontiers of Tennessee. The heroic reply of its chief magistrate to the summons of the Federal commander, removes any fears which the friends of the South might have entertained, that the surrender of the city implied a surrender of either the purpose or the ability to persevere to the last in the vital struggle for nationality and independence. The North will, doubtless, make the most of so favourable an opportunity for boastful triumph, and some time must necessarily elapse before the public mind of Europe can learn to correctly distinguish between the great commercial importance of New Orleans, and its comparative insignificance in a strategic point of view under the circumstances attending the present war. In its moral effects, therefore, the loss of New Orleans must be considered as a severe blow to the Confederate cause; in its bearing upon the issue of the war, we agree with those who believe that the South materially the gainer by it.

Twenty or thirty thousand men are added, instead of lost, to the available strength of the Southern armies, and added precisely at those points where the great battles must be fought and the contest decided, and where twenty or thirty thousand men, more or less, may decide the contest. The independence of the South does not depend on its seaports. They are not the centres of its vitality and intellectual activity; a blow at which would paralyze the whole. That vitality and that activity are distributed throughout the body politic, or, rather, the system of distinct bodies politic, which together form the new Confederacy. The value of those seaports depends on their relations to the country of which they are the natural outlets, and on the use that can be made of them for intercourse with the outside world.

Their possession by the Federals is simply a more effective blockade at the points possessed, than had previously been maintained, and it has this effect; no more. To the Federals, each point so occupied is new diversion of men and means, a new cause for useless expenditure, and a new source of danger. The fate of the country must at last decide the fate of the seaports but the fate of the seaports cannot materially affect the fate of the country; or the country can very well be held without those towns; but no power which does not hold the country is strong enough to retain forcible possession of them.

In the war of the colonies against the mother country, every considerable city on the continent was occupied by the English armies. It could scarcely be asserted that New Orleans bore the same relation to the Confederate States, or held the same preponderating position, that New York did to the Colonists; yet

the occupation of New York weakened, instead of strengthening the military operations of the British generals. Philadelphia was then the intellectual and financial centre, as well as the political capital of the insurgent Power, which no town can claim to be for the South. Yet American independence was won while the CONFIDENTIAL CONGRESS was a body of fugitives, and British officers were enjoying the hospitalities and festivities of the late seat of the Revolutionary Government. Charleston and Savannah shared the fate of New York and Philadelphia, and yet the conquest of America was as far off as ever. There is a perfect parallel between the incidents of the first War of American Independence and those of the second, and the parallel will certainly continue to the end. This difference, however, we find throughout, that while the British armies, wherever they planted their flag, met a hearty welcome from a respectable portion of the population, the Federal invaders have met but Southern hate or dauntless defiance.

As we read the events on the Lower Mississippi, they mean this. The South, conscious of its error in attempting to defend too many points at once, and those almost always at a disadvantage, has at last decided to concentrate its strength where alone it can be made available for decisive results. There must be a great battle, perhaps a series of great battles, somewhere in the heart of the country, and there the South must triumph or succumb. Where the enemy musters in greatest strength, there he must be met with the largest force; where he is most vulnerable, there the Confederates must be prepared to strike the sudden blow. Instead, therefore, of scattering their armies, and giving the enemy the choice of time and place of attack, they will tempt him to commit the error which they have learned to avoid, and will enable themselves to use their whole strength whenever and wherever it is needed most.

Already we have dark rumours of a second battle at Pittsburg Landing, and it is possible that Beauregard, reinforced by the troops of New Orleans, has, ere this, avenged the fall of that city. Private letters from New York speak of reports in extensive circulation, and very generally believed, of a second defeat sustained by the Federals on the scene of their former disaster. It is a significant item, also, in the latest telegraphic intelligence, that no accounts whatever are allowed by the Federal War Department to be transmitted from the West. Away from their gunboat flotillas, with several hundred miles of hostile territory in their rear, the Northern armies cannot afford defeat, for defeat to them would be annihilation. A hundred small victories at the mouth of the Mississippi, or on the Atlantic seaboard, are not equal to the one blow which must be struck, and will be struck, which shall send the great army of the West, as a swarm of helpless fugitives, to find their way to the Ohio through the guerillas of Tennessee and Kentucky. Had the army before Bulls Run been situated as those of Buell and Mitchell, instead of having their entrenchments and their capital within six miles of the battle-field, the North could never have recovered from the disaster of that day. New Orleans might safely and wisely be left to no other defence than the climate and the yellow fever—deadlier and surer weapons than cannon-ball or bayonet—if the 20,000 men who could never so effectually and permanently have defended it, enable Beauregard to repeat Bulls Run at Corinth.

Southern Feeling towards England.

ONE fact impresses us painfully, in the many private letters from the South, from which we publish extracts elsewhere. Written, as they are, by persons living remote from each other, and widely differing in temperament and mental habits, not a few of them by natives of this country, who cannot be willing witnesses against the land of their birth, they all reveal traces of a growing estrangement between the people of the Confederate States and those who should be, and in truth are, their natural allies and best friends. We sincerely deplore even the faintest

symptoms of a feeling, which, if allowed to take root, and fix itself permanently upon the Southern character, must be fatal to the true mutual interests of both countries; but it would be uncandid, as well as unwise, to conceal its existence.

Making due allowance for the excited passions of men who write amid the tumult of a war which has seldom, if ever, been paralleled in magnitude or in ferocity, let us calmly consider whether, indeed, the South has just causes of complaint and ill-will against the country which it has heretofore delighted to honour and love. To judge equitably in this matter, we must place ourselves in the position from which they view the attitude of Great Britain towards them. The South, for generations back, has been proud of its closer affinity of blood to the British parent stock, than the North, with its mongrel compound of the surplus population of all the world, could boast of. The South has always claimed, though, perhaps, not always logically, a more aristocratic, or at least, a more honourable descent, looking upon itself as the lawful offspring of the common mother; while it was disposed to treat the North, if not as a bastard, at least as a relative of doubtful legitimacy. Long before the political rivalries converted the Federal legislative halls into a vulgar prize-ring, a social feud, scarcely less bitter and unrelenting, was raging between the ill-cemented fractions of the great Republic. In this feud the South always sought the alliance of England; and if she sometimes caricatured, she always honestly strove to copy even the affectations of English manners. In the very forms of speech, or the enunciation of a vowel, the Southerner sought to establish a distinction between himself and the man of the North or West, and claimed a nearer approximation to the English standard. What of English books the wholesale piracy of Northern publishers permitted to find their way across the Atlantic, took their places, without scarcely any noticeable exception, on the shelves of Southern libraries; and the Southern gentleman prided himself upon paying five times the price for an English edition, than the same book would have cost in a "Yankee" dress. These are but trifles, it is true, but they show the current of a nation's affections, and whence it most expects, or would most gratefully receive, praise or favours.

The political institutions of Great Britain always had their warmest and most sincere admirers among the people of the South. The North, more arrogant and self-conceited, fond of change, with a population largely composed of the proletarian elements of Europe, could see in the governmental fabrics of the Old World only "rotten monarchies," and "petrified corpses," and fancied itself the chosen reformer and apostle of a new social and political system. The South, conservative by instinct, and from necessity, feeling humbled instead of elated, by the "glories" and "grandeur" of the vaunted Union, clung to the past and its traditions, rather than to the future and its promises. Of this Janus-faced Republic, which never was, and never could have been, a unit, one face looked forward, and the other back, each, perhaps, too steadily and exclusively in its chosen direction, but each reading in that direction its destinies and its hopes. Where the North despised, the South revered; while the North had only lessons to give for the formation of a world-wide Utopia, the South, less sanguinely, sought them in the dear-bought experience of mankind. If a comparison could fairly be instituted between countries placed under conditions so dissimilar, it might be said that Southern America, in manners, forms of speech, and habits of thought and business, resembled more Old England, while Young England resembled more Northern America.

Can it be wondered at, then, that a people like those of the Confederate States, should, in their great hour of trial, look to the country which they had chosen for their model, for a degree of sympathy and aid which no other country would afford them, and that the reaction of feeling, when that sympathy and aid were refused, should be correspondingly greater than against any other country. We do not mean to say that either sympathy or aid has been absolutely

refused, at least, so far as individuals are concerned, for we believe that the intellect and intelligence of the British nation does most cordially and actively sympathize with the South in its fearful struggle, and that British commerce has dared more, and done more, in its aid than the commerce of all the rest of the world put together. But the South can only weigh the value of this aid and sympathy by the public acts of the Government. At the hands of that Government it had a right to expect, if not favours, at least justice. Has it received it? Have not solemn international treaties received new constructions, that they might not apply to the necessities of a suffering people? Have not palpable facts been stifled by misty equivocations, lest the logic of those facts might lead to conclusions more favourable than those in power desired? When a foreign Government stands ready to do what England refuses to do, is not the whole machinery of state-craft set in motion to interpose obstacles and delays? Has not every effort been made from above to repress the ebullition of sympathy which swells from the heart of this nation, and to stave off the discussions by which alone the voice of the nation can be heard, and its will consulted?

The people of the South are conscious that they have not an interest in conflict with any interest of England. They produce all that England consumes, they consume all that England produces. They are conscious that they have fulfilled every condition which can justly be required of a new nation claiming admission into the family of nations.—extent of territory, sufficiency of population and resources, unanimity of thought and action, resoluteness of purpose, unflinching determination of will. They have not wearied the ears of the world with appeals and solicitations; they have trusted to God and their own strong arms to work out their independence; they have achieved and maintained it for over a year; amid alternate triumphs and humiliation they have remained sober-minded, neither unduly elated by victory nor discouraged by defeat; God-loving, God-fearing, resolute, steadfast, self-reliant, and self-sacrificing. Yet, so far as they can see from their point of view, the world stands coldly looking on, refusing to them what no other nation has ever yet been refused; exacting from them tests that have never been exacted before; applying to them—free citizens of a Government of their own choice—rules that were never dreamed of in the case of subjects to a ruler by Divine Right.

Can they be blamed for already smarting, bitterly and keenly, under a sense of gross wrong and wanton injustice; that this feeling should find vent in their daily talk, and in their letters to distant friends; that it eventually may colour their character and governmental policy; and that when the war is ended, as alone it can end, in their complete independence, and the recognition by the world of the righteousness of their cause, they should spurn friendships which are tendered in the hour of prosperity, and which were wanting in the hour of need.

England is great and powerful, but none can be so great and powerful as not to need friends. If friends she wants on the Western Hemisphere, she will surely not find them among the States of the North. Is it her interest, or her policy, that North and South should have but one feeling in common, but one motive-spring common to both, and that, resentment and hatred to Great Britain?

Signs of Peace.

COUPLED with the intelligence which confirms the Federal occupation of New Orleans, comes the report that the French Ambassador at Washington has tendered the mediation of his Sovereign to the Federal Government. Distrustful as we have learnt to be of all accounts from Northern sources, we have ample testimony under our eyes that in this instance, at least, the news-makers of the North have kept within the bonds of truth. The readers of the Paris Correspondence in our first and second numbers cannot fail to remark the almost verbal accuracy with which that correspondence anticipated

the intelligence brought us by the last American steamer. We informed our readers, two weeks ago, that the French Emperor had determined to adopt such measures as would most speedily lead to the termination of the war in America; that even then he was repeating his urgent invitation to the British Government to co-operate with him in those measures, and that he was fully prepared to act alone if that invitation was declined, and to resort to an armed demonstration should friendly remonstrance fail at Washington. We more than intimated what M. Mercier's mission was in visiting Richmond. Only a few days since, Her Majesty's Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated in Parliament, in reply to an inquiry, that the object of Count Mercier was not to carry out official instructions, and that it had been attended with no political consequences whatever. We have no comments to make on Mr. Layard's statements, except, in the words of a semi-official French organ, that "the Honourable Under-Secretary took good care not to state that he had obtained his information from the French Government." But we fear that he was not more fortunate or accurate in his assertions than when, from the same place, he announced the release of the two Confederate citizens, illegally arrested at the instigation of the United States' Consul at Tangiers, at the very time when they were being transferred on board the Federal man-of-war, to be transported to New York, in irons.

Our explanation of Count Mercier's visit was different from the first, and we have as good reason for believing in the correctness of our information as Mr. Layard could possibly have had for his. We believe, indeed, that M. Mercier did not receive his instructions through the regular official channels, but that they were conveyed to him directly from the Emperor. We also believe that he had full discretion, according to the results of his visit to Richmond, to lay before the Washington Government the views and intentions of the Emperor, or to delay action until he had time to report personally in Paris. That the Federal occupation of New Orleans had any influence whatever upon his determination, we do not believe. The first act of the French Government, if driven to hostile measures, will no doubt be to declare the blockade illegal and void, and to give armed convoys to French vessels engaged in lawful commerce with Confederate ports. We hail these indications as signs of peace. First, because we do not foresee any event within the range of probabilities that can alter the determination deliberately taken by the Emperor of the French. Secondly, because we cannot think that England will continue so blind to her own interests, both present and future, as to allow France to win the prestige and the substantial advantages of the pacification of America. Thirdly, because we consider decisive action on part of these two Powers, followed as their example necessarily must be by all the other Powers of Europe, as tantamount to peace. Intoxicated as the North is by real successes, and still more by delusions, it will not continue a contest in which all the world is arrayed against it. There are still sober-minded men left, and there are many high in power who only wait a safe occasion to lift up their voices in favour of peace. And the tide of this unholy and purposeless war will ebb as rapidly as it has flowed.

We are not sanguine of a sudden peace, however. Much time must elapse, and difficult negotiations must terminate, before the fruits of peace can be reaped by the impatient sufferers of the war. When the angry waters have subsided, the surface will still be strewn with the wreck of the tempest.

The Mexican Intervention.

WE last week called attention to the present aspect of affairs in that unhappy country, and the extreme improbability of her condition being amended by the treatment she is receiving, or is likely to receive, at the hands of her present interveners. We have now seen the treaties which have been

signed in Washington, and are at this moment on their way to Mexico by the hands of the United States' Charge d'Affaires, to be ratified by the Juarez Government. Thus the first step has been taken for a powerful and constant supervision of the administration of Mexico by the statesmen at the White House. What that influence is likely to be may be fairly conjectured by two circumstances which have already marked, by unmistakable signs, the policy of Northern Intervention. The first is, as we have already pointed out, the intention to interfere by force of arms, coupled with a refusal, at all events for the present, to assist Mexico with money; and the second, against the earnest protest of the whole diplomatic corps, the full concurrence of Mr. Corwen, the United States' Minister, in the violent confiscation of property resorted to by the Mexican ministers; a policy which is too strictly in accordance with the principles of the Oath of Allegiance Act, proposed to Congress, for anyone to be surprised at the approbation of it expressed by Mr. Lincoln's ambassador. In the meantime, let us look at the later information which has reached us from Vera Cruz. It is worth our attentive consideration. H. M. S. Ulloa arrived at Havannah with despatches bearing date the 12th of April. They run thus:—

The private information which we have received through trustworthy channels is of high importance. It seems that after a preliminary conference which was held by the allied plenipotentiaries at Orizaba, the French resolved that their expeditionary division should advance against the capital, taking on themselves all the responsibility of that determination. It was added that they will guarantee to their allies—England and Spain—the advantages to arise from the claims to be made by them against the Government of Mexico.

In consequence of this determination, we learn that the English and Spanish resolved, on their part, to withdraw the troops of their respective nations, and it even seems that they had begun their preparations to take up their march to Vera Cruz as soon as possible.

We also learn that the conservative or reactionary party was on the point of undertaking another formal campaign against the Government of President Juarez.

Lastly, we are informed that the French division had begun to move towards Mexico, induced, perhaps, to accelerate their march in consequence of the fact that three of their Zouaves had been captured, and hanged near their encampment, by a Mexican guerilla. The French General Lorencez and Admiral Jurién de la Gravière, with the French division from Tehuacan, arrived at Vera Cruz on the 5th April.

General Miranda and ex-President Almonte are with the French general, and have published proclamations to the people adverse to the Juarez Administration. Doblado had issued a counter proclamation, branding Almonte and his adherents as traitors.

It is said that the plan of Almonte is to overthrow the present Government, to have himself recognized as dictator, and then call a national assembly to take into consideration the deplorable condition of the country, and decide which will be the best form of government for it. A number of Almonte's adherents have signed a document supporting this measure.

A journal, entitled *La Raccion*, had been established at Cordova, advocating the appointment of Almonte to the supreme command of the country.

The Government of Juarez was said to be still ready to give every satisfaction required by the interests of the subjects of the three Powers who had claims against Mexico. They would not, however, listen to the idea of a monarchy, and in case the allied troops advanced to the capital would retire from it.

So that France, in open defiance of the solemn convention she entered into with her allies last July, has determined to act without them, and, under the advice of Miranda and Almonte—men branded as traitors by the legitimate Government of their native land—to plant the standard of revolt in the capital itself. Under these circumstances, General Prim amuses himself by publishing, in his organ of Mexican intelligence, the following account of his actions and person:—

There are persons whose very names are a programme; there are individuals who are the symbol of a great enterprise; and the person and the name of General Prim are the symbol and the programme of this expedition. Mexico and the whole world know him and admire him, and more than one Mexican heart beats this day with enthusiastic violence at the bare recollection of his marvellous deeds. Well, then, here we have this noble chieftain, whom Greece and Rome would have enrolled among their gods, who in the middle ages would have been the founder of a dynasty of kings, and who has in one day revived the terrible poetry of the Homeric combats—we have this glorious Paladin, who, as a soldier, is the thunderbolt of war and the thunderbolt of glory, and as a statesman, the most upright friend of all the

political reforms which make up the happiness of nations. On whatever side his sword flashes victory is certain. Wheresoever his voice is raised the triumph of the liberty and the progress of the age is assured. Were it possible to add anything to the confidence inspired by the greatness of the allied Powers, Mexico would find a fresh guarantee in the Count de Reus. To condense our remarks so as to be well understood, we personify the thought of the expedition in one only of its representatives, the Count de Reus. And well may we do so without the appearance of national vanity, for the Spanish plenipotentiary, though always acting in accord with the plenipotentiaries of the other two nations, has been the originator and the adviser of all the measures which have been adopted. In a word, he has been the soul of the enterprise. It was natural he should be so, as he springs from the same race as the people by whom the action of Europe was to be felt, as well as for other reasons, which are exclusively personal. Those who know the history of Spain know the Count de Reus, and those who know the Count de Reus will understand the magnitude of the sacrifices which the fulfilment of his glorious mission must have cost him. Let us picture to ourselves the conqueror of Africa, amid his shining pleiad of warriors eager for danger and for glory, and at the head of a phalanx of veterans who look upon him almost as a god. Let us contemplate him before a people who invite him to war and provoke him to measure swords, and we can form a notion of what it must cost him to remain quiet and pacific with fields of battle before him, and to sacrifice his instincts and his habits on the altars of peace, justice, humanity, and the generous anxiety to save Mexico from bloodshed. This conduct is not only worthy of admiration, but it will cause astonishment throughout Europe, where the Count de Reus is better known than here for his romantic prowess and his chivalrous valour. Europe will with difficulty recognize the hero of Reus, now of Tetuan in the calm and prudent plenipotentiary of Vera Cruz, &c. If General Prim had allowed himself to be carried away by his warlike instincts, the world would have seen nothing strange in it, for he would have done no more than furnish a fresh subject for the gallery of heroic pictures, and to this the world is accustomed. What does seem a novelty in his life is the heroism of his patience; and this is fortunate. The conduct of the Count de Reus has not only dissipated the doubts of the Mexican Government, but it exercises everywhere a magic influence over the minds of the people, &c. In Mexico his friends say he is the "exterminating angel—the angel of consolation—the lion of battle—the demi-god of war—and in describing him Homer would have compared him to Mars."

Not to be behind hand in this new method of bulletin, the Paris journals, who are not usually deficient in that style of self-glorification, contend, in glowing language, that the admiration of the Mexicans is entirely concentrated on the French army; that they regard them as their only deliverers from the calamities accumulated upon them, while the Spaniards are utterly disregarded; that the unfortunate Mexicans, did they dare to speak, would at once declare for the gallant Frenchmen, who are come to rescue them from the miserable tyranny of their own rulers; but they are under a reign of terror. We had thought there was a country called England, who had some slight interest in the causes which moved this intervention, and had at some time back a voice in its councils; but it seems she has been dropped on the road somewhere. Perhaps the best thing the terrified Mexicans can do would be to advertise for her in the *Times*.

The Poor Law.

THE too frequent verdict, "died from starvation," is opposed to the noble principle of the English law, that every individual, in case of need, can demand the necessities of life from the parochial revenue. All property is mortgaged to its utmost value for the support of the poor. Every tenement is a material guarantee to the pauper that he shall not die from hunger. Now and then we hear of cases of such cruel maladministration of the law, when persons, like Russell, the equestrian performer at Astley's, are so inadequately relieved, that they die from want. It seems to us, in such instances, the guardians, or their representatives, are to blame, and not the law. We are aware of the extreme difficulty of administration, so as to act fairly to the rate-payers, as well as to the poor; and we believe that generally there is no lack of kindly benevolence. Many cases of starvation are attributable to a stubborn reluctance and dread of seeking parish aid. The poor regard avowed pauperism as degrading, as almost criminal. They do not understand that parish aid is a right, and not a favour.

This reluctance and dread are due, to some extent, to pride, but mainly to the labour test. The labour test is sound in principle, and thoroughly expedient.

It is not imposed to save the pockets of the rate-payers, but to prevent idle vagabonds leading an easy life at the expense of the community. Besides, idleness, whether voluntary or enforced, is demoralizing. We agree with the labour test, but we object to the manner of its application. Sickness and infirmity should be treated with the utmost consideration, and in no instance ought labour to be demanded to the detriment of health, or when its performance causes physical suffering. The medical officer should prescribe the kind and duration of labour for his patients. We may remark, that union doctors ought to be more highly remunerated, and give more time and attention to their parochial duties.

We quite understand how healthy paupers, as well as the infirm and sick, shrink from the probability of being put to oakum-picking, stone-breaking, or road-scraping; but we cannot comprehend why these convict occupations are pertinaciously adhered to, unless to confirm the poor in their belief, that there is little or no difference between pauperism and crime. To some able-bodied men, accustomed to rough tasks, stone-breaking is not repulsive or injurious; but to the majority of paupers it is killing work. We must remember that paupers are not condemned to hard labour as a punishment, for then we might as well erect a treadmill in every union yard. Could not a variety of employments be introduced, so that the prospect of union labour might become tolerable? Of course, pauperism ought to be discouraged. To make the union a mere workshop, instead of a refuge for the destitute, would be to partially sanction one of the most untenable of socialist doctrines. Neither the Imperial Government, nor local corporations, ought to attempt to control or supply the demand for labour. But union work may be unattractive without being painfully arduous. The reward of such toil should not be proportioned to the work done, but to the need of the worker. The pauper should be forced, according to his health and strength, to do a fair day's toil for the bare necessities of existence. No one would then seek parish aid if he could find a market for his labour. The reform we suggest could be effected without an appeal to Parliament, and would be a boon to the pauper without encouraging pauperism.

At present, however, we have to deal with an exceptional state of affairs. It would not only be cruel to compel the Lancashire operatives to pick oakum, or break stones, but it is impossible to find any employment for the suffering thousands. They must starve, or be kept in idleness. How long the inactivity may continue is uncertain, but we know it must be of long continuance, and that Lord Overstone is right in assuming that the fearful trial is only commencing. The noble lord was also fully justified in saying, that "a case of greater difficulty, or one involving more responsibility than that which now presented itself to the Government, could scarcely exist." If the Poor Law can, by some partial modifications, remedy the crying distress, so much the better; if not, the Government must further intervene. We grant that Lancashire is rich, and that its inhabitants have, with hearty and generous alacrity, come forward to assist the needy. But manufacturers are suffering from the dearth of cotton, as well as their operatives, and even under the most favourable circumstances, Lancashire could not maintain an army of paupers. And are we justified in imposing the whole burden on Lancashire? The distress is not owing to a fluctuation of trade. The existing cotton famine has not come upon us because it has pleased an all-wise Providence to blight the cotton-harvest. The Lancashire manufacturers are ready to buy, and the Southern planters are ready to sell; but the attempt of the Federal States to trample on the independence of the Confederate States hinders the barter. The Government thinks it our policy and duty not to interfere, and to refuse to recognize the sovereignty of sovereign and independent States. If the Government is correct in its views, it is unfair to make Lancashire bear the brunt of our judicious policy; if the Government is pursuing a wrong course, it is manifestly still more unfair to impose on

one county the penalty of the Government mistake. Still, it is superfluous to argue whether or not Lancashire ought to maintain its starving thousands, because Lancashire has not the means of so doing. This is admitted by all parties advocating a general subscription. There can be no valid objection to this proposal as an auxiliary, but the largest voluntary subscription on record will not suffice to maintain the unemployed Lancashire operatives. We have a general and very strong dislike to Government aid, but it is in this case justifiable, and will, ere long, be inevitable. England expects that the Ministry and Parliament will take care that famine does not desolate Lancashire, and the expectation will not be disappointed. This is not a party question; for all men agree that "death from starvation" would not be a meet reward of Lancashire patience.

No wonder Lords, Commons, and the whole country is struck with intense admiration at such a spectacle of heroic patience under dire sufferings. The Earl of Shaftesbury remarked that the operatives know the immediate cause of their misery. They know it, and do not murmur. Happy the country where passion is so curbed by reverence for order, law, and government. May we not trifle with this noble forbearance and change it to angry discontent.

JAUNDICED men think all things yellow, and Northern journalists conceive that other journalists follow their plan of drawing on their imagination for facts, and relying on a bungling memory for wit. Grant that the kettle is black; still, it is stupid of the black pot to deride it for its blackness. We take the following from a Federal newspaper:—

THE FRENCH MINISTER'S VISIT TO RICHMOND—A REBEL SENSATION STORY SPOILED.

Washington, April 24.

The French Minister, M. Mercier, who reached Washington to-day from his visit to Richmond, states that he never heard, until his arrival here, of Dr. Lemoine, who is said by the Richmond papers to have had an interview with the minister, and to have represented 30,000 Frenchmen.

Whether M. Mercier or Dr. Lemoine met, is unimportant; we merely draw attention to the screaming farce of a Northern journal charging a Foreign journal with untruthfulness. It reminds us of the stage drunkards, who make the audience laugh at their mania for reproaching sober people with intoxication.

THE Royal Commissioners of the International Exhibition until lately insisted upon the correspondents of foreign papers paying for their season tickets. We cannot suppose this proceeded from niggardness, but more likely it originated from a noble desire not to bias the minds of continental critics by favours, and so induce them to praise the building. The Royal Commissioners need not have been so cautious. No one could, for the sake of a three-guinea bribe, so far stultify himself as to call Captain Fowke's "dish-cover palace" beautiful.

WE print some of the sections of the Maryland Treason Bill as evidence of the anxiety to repress the manifestation of Secession feeling in Maryland; and which, of course, would not be so greatly feared if it were not of considerable extent.

Sub-Section 4. That if any person or persons within this State, shall hold any secret or public meeting, or unite with or belong to any secret club or association known by him or them to be intended to effect, promote, or encourage the separation or secession of this State from the Government or Union of the United States, or to effect, promote, or encourage the incorporation or union of this State, with the so-called Southern Confederacy, every such person, upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary for a term not less than two, nor more than six years, or to a fine of not less than 500 nor more than 1000 dollars, at the discretion of the court.

Sub-Section 8. Be it enacted, If any person or persons in this State shall knowingly display to public view what is commonly designated the Secession Flag, with a view and intent to excite seditious feelings, or shall, during the present rebellion against the Government of the United States, and without the consent of the Government of the United States, offer inducements to any minor, or other person, to abandon his home or place of temporary residence, for the purpose of going into any of the States in rebellion, or shall furnish to any minor, or other person, money, clothing, or conveyances of any kind, for the accomplishment of any such intended object, although the same may not have been effected, each one of said offences shall be deemed evidence of disloyalty, and shall be in law a misdemeanor, and punishable by a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than 100 dollars, in the discretion of the court; and in case of non-payment of the fine and costs of suit, the person or persons convicted of a violation of this sub-section shall be im-

prisoned in the city or county jail, where the offence is committed, for not less than thirty nor more than sixty days, in the discretion of the court before whom the case is tried.

Sub-Section 9. If any person within this State shall seduce, entice, or persuade any other person to commit any one of the offences which are by the several sub-sections of this section prohibited, and such offence be committed, the said person who so seduced, enticed, or persuaded, shall on conviction be sentenced to suffer such punishment as the person committing said offence would be liable to suffer as a punishment for the crime so committed by him.

Sub-Section 10. If any person within this State shall attempt to seduce, entice, or persuade any other person to commit any of the offences which by the several sub-sections of this section are prohibited, though such offence has not been committed, and shall be convicted thereof, he shall be sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary for not less than two years, nor more than four years, or to a fine of not less than 500, nor more than 2000 dollars, in the discretion of the court.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

NO SPORT.

We remained in Trinidad until the 5th of August, riding and driving over that beautiful island, and enjoying the society and hospitality of the garrison and the inhabitants. While here, Her Britannic Majesty's steam sloop Cadmus came in, and, I think, relieved the more ignorant of the people from any apprehensions they may have retained with regard to us. Here our first official visits with officers of the navy took place. The commander of the Cadmus visited our captain, and, of course, was visited in return.

On the 5th of August we went to sea, regretting that our duties called us away from such a pleasant place as Trinidad. While in Trinidad we got the positions of the Confederate and Federal armies at Manassas; we told the officers there, that, when the armies met, the Northern forces would be routed. Our predictions proved true. Since leaving the Confederate States, we had had short runs from port to port, and had been, too, all the while under excitement of capturing and chasing vessels of the enemy. Now we were without that excitement, and had to find resources in ourselves. Backgammon and chess-boards were brought out. All the stories we could recollect from our different cruises were exchanged. Our uncomfortable situations were discussed; the lengths of our berths (five feet six, for men six feet), had their share of harsh words; our servants, new and untaught, came in for many invectives, adjectives, &c., during their absence from our mess-room; and ten thousand other things were spoken of and argued upon with a solemnity that often amused those who were listeners to the arguments. President Davis, President Lincoln, and their Cabinets, came in for a large share of words from us. One or two in Lincoln's Cabinet were said to be very good men, but misled by party alliances. One or two in Davis's Cabinet were thought to be perfectly worthless, and some in the mess could see no reason why the President should keep them a moment about him. I expect Mr. Davis knew more about them than we, and was the better judge.

The character of our crew; the people of Trinidad; the people of Cuba, Mr. Faanga (a Cuban gentleman, who had been very kind to us whilst in Cienfuegos); the surprise and consternation of the Yankees we had captured; the chase from the mouth of the Mississippi; what would be done with the commander of the Brooklyn; and, indeed, every subject from the "Frankfort Diet" to the "Egyptian Ministry," were brought under the criticism of the mess after dinner. Nothing too high, or nothing so insignificant, that did not receive its share of abuse or praise.

A SAIL: FRIEND OR FOE?

During this time we had been steaming to the south and east, bound to Brazil. After three or four days from Trinidad, we got into that strong current always to be found near the equator, and particularly about the mouth of the Amazon. The fresh trade winds, too, sprung up, and decreased our progress so much, that we were compelled to give up Brazil for the present, let steam go down, make sail, and steer to the westward for Cayenne.

We arrived at Cayenne, and anchored at quarantine. The next morning, at daylight, sent a boat on shore to get pratique and inquire about coal. On the boat reaching the wharf, the officers were met by the health officer, and informed that they could not come on shore until the ship had remained five days in quarantine. They were very sorry for it, but it was one of the port regulations to prevent sickness. The officers told them we had no sickness on board, and had never had any. It was no use, however; the port regulations must be complied with. The idea of quarantine regulations at Cayenne, a place where turtles and alligators cannot live long, on account of the fearful miasmas arising from the dense forests and impenetrable marshes that surround it!

But it was no use to argue with a French official. They then asked whether we could get coal, and were informed that there was no coal there, that even the Government was sending them to Paramaribo for coal. As we could not see anything to be gained by remaining there, made sail, and went further west in our search for coal.

We got under way at two o'clock, stood down the coast under easy sail, feeling our way along with the lead, sometimes getting into very shoal water, not more than three fathoms, and then again deepening into ten or fifteen. At three o'clock the next day, came in sight of some buoys on the Guinea (Dutch) coast, and after awhile made a light ship, but could get no pilot; came to anchor in sight of the shore in four fathoms water. At sunset discovered the smoke of a steamer to the westward; got up our chimney (which had been on deck since making sail off the mouth of the Amazon), unbent mainsail, hove short, got the chain ready for slipping boat to quarters, and had everything ready for receiving our Yankee friend, as we supposed the steamer to be. At eight o'clock, she was near us—the moon was shining brightly—but we could not distinguish her form well enough either to leave our quarters, or open our batteries upon her. At ten, she anchored about two miles from us, after passing entirely around our anchorage, and seeming to be endeavouring to find out who we were. After she anchored, and we were satisfied that she did not intend moving again during the night, beat the retreat, but ordered the men to keep their arms on till further orders. At early daylight got under way, under steam, hoisted French colours, and stood down on the stranger, who was still at anchor. Our men were at quarters, and the ship cleared for action. When approaching our supposed foe, she also hoisted French colours. We immediately hauled down the French, and hoisted our own. On getting within hail, the Frenchman asked, if "that was the Sumter?" We said it was. He seemed much pleased at meeting us; and, as he was bound into Paramaribo, and being of lighter draught than ourselves, and neither vessel having pilots, he invited us to follow him into the river, where we could get a pilot.

Reviews.

Southern Wealth and Northern Profits. By THOMAS PRENTICE KETTEL. New York: G. W. and J. A. Wood.

The object of this treatise, published in the spring of 1860, was to show "the necessity of union to the future prosperity and welfare of the Republic." Mr. Kettell's intentions were unquestionably loyal. He stood up to bless the Union, and if the voice of reason, which is, unhappily, but rarely accordant with the *vox populi*, had been heeded, the arguments he adduced would have been all sufficient to convince the Northerners that their unsurpassed prosperity was the result of, and inseparable from, their governmental alliance with the South. On the other hand, a Southerner could not read this book without being forcibly reminded what an enormous price the South was paying for its connection with the North. The indefinite perpetuation of the Union was, indeed, impossible, on account of the incongruity of the peoples of the two sections of the Republic; but its dissolution might have been postponed, for it was precipitated by the unscrupulous intrigues of blatant demagogues, and is not due to the unscrupulous monetary exactions of the North. We do not hesitate to charge the Southerners with an almost culpable negligence as to the Yankee raid upon their immense wealth. We must needs admire such generous indifference, but it is too near akin to prodigality to be altogether excusable. Self interest alone would have been a very proper and cogent ground for Secession. True selfishness is the most refined and beneficent generosity. The greater the accumulation of wealth in the Confederate States, the greater will be the development of their illimitable resources; and every development of Southern resources conduces to the prosperity of this country, and of Europe. But pecuniary considerations would never have caused the Southerners to break up the Union. They are essentially, and, if we may use the term, radically conservative, and rather than inaugurate change, will bear with any ills that do not touch their honour. Secession was not a rebellion or a revolution; was not an infringement of the letter, or, in the remotest degree, a violation of the spirit, of the Federal compact. It was as thoroughly a constitutional act, as it would be for fifty members of the British House of Commons to secede from the ministerial benches, join the opposition, and so involve a change of ministry. The utmost that can be said of Secession, is, that it was a dissolution of Federal partnership. Still, the Southerners were urged, driven, forced into Secession. So long as the North was contented with fiscal spoliation, the South was content that alien hordes

should batten on her wealth. When, however, an attempt was made to trample on the independence of the South, to abuse as well as use it, to kick as well as bleed it, the men—aye, and the women of the South—cried out for death rather than dishonour; suddenly broke the connection that threatened them with political, if not social servitude, and proclaimed themselves a separate and free people. Edmund Burke, in his day, deplored that the age of chivalry was gone. The orator was mistaken. He sacrificed truth to epigram. At all events, if any living are similarly impressed, they behold in the disruption of the United States a startling refutation of their erroneous theory. The South allowing Northern vulturism to prey upon its riches, and simultaneously, with a lofty, and we will add, most unwise disregard, not caring to deny the foul slanders that its spoilers propagated with that untiring industry, bitter malignity, and deadly virulence, which exemplifies how terribly envy, hatred and malice are intensified by a consciousness of wrong doing. Was apathy the cause of this marvellous forbearance? No. The South, so careless about its wealth, would not, could not, endure the bare possibility of the invasion of its sacred and inherent rights. If, then, Secession was not chivalric, chivalry is a dream, a myth, a poetical illusion.

We marvel at Southern submission to Northern fleecing, but Yankee blindness in driving the South to Secession is far more marvellous. It is a surprising instance of the madness that precedes destruction. Not that the madness is inexplicable. Northern greed was insatiable. It might have been supposed that Southern profusion would have satisfied, if not have gorged and surfeited the North. But the voracious covetousness of the Yankees was increased by every morsel they swallowed, until it grew into an irresistible, blinding, ruinous mania. They became possessed of the foolish idea of making their patrons their dependents. The task seemed possible. They had lied so pertinaciously about their superiority, that at length they believed their own lying. The fall of Fort Sumter dissipated the cherished chimera. The North was scared and horrified. Was it possible that Southern wealth would be diffused over the world instead of being monopolized by the North? They determined not to lose the prize without a struggle. They had tried to crush the South by intrigue, and failed; they determined, if possible, to crush the South by force. Hence the bloody war they have waged with such grotesque and relentless fury. For the sake of the almighty dollar, the Yankees have submitted to the yoke of a military despotism; they have resigned freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of thought, without regret. They care not for enormous indebtedness so long as they can foster the wild hope of again fastening upon the South. But neither hope nor despair can redeem the past. Their ruthless devastation, their savage barbarity, their outpourings of treasure, are in vain. Their prey has escaped from them for ever.

Mr. Kettell directs attention to the singular prolificness of the Southern States. In the article of cotton they are the only nation exporting more than they require to be returned to them in a manufactured state for their own consumption. In 1857, Great Britain received from the United States 654,758,048 pounds of cotton, and shipped to the United States 154,818,134 yards of plain and dyed goods. In the same year Great Britain received 250,338,144 pounds of cotton from the East Indies, and shipped to the East Indies 791,537,041 yards of plain and dyed goods. That is, Great Britain received 150 per cent. more cotton from America than from India, and yet exported five times as much cotton fabric to India as to America.

The year 1857 was an exceptional year for imports of cotton from India. In the year 1858, it appears 91,000,000 pounds more cotton have been sent to India than was received thence. If we were to include China in the calculation the result would be still more remarkable, since China took in 1857, 121,000,000 yards of cloth. And as China derives a great deal of raw cotton from India, if that article is sent to England for manufacture, and then sent to China in the shape of goods, instead of as raw material, the result may be beneficial to English workshops, but it does not increase the European supply of cotton.

If we turn to Egypt and Turkey, we find that in 1858 there were derived thence 38,248,112 pounds of raw cotton, and there were sent thither 10,389,353 pounds yarn, and 257,567,351 yards cloth, together equal to 62,000,000 pounds of raw cotton, 23,700,000 pounds more than was received. The fact is the same in relation to South America. The United States alone afford a net surplus of cotton above the weight of goods they buy back. This process seems to be on the increase, since all those distant nations, as they progress in wealth, demand machine goods. These are supplanting, apparently, the rude hand-loom goods of China and India; and where the clothing of 200,000,000 is liable to undergo this change, the prospect is that, how great soever may be the increased production of cotton, it cannot keep pace with the demand for goods.

This is conclusive as to the impossibility of supplying the place of American cotton, quite irrespective of the peculiar nature of that cotton. Wealth or capital, as Mr. Kettell very properly states, is the surplus of production over consumption, and, therefore, the large surplus pro-

duction of American cotton cannot be resigned without a proportionate and absolute loss of wealth.

But unless we had other facts to adduce, it might be surmised by those who are unacquainted with the productiveness of the Confederate States, that the cotton surplus was compensated by deficiency in other essential products. That there was some truth in the observation—"Such is the mutual dependence of the South and the North, that, were it not that the latter supplies to the former its provisions, clothing, and agricultural implements, the South would not be able to grow any cotton for export, but could scarcely supply the home demand." If this were so it would not detract from the value of the South as a cotton supplying country, though it would detract from its productiveness. But the statement is utterly false. Without dealing with exports of tobacco, rice, &c., we will present our readers with Mr. Kettell's summary of the returns of "Agricultural Productions of the United States, per official Census of 1850, distinguishing the South, North, and West." It is necessary, we should premise, that in the "South" our author includes Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Missouri, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

From this table we learn that of those grains which constitute food, and are common to all sections, the South raised in value equal to about thirty dollars per head of its whole population, including the slaves. The value raised in the northern section was equal only to fifteen dollars per head, a quantity unequal to the support of life, but the large manufacturing interests of that section enable it to command food from the West and South in exchange for merchandise. The product of food at the West is equal to thirty-five and a half dollars per head. If we were to include the whites only, the quantity per head at the South would reach forty-eight dollars per head, a quantity in excess of their wants, and of which they indeed export largely. The quantity of corn alone raised per head is thirty-seven bushels, or the same as at the West. The wheat product at the South gives four-and-a-half bushels per head of the white population, a quantity more than sufficient for its service, and it exports of the surplus largely to the New England States. The aggregate of agricultural productions, it appears, is forty-two dollars at the South, embracing the same articles which at the West give 50.25 dollars per head, and at the North 34.26 per head. The South, however, produced in addition, in the year 1849, 978,311,690 pounds of cotton, which was sold in 1850 at eleven cents per pound, according to the United States Treasury reports, making 101,834,616 dollars. It also produced 237,133,000 pounds of sugar, valued at 16,599,310 dollars; and, in addition, naval stores to the value of 2,107,100 dollars.

Further on we have the following calculation of the Southern trade with the North:—

Sent North in bills and raw materials	262,560,394
Sent North in other produce	200,000,000

Total to the credit of the South, per annum, 462,560,394

In 1850, the population of the South (including in that term the States we have above mentioned) was 9,664,656, and the population of the North, 13,527,221. In 1859, the total value of Southern exports was 193,389,351 dollars, the total value of Northern exports in 1859, 78,217,202 dollars. That is, without allowing for the relative increase in nine years, the population of the South was at least 30 per cent. less than the population of the North; whilst Southern exports were 150 per cent. in excess of Northern exports. We do not intend, by these figures, to insinuate that the activity and productiveness of the North is contemptible, but to point out the vast productiveness of the South. Without the South the North might have been, would have been, a prosperous country, but it would have been an ordinary, average prosperity, instead of a rapid growth of prosperity without parallel in ancient or modern times.

We have not at hand statistics that enable us to give an exact estimate of Northern profits, but that they must have been considerable is shown by Northern resources during the present struggle. We are aware that now and for some months past the financial state of the North has been and is increasingly desperate, but we must also remember how readily the means for gigantic armaments have been forthcoming, and that up to this time the pursuit of a wicked and barbarous war has not been checked by lack of money. The explanation is, that though wealth in the North was much diffused it was very great in the aggregate, and it was due to the productiveness of the South. The South has furnished the North with the means to attempt its subjugation.

One word as to internal improvements will suffice. The Southern States had in 1860 open 9053 miles of railroad, constructed at less than one-half the cost of railroads in the North; and, what is even more significant, constructed at the sole expense of the South. But it is needless to multiply instances of the riches of that most favoured region. Still, a thorough understanding of this matter reveals to us the mainspring of the unrighteous and bloodstained cupidity of the North.

Riches are not always a blessing. We are convinced that the North would have been better if it had been poorer. Its wealth attracted the rabble of Europe—this rabble was instantly admitted to the rights of citizen-

ship, and every citizen, no matter what his character or position, was entitled to a vote. The mob became dominant, and political corruption was rampant. It is impossible to exaggerate the public profligacy, and truly, no pen can adequately describe it. Respectable men had no actual influence where the brawling beggar was as powerful as the wealthy merchant. What could be expected from the government of the scourgings of Europe but political profligacy? Look at the press. It is true, that in England we have had such scurrilous papers as the *Town* and the *Satirist*, and that we have newspapers in existence which preach socialist doctrines; but the first were unhesitatingly put down by law, and with the entire approbation of the community, and the latter are not known to the general public, and are only read by those persons who care nothing for politics, and who devote all their literary leisure to the perusal of police reports, trials for murder, and details of clever burglaries. But in America, scurrility and the most debasing socialism were advocated by leading papers; by papers of undoubted influence, because the dregs of society governed. Northern vapouring and bragging were worse than childish, for they were bullying. To bring on a war with England was apparently the constant aim of some popular journalists. Their creed seems to have been, and still is, bitter hatred to England. At length the opportunity came for smashing up this abominated country. Mark it well, reader! The New York press, as represented by its leading organ, unhesitatingly threatened England with repudiation, in the event of war.

Or can anything be conceived more thoroughly degrading than the eagerness with which the North has ended itself with the chains of despotism? There has not been any exhibition of sorrow; but, on the contrary, the slavery has been evidently enjoyed as a novelty.

Nor is public degeneracy the only evil that festers in the North. To it is added social immorality. We speak not of rabid fanaticism and gross superstition though these things are bad enough. We refer to what may be called individual and family morality. Thopious Western cities and towns that are now praying for Divine permission to gratify their lust for bloodshed and spoliation, are very plague spots. London, Paris, Vienna, are terribly stained with vice and immorality; but in these cities the evil is openly deplored except by the minority of evil-doers; whilst in the Northern States vice and immorality are treated with as much respect as virtue and morality. We write generally. We know there is a noble minority in the North which has not bowed down before the accursed idol of Insatiate Avarice. These thousands sorrow for their country, and if they dared, if they were politically and socially free, they would say "Amen" to our denunciations of Northern degeneracy and immorality.

As regards family immorality, we may observe that there are two hundred and seventy divorce cases before the court of Boston.

With respect to crime, we cannot do better than quote the following statement from Mr. Kettell's book:—

If we, however, take the numbers confined in the jails of each section, at the date of the census of 1850, we have the following extraordinary results:—

	Black Population.	No. in Jail.	One in
North	150,142	478	310
West	46,852	87	542
South	3,442,788	323	10,000
Total	3,639,782	888	
	White Population.	No. in Jail.	One in
North	8,342,938	2,710	3,000
West	5,413,039	760	7,000
South	6,222,418	1,288	5,000
Total	19,978,395	4,758	

The North again presents the most extraordinary results for the morals of that race, in a region where they are by far the most petted of the community.

The white criminals confined at the North were as one to 3,000 of the whole. It is true that a large portion of these were foreign born, showing that if the North has advantages from immigration, it has also disadvantages. At the West the proportion is less than in the other sections for the white race; when we come to the blacks, however, we find that at the North one out of every 310 is in jail; at the West, one out of 542 is in jail; and the South, one in 10,000 of all; but confined to the free blacks, it is one in 800.

We may reasonably hope that Secession will do good to the North, by making it poorer and more virtuous. The benefit that will be derived by the South is not problematical. Wealth will increase and productiveness be stimulated. Nor is it less easy to prognosticate the advantages Europe, and especially England, will derive from Southern independence. There will be more cotton for our looms, and a greater demand for our fabrics. The gallant South has to bear her Laptism of blood unfriended and alone. The nations that will share the

fruits of her ultimate victory are mere spectators. Not that they look on coldly. We know too well the generous hearts of England, of France, and of the rest of Europe, not to feel assured that there is an intense sympathy in the heroic War of Independence that is being waged by the Confederate States of America.

The American Disruption: three Lectures. By A. J. B. BRERFORD HOPE, Esq. London: James Ridgway.

THESE lectures are the utterances of an English gentleman. They are neither clamorous nor abusive; yet they manifest the disgust with Yankee politics and manners that is felt throughout the civilized world. They have reached a sixth edition, and it is therefore unnecessary for us to do more than commend them to our readers as an exposition of sound English sentiment. Mr. Hope treats the legal right of Secession very lucidly. He points to the A. B. C. constitutional right of Secession. No circumlocution is needed to set it forth. The Constitution of the late United States, in theory and practice, recognized the sovereignty of the several States. Sovereign States cannot rebel, and their Sovereign Will, be it wise or unwise, is lawful. Hence Secession is perfectly and entirely constitutional. Men who oppose it are acting contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. It cannot be too often repeated that Secession was not, in any sense, a revolution.

History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Vol. III. London: Chapman and Hall.

A BOOK may be below, but it cannot be above, criticism. Such, however, is not the creed of modern reviewers. There is in this age very little criticism; books are merely noticed. Some are praised as perfect works, others are condemned as utterly bad. Degrees of imperfection are not recognized. The praise and the censure depend more on the author's name than on the intrinsic merit of the book. The general public sees through the flimsy sham. A novel well advertised will (provided the authors reputations are equal) sell as well as a novel that is favourably noticed by the press. Skeleton sermons have been composed for the benefit of the clergy, and we are convinced skeleton reviews would be received with much favour by newspaper proprietors. It would save a large amount of editorial fees. A clerk, or even an intelligent printer's devil, might fill up the blanks, and so do the reviewing, and do it as well as it is done at present. At all events, there is room for "The Polite Reviewer," which could be modelled on "The Polite Letter-writer;" or an intelligent professor might undertake to teach the art of modern reviewing in six lessons. Art? There is none required. Anyone can cover canvas with black paint, or with white paint.

We have a notable instance in Mr. Carlyle. When he made his first appearance in print he was either treated with contempt, or unsparingly censured. There was not to be found a critic within this realm of England who could or would take the pains to discover that there was genius in his writings, though obscured by grotesqueness of method and waywardness of opinion. The diamond was not cut and set in the conventional style, so the gem was decried as paste. Mr. Carlyle got reputation abroad, despite his grotesqueness and waywardness, and was confirmed in his faulty mannerisms. When he cared little for praise we forthwith took him into favour, and, to compensate for our former unkindness, canonised him. Whatever is written by Mr. Carlyle is right. Whatever Mr. Carlyle may hereafter write will be right. He is a literary demigod. It is unorthodox, it is heretical, downright wicked, to express an opinion adverse to the infallibility of the Chelsea philosopher. Bark not, ye reviewing dogs, when the oracle of oracles condescends to open his mouth. Wag your tails, and set up a chorus of gentle laudatory bow-wowing.

Having to criticise a work of Mr. Carlyle's is to us very irksome. It involves a desperate fight between heart and reason. We avow unhesitatingly the respect, the veneration, we feel for the man who has resuscitated Cromwell from the heap of calumnious rubbish that kept him out of sight—for the man who has done so much to bring the mind of Germany into communion with the Anglo-Saxon mind—for the man who has so boldly proclaimed the beauty of nude truth, and torn away the hypocritical and disfiguring fig-leaves. His books are our welcome companions in all places and moods. Still, our love is not blind, but rather increases our fretfulness at his shortcomings. We are sorry that his light is hidden from the million by a mountain of quaint verbiage. He is indiscriminate with his sarcasm. We regret that such a gallant knight will tilt at windmills as well as at men.

The book before us is called the "History of Frederick the Great." We grant its powerful fascination. But is

it a history? We know not how to designate it. The hero is represented a colossus, and the rest of the *dramatis persone* are dwarfs; some very ugly dwarfs, and others passing fair. It is a grand prose epic founded on facts. The facts are indisputable, but they are distorted. Some are preposterously magnified, others are curiously diminished. It is like a map in which is marked every town and village of the country. So far the correctness is unexceptionable. But by looking at the map one gets an erroneous idea. Small villages are made to look like large towns, large towns appear as small villages, and the capital seems to embrace the whole country.

There is a sameness, too, about this work, very apparent, yet not wearying. According to the authority of Sam Weller, the vendors of meat pies use no other flesh than the flesh of cats; the difference of flavour is produced by different seasoning. Mr. Carlyle employs a variety of meats, but always the same seasoning. Every morsel is served up with ridicule as a condiment. Here is a specimen, in which the French king is the butt:—

The whole assemblage passed now into the king's ante-room; had to wait there about half-an-hour more, before the king's bedroom was opened. But then at last, lo you,—there is the king, visible to Gousan and everybody, "washing his hands." Which effected itself in this way. "The king was seated; a gentleman-in-waiting knelt before him, and held the ewer, a square vessel silver-gilt, firm upon the king's breast; and another gentleman-in-waiting poured water on the king's hands." Merely an official washing, we perceive; the real, it is to be hoped, had, in a much more effectual way, been going on during the half-hour just elapsed. After washing, the king rose for an instant; had his dressing gown, a grand yellow silky article with silver flowerings, pulled off, and flung round his loins; upon which he sat down again, and,—observe it, ye privileged of mankind,—the Change of Shirt took place! "They put the clean shirt down over his head," says Anton, "and plucked up the dirty one from within, so that of the naked skin you saw little or nothing." Here is a miracle worth getting out of bed to look at!

We grant this is humorous, but why introduce such a passage into a history? The etiquette of courts, past and present, is absurd to the philosopher. So, too, is the etiquette of private life. Since it was the fashion for the French king to dress in public, it was necessary the ceremonial should be decently performed. No man, not even Mr. Carlyle, can be a hero to his valet. If it was indispensable to sneer at the French Court, there were fitter subjects of sarcasm than its etiquette.

Sometimes our author indulges in romance. Very pretty, but very wild romance. Take his description of the march of the Prussian soldiers *en route* for Glogau:—

Rain still heavier, rain as of Noah, continued through this Tuesday, and for days afterwards; but the Prussian hosts, hastening towards Glogau, marched still on. This Tuesday's march for the rearward of the army, 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse; march of ten hours long, from Weichau to the hamlet Milkau (where his Majesty sits busy and affable),—is thought to be the wettest on record. Waters all out, bridges down, the country one wild lake of eddying mud. Up to the knee for many miles together; up to the middle for long spaces; sometimes even up to the chin or deeper, where your bridge was washed away. The Prussians marched through it, as if they had been slate or iron. Rank and file, nobody quitted his rank, nobody looked sour in the face; they took the pouring of the skies, and the red seas of terrestrial liquid, as matters that must be; cheered one another with jests, with choral snatches (tobacco, I consider, would not hurt); and swished unweariedly forward. Ten hours some of them were out, their march being twenty or twenty-five miles; ten to fifteen was the average distance come. Nor, singular to say, did any loss occur; except of *almost* one poor Army-Chaplain, and altogether of one poor Soldier's Wife;—sank dangerously both of them, beyond redemption, she taking the wrong side of some bridge parapet. Poor Soldier's Wife, she is not named to me at all; and has no history save this, and that "she was of the regiment Bredow." But I perceive she washed herself away in a world-transaction; and there was one rough Bredow, who probably sat sad that night on getting to quarters.

Du Chaillu's gorilla adventures, and Mr. Gordon Cumming's lion hunts, are improbable stories; but the above is simply impossible. 10,000 infantry and 2000 horse, could not march "up to the knee for many miles together; up to the middle for long spaces; sometimes even up to the chin, and deeper!" And note, we are told, "rank and file, nobody quitted his rank." Mr. Carlyle might as well have written that the Prussian army marched for many miles under water, without drowning or breaking their ranks. It is much to be deplored that a clever man, pretending to write history, should pen pantomimic nonsense. It is worse, much worse, than such expressions as "cock with his own gizzard much out of sorts, too!" Besides, though we like them not, we are accustomed to, and expect, Carlyleisms. We are quite prepared to see the wise as well as the foolish children of our author's brain arrayed in motley. But paraphrases of Jack the Giant Killer, put into a history, are not so laughable, though more incredibly ridiculous than those panning extravaganzas of Mr. Byron, not of or most distinctly connected with Newstead. Much of Mr. Carlyle's historical wit, or humour, or fun is as easy to imitate as his style. Having faithfully painted a portrait, endow it with ass's ears.

This book, with so many blemishes, is good, excellently good, and contains some passages of marvellous power.

Slurring over "bottled whirlwind," so as not to conjure up the thought of bottled ginger-beer, the following is singularly martial and inspiring:—

"Forward!" cries Römer; and his Thirty Squadrons, like bottled whirlwind now at last let loose, dash upon Schulenburg's poor Ten (five of them of Schulenburg's own regiment)—who are turned sideways too, trotting towards Hermsdorf, at the wrong moment,—and dash them into wild ruin. That must have been a charge! That was the beginning of hours of chaos, seemingly irremediable, in that Prussian right wing. For the Prussian Horse fly wildly; and it is in vain to rally. The King is among them; has come in hot haste, conjuring and commanding: poor Schulenburg addresses his own regiment, "Oh shame, shame! shall it be told, then?" rallies his own regiment and some others; charges fiercely in with them again; gets a sabre-slash across the face,—does not mind the sabre-slash, small bandaging will do;—gets a bullet through the head (or through the heart, it is not said which), and falls down dead; his regiment going to the winds again, and his care of it and of other things concluding in this honourable manner. Nothing can rally that right wing; or the more you rally, the worse it fares: they are clearly no match for Römer, these Prussian Horse. They fly along the front of their own First Line of Infantry, they fly between the Two Lines; Römer chasing,—till the fire of the Infantry (intolerable to our enemies, and hitting some even of our fugitive friends) repels him. For the notable point in all this was the conduct of the Infantry; and how it stood in these wild vortexes of ruin; impregnable, immovable, as if every man of it were stone; and steadily poured out deluges of fire,—"five Prussian shots for two Austrian;" such is perfect discipline against imperfect; and the iron ramrod against the wooden.

Two more extracts must suffice. They give a fair conception of the interesting contents of a volume, that needs not critical commendation to insure it a host of readers everywhere. The first is Mr. Carlyle's introductory remarks on the first meeting of Friedrich and Voltaire; the other is Voltaire's account of that interview.

Friedrich's First Meeting with Voltaire! These other high things were once loud in the Gazetteer and Diplomatic circles, and had no doubt *they* were the World's History; and now they are sunk wholly to the Nightmares, and all mortals have forgotten them,—and it is such a task as seldom was to resuscitate the least memory of them, on just cause of a Friedrich or the like, so impatient are men of what is putrid and extinct!—and a quite unnoticed thing, Voltaire's First Interview, all readers are on the alert for it, and ready to demand of me impossibilities about it! Patience, readers. You shall see it, without and within, in such light as there was, and form some actual notion of it, if you will co-operate. From the circumambient inanity of Old Newspapers, Historical shot-rubbish, and unintelligible Correspondences, we sift out the following particulars of this First Meeting or actual Osculation of the Stars.

"I was led into his Majesty's apartment. Nothing but four bare walls there. By the light of a candle, I perceived, in a closet, a little truckle-bed, two feet and a half broad, on which lay a little man muffled up in a dressing-gown of coarse blue duffel; this was the King, sweating and shivering under a wretched blanket there, in a violent fit of fever. I made my reverence; and began the acquaintance by feeling his pulse, as if I had been his chief physician. The fit over, he dressed himself, and took his place at table. Algarotti, Keyserling, Maupertuis, and the King's Envoy to the States-General"—one Rißfeld (skilled in *Heriat* matters, I could guess),—"we were of this supper, and discussed, naturally in a profound manner, the Immortality of the Soul, Liberty, Fate, the Androgynous of Plato" (the *Androgynoi*, or Men-Women, in Plato's 'Convivium'; by no means the finest symbolic fancy of the divine Plato),—"and other small topics of that nature."

There is a mighty lesson taught to kings and people by this book. Prussia, with 3,000,000 of inhabitants became a European Power. How? Not by favoritism or marriage dowry, but by the inflexible will of the king and the loyalty of his subjects. A small nation united is unconquerable when the numbers against it are great; and if aggressive, it is well nigh irresistible. Prussia acquired greatness, because king and people pulled one way. Judging from the signs of the times, it is likely king and people will pull in opposite directions. Will opposite results follow from opposite causes? Will the struggle issue in deterioration? It depends upon how long the constitutional war is continued.

PROSPECTS OF THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

THE kind notice you took of the remarks I made on the prospects of the South in your last number, emboldens me to trouble you again with some feelings on the same subject which I find extensively prevailing among the classes in England who view this intestine war without personal or pecuniary bias. In the first place, armistice, arbitration, remonstrance, is out of the question. The Confederacy must "stand the hazard of the die." She must and will win her independence. She must owe the proud inheritance of Freedom, which she will bequeath to her children's children, to no sword but that of her own sons. She must tread the wine press alone, and who can doubt she will fulfil her glorious destiny? It is most marvellous that the press of Europe cannot comprehend that in no single instance has there been heard a cry from the struggling Confederacy, "Come and help us!" Not one voice has ever been raised in whining despondency or importunity for aid. The attitude of the South has been uniform and dignified from the very commencement. She declared her rights solemnly before the world, and asserted her undying resolution to defend them against the invader by the dread arbitrament of

the sword. She has never swerved from that determination, nor shifted that attitude. All the questions of breaking the blockade, of interference on the part of European nations to prevent this wicked slaughter and destruction among brethren and fellow-countrymen, have been raised on this side of the Atlantic. And why? The reason is obvious. Because, in America the war is a question of principle, and here of interest. The Confederacy can well afford to conquer her position in the family of nations without the recognition of England and France; but can they afford to lose her? Can they afford to see her cities destroyed, her piles of life-giving cotton, instead of feeding the mouths of their starving labouring population, and swelling the coffers of their commerce, given to the devouring flames by the indignant owners, rather than they should fall into the hands of their hated enemies? Can England and France afford to see the rice-fields and tobacco-grounds revert to the original dismal swamps from which the energy and enterprise of the South has raised them? They know they cannot—they dare not; and hence the cry. Test for one moment the present feeling in both countries. There is but one class that dares to advocate the cause of the North—those whose pockets are suffering, and are likely to suffer—the men whose money is invested in Northern securities, and to whom the ruthless and reckless invaders of their neighbours are *partners in trade*. This is the whole secret of Northern sympathy in England.

On the other hand, all that is generous and noble in the human breast is roused at the contemplation of a united nation struggling at fearful odds against an invasion of their hearths and homes. The statesman recognizes the trumpet of Freedom's battle, which

Bequeathed from sire to son,
Though baffled oft is always won.

The political economist recognizes the great principle of free and unrestricted commerce with the world, proclaimed by the emancipated Confederacy, just emerging from the chains of selfish and degrading monopolies; while the philanthropist may rejoice in witnessing the unflinching courage with which, under terrible inferiority of numbers, of preparation, and scientific strength and appliances, the men and women of the South have with united heart and hand withstood the mercenary hordes of the North, "though they came in upon them like a flood." You have, sir, already so ably pointed out the several delusions which events have successively and successfully dissipated, that I will not attempt to go over the same ground; but there is one delusion which I trust will not much longer be suffered to flaunt itself before the public eye; and that is, that the people of this country regret the terrible ordeal, or view with pain the disruption of the Union, as is daily asserted by the leading journal. I do not, of course, mean the miserable satisfaction of seeing our neighbours weakened, which some paltry, timid politicians may feel, though they dare not express, but I mean the noble and honest beat of the English heart, that acknowledges the throb of sympathy with indignant repelling of coercion; the sentiment of the British Barons, who extorted Magna Charta at the sword's point at Runnymede, reproduced by their posterity in the defence of their legal rights and liberties upon the soil of their native Southern land; the natural offspring of Cromwell and Hampden's unconquerable spirit, asserted by their representatives on the soil to which they themselves looked forward to as their land of promise in the hour of darkness and despair.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

THE boasted military power of Northern America pauses before the reality of Southern preparations for defence. In the East, at Yorktown, the great army of the Potomac fears to advance upon guns and gunners nerved by revolutionary memories. The Merrimac rules the neighbouring waters like a monarch, the Northern vessels clinging affrighted to Fortress Monroe. In the West, an entrenched army defies the arrogant legions who have made their way into a hostile country only by the aid of gunboats. Here there has been already a battle fought, and a victory won.

There were no masked batteries, no earthworks, to aid the South. They went miles from their entrenchments, and utterly demoralized an army of, perhaps, equal strength. Their victory was followed up after this routed enemy was reinforced by Wallace's division, and by gunboats, and in spite of both they took from 8000 to 10,000 prisoners, and 36 guns; and they returned to their entrenchments, in the good order they came from them, only when the whole of Buell's army, fresh and keen for slaughter, was added to the numbers against them. In this affair, the South lost more than its usual percentage of killed and wounded, and one who counts

as many, for their commander-in-chief, Sydney Johnston, now "sleeps his last sleep, and has fought his last battle." But yet, forsooth, the South lost the day, because they did not utterly destroy the Northern hosts. The latter have followed up this famous victory of theirs by the capture of a telegraphic despatch—but they decline to state their losses in this and other achievements near Corinth. We hear of a Southern *sorité* at Yorktown, doubtless to prevent entrenchments by the Northern troops, but as truth only reaches Europe through the blockaded ports of the South, we have not heard the result. We hear further of a Northern general, who went towards Richmond in a balloon, and was glad to get back again—and so "the siege progresses" here. The groundlings may cry onward to Richmond until they are hoarse, the people may be exhorted to give thanks for victories yet to be won, or for escapes from being cut to pieces; but the stubbornness of artillery still blocks the way between promise and performance. We were told, too, that as far back as the 1st of April, the attacking fleet, with their big mortars and big General Butler, were ready to crush Forts Jackson and Philippe, and the last mail says that they began somewhere about the 19th of April. It is, perhaps, not material to discuss which of these statements is "probable." We will decide this after another eighteen days. It is patent to all the world that the only progress made by Northern arms, away from the coast, up to this time, has been by the aid of gunboats and water communication, against which the South has had no defence. The prestige still rests with the South, that, upon equal terms, she has resisted everywhere manfully and successfully the desolation of her homes; that the spirit of her people rises under the burden of trials; that there has been no huckstering nor trafficking for gain or profit; no grovelling to Northern power when forced upon her destitution and ruin as far as accomplished. Not only is the sacredness of her cause intact, but the confidence in its invincibility makes a unit of her children. They are gathered together in the name of their country; those who have no rifles fight with their shot-guns; those who have no guns use pikes, and in battles, where they have exhausted their ammunition, they have sought death or victory, clubbing their guns as their weapons of attack or defence. All these things we know, as glimmerings of truth amid the darkness with which Northern censorship seeks to eclipse truth, or Southern glory, or both. We know, too, that the North has spent many months of preparation, many thousands of lives, and promised to pay many hundred millions of dollars, to reach in this struggle a fair beginning; for we are at the threshold only of the war, if it is to be prosecuted until the South is subjugated. The siege of Troy was nothing in duration to the siege contemplated of the million of square miles, all armed with the spirit of liberty, in the South.

But conquest would seem to be a folly even beyond Northern conceit, or the insolence of office and pretension which mark their plans for dominion. The past year has shown in the North an utter disregard of the great bulwarks of freedom. Neither speech, nor conscience, nor the press, is free to her citizens; and ministers of God have been arrested for praising their Maker in their own way; whilst no crime is too great to be committed by those in office in the name of Union—from wholesale robbery to petty pilfering; the former rewarded by foreign missions, and the latter aided by permission for politicians to fleece the soldiers under the name of *Sutlers*. There is throughout an accumulation of official dishonesty, of a rottenness in principle, among the oppressors of the South. The exaggerations of the press, the publication of "Halleck" despatches, are among the small burdens entailed upon the Northern people by this war. Upon their credulity rests the whole ability to prosecute it. But for this fact, no doubt, a tax would be laid upon credulousness, as prolific of revenue. Everything else has been taxed, at least by enactment; all that Sidney Smith detailed, and some things which even his imagination failed to take in. At the South all the usual guarantees of liberty have been preserved. There has been a majesty in the singleness of purpose with which this beleaguered land has guarded those great objects for which she sought separate existence, and at the same time the public defence. It is saddening to dwell on another contrast between North and South, although it is one of the surest pledges of triumph for the latter. The South has opposed the flower of her youth—most of them acting as private soldiers—to hordes of whiskered outcasts of cities, slaying for hire, some of whom rival in brutality the men of Wallenstein. Perhaps her independence will be all the more precious, purchased with such blood, and wrung from such opponents; but many a heart and many a home is already desolate. The conversion of her church bells into artillery shows the determination to use every means of defence. If there were ever a doubt of the accord of Southern men it has

been crushed out by this war, and its prosecution in a spirit of hatred and vengeance. For what? Not to restore the old Government, for it no longer exists. The Constitution has been violated and trampled upon in every way. Is it to make a new one? If so, they employ strange means for future harmony. When will it end? So long as pride and covetousness continue to sway and debase the human heart, just so long will the North persist in its warfare, provided her people will pay the bills. Hence it is that there is a Government conduit-pipe, through which news flows to be garbled. So satisfied does the North appear that her own people need alone be feared, that she has already been thanking God for escape from foreign intervention. If we admit the pervading error will continue to goad this Northern cupidity the only path to peace is through foreign intervention. And why, we ask, should the South, free-trader as she is, be treated with less liberality, less fairness, than the rest of the world? Is there one law of blockade for the strong, and another for the weak? Should a paper blockade be called effectual, in order to leave vessels of war free to attack Southern cities? Is it not in proof that this blockade has been habitually violated? Is it not patent how the South has sustained herself against the most formidable military preparations of modern days? Why, then, does Europe deny her what justice and usage would accord, and what suffering humanity pleads for? It is discriminating *against her, against the oppressed*, and in favour of the oppressor, to apply unusual harsh rules in her case to the law of blockade. We care not how strong the North may be—right is stronger still, and by the rules of right, the South to-day should be acknowledged by the world an independent nation. She has asked no favours, but simply the recognition of her existence, and an interchange of commercial commodities for the common benefit of mankind. It would imply neither magnanimity, nor entail undue responsibilities, to do unto the South as other nations would be done by. The suffering of starving thousands in England and France makes hers a case where the oppressed should be aided rather than injured. We do not believe, as the North seems to, that Europe will be as readily deceived by paper victories as by a paper blockade. But if so, what limit is there to be to the present inaction. Shall the war go on until the North *permits* foreign nations to recognize the South? Does any sane man believe that it is waged for remission? Shall the staples of the South be lost to mankind? Suppose by midsummer no final results be attained, will the South be recognized then, or will it be next autumn, or next year? We are convinced that this tide of malice and persecution will flood and blight the South, and this thirst for blood be unglutted, just so long as the world at large permits it, unless the bubble of Northern finance should burst. We therefore ask, in the name of justice, of consistency, of humanity to the great peoples on both sides of the ocean—we plead for the widow and orphan—that Europe should not continue to regard with criminal indifference and apathy one of the "bloodiest pictures in the book of Time."

Paris, May, 1862. A SOUTHERNER.

SECESSION, FROM A NORTHERN POINT OF VIEW.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The question we have heard most frequently asked in relation to the fratricidal war in America, is this: "What are they fighting about?" Now, the variety of answers given to this question by European journalists, diplomats, essayists, legislators, and pamphleteers, not only shows what a diversity of opinion exists in regard to the causes of the war; but indicates both lack of knowledge and confusion of ideas in regard to the origin and history of the Government of the United States. We have no disposition to disparage the ability, or detract from the honesty and fairness of the English press; but truth and justice compel us to say that American politics are less comprehended in England than English politics are understood in America; and for the simple reason, that the institutions of England are *old*; those of America are *new*. It is true, the literature, the language, the common law, and the religion of the two countries, are the same. But the constitutions of the two governments are different; the elections, the legislatures, the administration of justice, are different; while social distinctions and habits of life render the two peoples almost as unlike as different races.

The United States have long since ceased to be a homogeneous people. The Anglo-Saxon element has become so mingled with foreign blood by the influx of emigration from all parts of the civilized and semi-civilized world, that the present generation, especially of the North, has lost much of its original and distinctive character. Englishmen can no longer justly judge

Americans by themselves. Comparatively few leaders of public opinion in England, including cabinet ministers, publicists, and members of Parliament, have had an opportunity of personally witnessing and investigating the peculiar institutions of the United States. Now and then a roving M.P., or a correspondent of some enterprising newspaper, crosses the Atlantic—makes a hurried tour through the States—reads the articles of the Federal Constitution—Bancroft's History—Spark's or Irving's "Life of Washington"—and forthwith proceeds to pronounce judgment, *pro or con*, upon the success or failure of the "Model Republic." Superficial knowledge, of course, leads to unjust conclusions. Politics, parties, and persons are equally misunderstood and misrepresented. The quadrennial contest for the election of President comes before the people. Two great parties take the field, to say nothing of one or two minor ones. What are the issues that create these political antagonisms? Hitherto, under the general names of Whig and Democrat, the masses have been divided into what they were taught to believe formed the conservative and radical wings of society; but even this natural division was never drawn with reference to a social opposition between rich and poor, or aristocrats and democrats. Many of the wealthiest men in America, and even those who make pretensions to "old families," have always acted with the so-called democratic party. In the North, especially in New England, the rich mill-owners are generally Whigs, or high tariff men; in the South, free trade has always been the interest, and therefore the policy, of the land-owners; and, consequently, the South is always, nominally and politically, democratic; although in habit, feeling, and principle far more aristocratic than the North. Herein lies the secret of the great social and political dissension, resulting in the disruption of the Federal tie, followed by a more deadly and devastating civil strife than the world has ever before witnessed; for it cannot be too often repeated in Europe, what every one knows to be true in America, that the North is not fighting for the emancipation of slaves, but "for Empire," as Lord Russell very felicitously expressed it; while "the South is struggling for Independence."

The Federal press is constantly guilty of falsely reporting the existence of a "strong Union feeling in the South." Such is not the fact; nor has it been since the issue of President Lincoln's war proclamation some thirteen months ago. No doubt, that now and then a cowardly prisoner, to save his life and his property, has, under stress of fear, avowed "Union sentiments." Victims upon the rack have often been tortured into recantations of their faith; but we do not hesitate to declare the opinion that there is more *latent Secessionism*, in the city of New York alone, than there is *Unionism* in all the States of the Confederacy. In the first place, there are thousands of Northern men who are now, and always have been, theoretical Secessionists; that is, they believe in the absolute right of a State to withdraw from the Federal Union; and under certain exigencies, they regard this political right as a most sacred duty. The free-trade democrats also sympathize with the South, and would rather aid than impede them in establishing their independence. Over and above all these political considerations, there are ties of relationship, of friendship, and of love, which cause the heart of many a Northern man, and woman, too, to beat quick and warm for the near ones and the dear ones who are now standing—

Between their loved homes,
And the war's desolation.

Has it never occurred to the English people, that the masses of the North—composed, as they are, of fragments of every nation on the earth—absolutely hate the social institutions of England, with as much intensity as the English abolitionists of the Exeter Hall School hate the institution of slavery? Did not Colonel Corcoran, who has been held a prisoner at Richmond, since the Bull Run route refuse to order out his regiment to receive the Prince of Wales on his arrival in New York? Is it not one of the leading objects of the Irish-American orator "on the stump," to defame the Government and the nobility of England? And do they not now openly threaten, at some future date, to strip the "laurel" from the brow of royalty? "England's necessity," they say, "shall be Ireland's opportunity;" and they even dream of the day when France and the United States shall join hands against haughty and "perfidious Albion," to revenge the wrongs of their—

"Own loved Island of Sorrow."

And yet the thunder of England sleeps; and no voice of power protests against the wholesale slaughter of patriots, gentlemen, and Christians, of English name and race and blood, whose only crime consists in the invincible determination to be free.

A NORTHERN MAN.

WHO PLANNED THE MERRIMAC?

Letter from the Confederate Secretary of the Navy.

"Confederate States—Navy Department,
Richmond, March 29.

Hon. Thomas S. Bocock, Speaker of the
House of Representatives:

Sir,—In compliance with the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on the 15th inst., "That the Secretary of the Navy be requested to make a report to this House of the plan and construction of the Virginia, so far as the same can be properly communicated; of the reasons for applying the plan to the Merrimac; and also what persons have rendered special aid in designing and building the ship," I have the honour to reply that on the 10th day of June, 1861, Lieutenant John M. Brooke, Confederate States' navy, was directed to aid the department in designing an iron-clad war vessel, and framing the necessary specifications.

He entered upon this duty at once, and a few days thereafter submitted to the department, as the results of his investigations, rough drawings of a casemated vessel, with submerged ends and inclined iron-plated sides. The ends of the vessel and the caves of the casemate, according to his plan, were to be submerged two feet; and a light bulwark or false bow was designed to divide the water, and prevent it from banking up on the forward part of the shield with the vessel in motion, and also to serve as a tank to regulate the ship's draught. His design was approved by the department, and a practical mechanic was brought from Norfolk to aid in preparing the drawings and specifications.

This mechanic aided in the statements of details of timber, &c., but was unable to make the drawings; and the department then ordered Chief Engineer Williamson and Constructor Porter, from the navy yard at Norfolk to Richmond, about the 23rd of June, for consultation on the same subject generally, and to aid in the work.

Constructor Porter brought and submitted the model of a flat-bottomed, light draught propeller casemated battery, with inclined iron-covered sides and ends, which is deposited in the department. Mr. Porter and Lieutenant Brooke have adopted for their casemate a thickness of wood and iron, and an angle of inclination nearly identical. Mr. Williamson and Mr. Porter approved of the plan of having submerged ends to obtain the requisite flotation and invulnerability, and the department adopted the design, and a clean drawing was prepared by Mr. Porter of Lieutenant Brooke's plan, which that officer then filed with the department. The steam frigate Merrimac had been burned and sunk, and her engine greatly damaged by the enemy; and the department directed Mr. Williamson, Lieutenant Brooke, and Mr. Porter to consider and report upon the best mode of making her useful. The result of their investigation was their recommendation of the submerged ends, and the inclined casemates for this vessel, which was adopted by the department.

The following is the report upon the Merrimac:—

"In obedience to your orders, we have carefully examined and considered the various plans and propositions for constructing a shot-proof steam battery, and respectfully report that, in our opinion, the steam frigate Merrimac, which is in such condition from the effects of fire as to be useless for any other purpose, without incurring a very heavy expense in rebuilding, &c., can be made an efficient vessel of that character, mounting * * * heavy guns, and from the further consideration that we cannot procure a suitable engine and boiler for any other vessel without building them, which would occupy too much time, it would appear that this is our only chance to get a suitable vessel in a short time. The bottom of the hull, boilers, and heavy and costly parts of the engine being but little injured, reduce the cost of construction to about one-third of the amount which would be required to construct such a vessel anew.

"We cannot, without further examination, make an accurate estimate of the cost of the proposed work, but think it will be about * * * the most of which will be for labour, the materials being nearly all in the navy yard, except the iron plating to cover the shield. The plan to be adopted in the arrangement of the shield, for glancing shot, mounting guns, arranging the hull, &c., and plating, to be in accordance with the plan submitted for the approval of the department.

"We are, with much respect, your obedient servants,

"WILLIAM P. WILLIAMSON,

"Chief Engineer Confederate States' Navy.

"JOHN M. BROOKE,

"Lieutenant Confederate States' Navy.

"JOHN L. PORTER,

"Naval Constructor."

Immediately upon the adoption of the plan, Mr. Porter was directed to proceed with the constructor's duties. Mr. Williamson was charged with the engineer's department, and to Mr. Brooke were assigned the duties of attending to, and preparing the iron, and forwarding it from the Tredegar Works; the experiments necessary to test the plates and to determine their thickness; and devising heavy rifled ordnance for the ship, with the details pertaining to ordnance. Mr. Porter cut the ship down, submerged her ends, performed all the duties of constructor, and originated all the interior arrangements by which space has been economized, and he has exhibited energy, ability, and ingenuity. Mr. Williamson thoroughly overhauled her engines, supplied deficiencies, and repaired defects, and improved greatly the motive power of the vessel.

Mr. Brooke attended daily to the iron, constructed targets, ascertained by actual tests the resistance offered by inclined planes of iron to heavy ordnance, and determined interesting and important facts in connection therewith, and which were of great importance in the construction of the ship, devised and prepared the models and drawings of the ship's heavy ordnance, being guns of a class never before made, and of extraordinary power and strength.

It is deemed inexpedient to state the angle of inclination, the character of the plates upon the ship, the manner of preparing them, or the number, calibre, and weight of the guns; and many novel and interesting features of her construction, which were experimentally determined, are necessarily omitted.

The novel plan of submerging the ends of the ship and the caves of the casemate, however, is the peculiar and distinctive feature of the Virginia. It was never before adopted. The resistance of iron plates to heavy ordnance, whether presented in vertical planes or at low angles of inclination, had been investigated in England before the Virginia was commenced, and Major Bernard, U.S.A., had referred to the subject in his "Sea-Coast Defences."

We were without accurate data, however, and were compelled to determine the inclination of the plates, and their thickness and form, by actual experiment.

The department has freely consulted the three excellent officers referred to throughout the labour on the Virginia, and they have all exhibited singular ability, energy, and zeal.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. R. MALLORY,
Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES' LAW OF ARREST.

SENATE, 15th April.

Mr. McDougall, of California, called up the resolutions submitted by him some days since, calling on the Secretary of War to communicate to the Senate under whose order Brigadier-General Stone was arrested, what (if any) charges have been preferred against him; who made the charges; why the course customary in such cases had not been pursued; whether and how often General Stone has applied for a speedy trial; what privileges enure to General Stone under the articles of war; on what pretence he is kept in custody, if not for a violation of an article of war, &c.

Mr. McDougall said it was now fifty days since Brigadier-General Stone was taken from his home at midnight unexpectedly, and removed to one of the darkest dungeons and fortresses in the country, without communication with his family or friends. Since that time he had not, nor his friends, been able to learn directly on what charges he was arrested, or by whose authority—whether by the Secretary of War, the General-in-Chief, or other official. If these things could take place in what is called a free republic, we were in no better condition than England in the dark ages. The law required that military officers when arrested be sent to and confined at their quarters, and the charges made known to the accused in eight days. But all the efforts of General Stone himself, and all his friends, steadily pursued, had failed to elicit the charges. He had himself called to see the Secretary, and that functionary had refused to admit him.

Mr. Wade, of Ohio, who is chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, indignantly repelled the intimations of Mr. McDougall. The committee had endeavoured to correct many wrongs in the army; had never published a word, but had given the results of their investigations to the Executive. As regards General Stone, he would say here, in his place, that there was evidence which showed probable cause for his arrest. He would not, however, make known that testimony—it should not now be drawn from him. Whether General Stone was arrested on that testimony he did not know. The man who would talk of constitutional guarantees, of habeas corpus, the phrases that "no man shall be deprived of life or property without due process of law," &c., in this great crisis, was a traitor at heart. Since the day that that infernal traitor, John C. Breckinridge, day after day here talked of "constitutional guarantees," this thing has been continued. There was not anything that had been said by the gentleman in regard to General Stone, on account of gallantry, services, &c., but as well applied in behalf of the hellish traitor, Jefferson Davis, who had distinguished himself in Mexico, and held high civil positions. Lucifer was once an angel in Heaven, but had fallen, and he had not been much respected since in that quarter. Mr. Wade continued at length, urging a vigorous prosecution of traitors, and the sacrificing of slavery, if necessary for the salvation of the country. Let slavery die and the Union live.

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, moved to amend. That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate any information in regard to the arrest of General Stone, not incompatible, in his judgment, with the public interest.

The subject was then laid over.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT JACKSON.

From the New Orleans Picayune, April 16.

For the first time since it was built, Fort Jackson—one of the strong defences of the Mississippi River below the city—was on Sunday last "under fire."

Availing ourselves of a courteous invitation, we accompanied a pleasant party to the forts, leaving the city in a steamer on Saturday night, and arriving, after some detention by a fog on the river, in the forenoon of the next day. Just as our boat touched the landing we heard the drum beat "the long roll," while a bugler standing on one of the bastions sounded the call to quarters. At this summons many of the soldiers who had been engaged outside set off at double quick, and made their way to the interior of the fort, and when we entered we found the various companies drawn up in line, or on their way to the casemates and the parapets. Soon all were in place beside their guns, ready for the threatened conflict, while General Dancau and his assistant officers were seen pacing the parapet, spy-glasses in hand, and casting eager glances to the point of woods about two miles down the river, and behind which they could already discern the masts of the enemy's vessels coming up.

At this moment a red flag was raised over the Confederate banner, by way of signal to St. Philip opposite, that the enemy was approaching, and immediately the blue crossed, white starred battle flag was run up on the staffs of both forts.

Meantime, the several gunboats lying off the forts, formed in readiness to take part, if need were, in the contest. One of these went down on a reconnoitering expedition, and having neared the point of woods that yet hid the boats of the enemy from our sight, returned, but not without being honoured on her passage with a compliment or two from the guns of Commodore Farragut. She accomplished her return without injury, and soon a black hull was seen to emerge beyond the woods, and making her way towards the left bank of the river. Having attained what she probably considered an eligible position for her purposes, she came round, and presented her broadside to the fort, being then about two miles distant.

A few moments of eager expectation, and a flash, followed by a puff of smoke, was seen to issue from one of her guns, and then there came whizzing and hurtling through the air—heard by all, and seen by many in its course—the first shot ever fired at Fort Jackson. It was a very creditable line shot—a shell—and passed critically near the position of those who were watching its destination. It passed over the fort, and fell between its walls and the river, smashing a small foot-bridge, and making a formidable splash in the mud and water thereabouts. The next was aimed with about the same degree of precision, and fell beyond the walls, within a few feet of the outer bastion, facing the river. Some portions of this exploded shell were secured by the spectators as relics. We have one we should be pleased to show any curiously inclined friend.

Some twelve shells in all were bestowed upon us from different positions in the course of the forenoon, including one fired from the screen the woods afforded, which we took for a mortar shell. This described a lofty aerial curve, and when in mid-air exploded, the fuse being too short to carry it to its desired goal. Two of the shots came in very dangerous proximity to our pretty steamer, which lay at the landing, one passing over the pilot-house, and

the other dropping into the water just abaft the stern. Another passed clear over the river, beyond St. Philip, into the prairie, and others were thrown, but like the rest, all without accomplishing their hostile intent.

All this, of course, was done mainly by way of "getting the range," though it is not to be doubted that every shot was intended to tell. From St. Philip some six or seven of the enemy's vessels, of different classes, were plainly to be seen; and from Jackson the masts of the flag-ship of the fleet, with the gridiron flaunting at the peak, were visible over the tops of the wood.

There were but three responses made on our side to these repeated compliments of the enemy. But these were all most elegantly turned. After the gunboat that opened the ball had amused herself awhile in this way, a seven-inch rifled gun was brought to bear on her, and, although not as effectively as desired, yet showed good practice, and flatteringly prophetic of a "better next time." At all events, the enemy deemed it prudent to retire for the time, and as he was making his way across to the point of woods, to seek once more his leafy shelter, he was greeted with two more messengers that very closely neared, if, indeed, one of them did not hit him.

Take it altogether, though but a reconnoissance on the one side, and a ready and prompt reception on the other, it was a brisk little affair, and greatly interested the spectators during the two hours or so it lasted.

But though the enemy did not pay any further attention to the forts during the day, he was not idle. Captain Mullen's company of sharpshooters were annoyingly about among that long reach of woods to which we have referred as skirting the river below the fort. Rumour reached us in the course of the day, that an epauletted Federal had been picked off by the rifle of one of these bushwhackers, to whom the officer presented a tempting mark as he stood on the quarter-deck of one of the vessels. And this may be the reason why, at intervals for several hours, there was a cannonading kept up by the enemy's gunboats upon the woods. The grape and caisson were very freely distributed among the trees and underbrush, but, we fancy, with but little effect.

When we left, on our return to the city, there was a prevalent impression in both forts, that the grand drama, of which this little affair was probably but the prelude, might commence in earnest any day, yesterday, to-day, or to-morrow, but undoubtedly in the course of the current week. The strong impression left upon our minds by the manner in which Fort Jackson deported herself on the occasion of her first fight, and by the conviction that her consort, over the river, when the time should come, would be equally formidable, was, that the enemy, if he runs that gauntlet successfully, will have to make a better fight than we think he will or can.

SHOOTING OF MR. WHARTON AT WASHINGTON.—We have been furnished from an authentic source, with the particulars of the killing (April 21st) at the Old Capitol prison, Washington city, of Jessie B. Wharton, one of the prisoners confined there. It appears that, about eleven o'clock, Mr. Wharton approached the window of his room in the second story, when the sentinel, standing on the pavement below, ordered him to take his damned head in, or he would shoot it off. Wharton, a young man of high spirit, retorted by saying that none but a coward would threaten an unarmed man and a prisoner. An altercation ensued. Wharton walked to the rear of the room, but hearing the sentinel talking on the pavement, again advanced to the window, folded his arms, and said: "Shoot, you damned coward, if you dare!" The sentinel took deliberate aim and fired, the ball passing through the left arm and entirely through the lungs of the unfortunate young man. Mr. Wood, the superintendent, kindly sent for Mr. Wharton's wife, who is the daughter of Colonel Whiting, of the Federal army; and Dr. John O. Wharton, his father, who resides at the Agricultural College, near Bladensburg, was called to his bedside in time to see him expire. The facts, as above stated, we understand were derived from his fellow-prisoners, one of whom is a son of Chancellor Walworth, of New York. Mr. Wharton was formerly a lieutenant in the United States' army, but was arrested four months ago, at Hagerstown. He was a nephew of the Hon. John Thompson Mason, and his connections are of the highest respectability.—*The Maryland News Sheet.*

We understand that on the 20th April, Dr. Lemoine, the representative of 30,000 French residents of Louisiana, held an interview with M. le Comte Henri Mercier, the French Minister to the United States, who arrived in this city from Washington on Wednesday. The result of the interview we have not ascertained, but it is very probable that matters were represented in their true light to the visiting Minister respecting the war, its causes, and policy.—Dr. Lemoine is an enthusiastic sympathizer with the South, and is looked up to by those whose sentiments he speaks, with confidence and veneration.—*Richmond Inquirer*, April 21st.

MALIGNITY OF THE TENNESSEE REBELS.

The Salem (Mass.) *Register* publishes a letter from the venerable Wm. Driver, who hoisted the American flag, which he called "old glory," at Nashville, when our troops took possession of that city. He says that the rebel leaders are destroying immense quantities of cotton and other property in Tennessee, to prevent it from falling into Northern hands. In Marshall, Giles, Rutherford, and other cotton-growing counties, the traitor cavalry have burnt all they could find, baled or unbaled, not even giving the owners a certificate of the amount destroyed. In Memphis there is an immense amount of sugar, molasses, coffee, &c., gathered together ready for the "torch," and also large amounts of cotton, not one pound of which is owned by the Confederacy or citizens of Memphis. Mr. Driver says:—

"Our enemy is bitter as death, as implacable as the savage of the forest; he will do anything to gain his end. Twice has the 'Black Flag' been flaunted in our faces, and cheered by a portion of our citizens. Our women are more bitter than the men, and our children are taught to hate the North in church, in school, and at the fireside. Our city still presents a sullen, silent front; it will take as long a time to root treason out of Nashville, as it did the household sins of Egypt out of Israel."

The vessel-chartering system, which has been the rage for several months with the War and Navy Departments, needs a little attention from somebody. When I state that there are steamers now in Government service whose charter money, at this moment, amounts to a sum twice as great as the price at which the vessels were offered for sale at the time of chartering, it will be conceded that taxpayers have some slight interest in checking this ruinous and sometimes rascally method of procedure. I know of one steamer which has been employed by Government almost *two hundred days* at more than 1200 dols. per day (1000 of which is acknowledged to be profit to the owners), and yet 100,000 dollars would have been cheerfully accepted as purchase money at the date of the charter contract. Is this a necessary part of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war?"—*Correspondence of the Boston Post.*

H. O. BREWER AND CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, General Com-
mission and Shipping Merchants.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

DOTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Ten-
nessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specia-
tions furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOUDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

**REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.**
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. J. Robinson,
8, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool.
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS,
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers
the comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world is now in a ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers, in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.
The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers, and thus to draw them
&c., to advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
seaport and inland city of Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.
THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the National As-
sociation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissances, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National As-
sociation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon at the same place.

A series of Soirées will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will be ad-
mitted to all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirées, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.
For every £5 subscribed to this fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Houever,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombard-street, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.
GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO AND BRITISH
COLUMBIA, via Panama—Steamers from
Southampton to San Francisco and British
Columbia, and return, by the Royal Mail Steam
THROUGH BILLS OF LADING for goods, &c., are
issued by the ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY, in connection with Messrs. Wells, Fargo,
and Co., of San Francisco. Goods should be sent to
Southampton, addressed to the care of a shipping
agent there. Jewellery received in London.
For further particulars apply to Captain Vincent.
Superintendent; or to R. T. REEP, Sec.
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, E.C.

BRAZIL AND RIVER PLATE
MAIL STEAMERS.—The ROYAL MAIL
STEAM PACKETS leave Southampton on the 9th
of every month, carrying Her Majesty's Mail, pas-
senger, cargo, specie, &c., for CAPE DE VERDES,
Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Monte Video,
and Buenos Ayres. For further particulars apply
to Captain Vincent, Superintendent, Southampton; or to
R. T. REEP, Sec.

No. 55, Moorgate-street, London.
Specie, goods, parcels, or luggage, sent to South-
ampton, should be addressed to a shipping agent
there.

WEST INDIES, Mexico, Colon, or
Aspinwall, Panama, Central American, and
South Pacific Ports, San Francisco, and British
Columbia, by the ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY'S STEAMERS leave Southampton, with
H.M.'s Mails, on the 2nd and 17th of every month,
conveying passengers and parcels, also specie and
goods, under through bill of lading for any of the
places mentioned above. For particulars apply to
Capt. Vincent, Superintendent, Southampton; or to
R. T. REEP, Sec.

Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, London, E.C.
Parcels and specie are received at the Company's
office, in London. Specie, goods, parcels, or bag-
gage sent to Southampton, should be addressed to
a shipping agent there.

LITHOGRAPHERS WANTED.—

Five or six experienced Lithographic Printers,
willing to go abroad, can find permanent employ-
ment at liberal wages by applying at the office of
THE INDEX. None but first-class workmen, with
good references, need apply.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
on their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. F. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,735 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and a ter 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE.....
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 690,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,460 98

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poutx.
G. Monold.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
O. Nichols.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voorhier.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 93

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.

Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
W. M. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 3 per cent.
primage.

PATERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight of other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper duties, and the owner will be liable therefor.
Does not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquafortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to III. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event, So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object,
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—May 16th, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 4.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 22, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	39
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	50
Liverpool Letter	50
Manchester Letter	50
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Prices Current	51
Marriages and Deaths	51
Private Letters and Extracts	51
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Our Washington Correspondent	53
Our Paris Correspondent	53
Our New York Correspondent	53
Our St. Thomas, W.I., Correspondent	53
Southern Prospects	54
TABLE OF SOUTHERN SECURITIES	55
LEADERS—	
The War in America	56
Continued Insults to the British Flag	56
What does Intervention Mean?	57
French Diplomacy in America	58
Political Parties	58
Editorials	58
CRUISE OF THE SUMNER—	
The Trail too Fresh	59
On the Look Out	59
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
Our First Adventure	60
A Triumphal March	60
REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	
A Historical Parallel	61
AMERICAN CIVILIZATION	62
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AT WASHINGTON	63
IS REUNION POSSIBLE?	63
ADVERTISEMENTS	64

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE evacuation of Yorktown has caused more excitement in New York and in Europe than in the Confederate States. The measure was evidently anticipated. The Richmond papers published during the last days of April openly advocated the withdrawal from positions that were assailable by the enemy's gunboats: and having held the Federals in check until the hot season, to allow them to march into the country, where they must fight at a disadvantage, and at such a distance from the basis of their operations, as would make defeat ruinous.

The evacuation was ordered on the 1st of May, commenced on the 2nd, and completed on the night of the 4th. When McClellan had sent up a balloon to assure himself that the Confederates had really gone, he ordered his troops to advance. The booty consisted of seventy-one guns, but we are not informed how many of them were quaker guns. McClellan further wrote a despatch, in which he says, "I am now fully satisfied of the correctness of the course I have pursued. The success is brilliant. You may rest assured its effect will be of the greatest importance." On the 4th, the Federals came up with the rear-guard of the Confederates, but declined fighting until the 5th, when there was a smart encounter, in which, according to Northern accounts, the Federal loss was 17 killed; the Confederate loss, 80 killed and 200 prisoners. This does not tally with the official report of the General:—

I find Johnstone in front of me in strong force, probably much greater than my own. General Hancock has taken two redoubts, brilliantly repulsing the rebels.

I do not know our exact loss, but fear General Hooker has lost considerably on our left. I learn from prisoners that the rebels intend disputing every step to Richmond. I shall run the risk of at least holding them in check while I resume my original plan.

My entire force is undoubtedly considerably inferior to that of the rebels, but I will do all I can with the force at my command.

Next day the 200 prisoners, like Falstaff's men in buckram had wonderfully increased. On the 6th,

McClellan writes, "We have 1000 prisoners and 1000 wounded prisoners." This despatch concludes with this significant item, "We have other battles to fight before we reach Richmond." We may just observe that as usual the Young Napoleon was too late for the skirmish, and did not take the field until the fight was over.

The Federals occupied Williamsburg on the 6th. One curious feature in the official account is, that though McClellan knew the Confederate loss to a man, all he could tell about his own loss in Hooker's division was, "The Federal loss in General Hooker's division is heavy." Perhaps it was heavier than the General liked to confess.

The progress of the Federals was stopped at the Chickahominy River, the Confederates having destroyed all the bridges.

Twenty thousand men, under General Hutchins, have been landed at West Point, and on the 9th McClellan reported that he had effected a junction with them.

The Federal iron-clad steamer Galena has gone aground in James River.

From New Orleans we learn that there was a protracted fight between the enemy's boats and the forts, before the evacuation of the City. "The loss of the Federals amounts to 30 killed and 100 wounded. The Confederates lost 1500 men." All decimal numbers it will be noticed.

Does any one in Europe doubt the determination of the South? Let him read and digest the following items of Northern news brought by the North American. What eloquent testimony does the North bear to the character of the South!

"The Confederates, with their own hands, are stated to have destroyed cotton and shipping to the value of from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 dols."

"The Louisville Dispatch reports that along the Mississippi from New Orleans to Memphis there is a general bonfire of property, particularly of cotton. At Memphis, sugar and molasses in large quantities were on the bluff ready to be rolled into the river, and all cotton was to be burnt.

"At the approach of the Federal fleet the people of the river towns retreated inland, destroying the property all along the southern tributaries of the Mississippi. Among their great number only one planter was found who objected to burning his cotton."

The one exception gives us a fine picture of the unanimous self-sacrificing population.

It is estimated that 11,000 bales of cotton were burnt at New Orleans.

It is reported in New York that Forts Jackson and Philip surrendered conditionally, that the officers should be allowed to retain their side arms, and the garrisons be permitted to retire on parole.

The Virginia and the Monitor have approached each other without coming to action.

We take the following paragraph from the New York summary, per North American (May 10th):—

An engagement has occurred at West Point between General Franklin's First Division and the Confederates, under General Lee. The Confederates were shelled by the Federal gunboats and retreated.

Does this mean that the Federals were beaten,

and that the Confederates having gained the day retired from out of range of the gunboats?

M. Mercier arrived at Yorktown on the 4th.

There is no news of the movements of General Beauregard.

Savannah is to be resolutely defended. General Lawton has formally communicated to the city council his determination never to surrender the city. The council have resolved to sustain General Lawton.

According to information from Richmond, *vid* Washington, the planters had determined to raise no tobacco this season, and the military had seized the stock on hand, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Federal army.

On the 9th inst., the House of Representatives at Washington addressed a vote of thanks to General McClellan and the Army of the Potomac.

Postal communication has been re-established between New York and New Orleans. We venture to say that very few letters will go South by the agency of the United States.

It is rumoured that a Federal flotilla is advancing towards Natchez.

The French power in Mexico is growing. The English and Spanish have retired from the scene. The French troops have occupied Orizaba, taken a small fort, and at the last advices were still advancing. They have given four reasons for breaking the Soledad compact—the declaration of war by Juarez, the assassination of several French soldiers, annulment caused by Juarez, and the entire interception of all kinds of food. A large number of the inhabitants had approved of a proclamation issued by Almonte, in favour of foreign intervention. Anything is thought better than the dominion of Juarez. It has been reported in Paris that Marshal Serrano will form a camp in Mexico under the command of General Gasset, and that it is the Marshal's intention to prepare transports to bring back the Spanish troops immediately upon receiving orders to that effect from Madrid.

The seizure of the British steamship Bermuda, by the Federal cruiser the Mercedita, is an instance of the insolence with which the Yankees treat British vessels. As the Bermuda did not stop at the firing of the first gun, a shell was sent whistling about her rigging. The papers were examined and found to be regular; but as there were military stores on board, and as the Bermuda loaded at Liverpool, the captain of the Mercedita ordered her to be searched and ultimately seized. It is worthy of remark that before the search was over, the seizure was virtually made by altering the course of the vessel. Captain Westendorff, of the Bermuda, writes:—

Some of the officers subsequently informed me that they had a list comprising quite a number of British steamers that they were ordered to seize wherever they might catch them, and that if we had passed the Mercedita, two other steamers were cruising inside of the Providence Channel, and just around the port of Nassau, which would have been our aim to take us; in fact, that that harbour was well blockaded.

We should think that such insolent Yankee overhauling must rather disgust Jack Tar.

Mr. Adams has demanded that the Emily St. Pierre, the ship so gallantly rescued from fourteen Federal captors by her captain, cook, and steward,

should be sent to the prize port to which the Yankees could not take her. We should think such a diplomatic communication must have disturbed the gravity of our noble Foreign Secretary. Possibly Mr. Adams will next demand that the English navy shall be actively employed in capturing English ships for the benefit of the Yankees.

On Monday, Mr. Disraeli reviewed the finances of the country, and glanced incidentally at the foreign policy of the Government. He showed that, in 1859, there were exceptional circumstances to call for a large army and navy expenditure, but though in 1862 there were no such exigencies—the expenditure is increased by £1,674,000. In reference to America, the right honourable gentleman observed:—

The other night I made a statement illustrative of the relations that existed between the Governments of France and England, with regard to America. I was urging then upon the House that it was inconsistent with our cordial relations with France to hear the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs bicker against the foreign policy of our ally; but I said I thought, at the same time, that if there were any place where France and England had a common object, and should have a common course of policy, it was America: notwithstanding which, I regretted to add, word had reached my ears that there was the same want of accord between the representatives of the two Governments there which we find in other places. I did not say much on the subject; it was a delicate one. But I said that there was a sort of constant management, an attempt to obtain rival influence, which, considering that they were accredited to the President of a Republic, and were in direct communication with the Minister of a Republic, seemed to me quite out of place, and more in keeping with the intrigues round the capricious tyrant of a Divan. I said that; I could have said a great deal more. I refer to a past debate, with the permission of the House, because this is a personal matter. The noble lord, when he replied, contradicted me on that head in terms which, allow me to say, were neither social nor Parliamentary. The noble lord said the statement was false. * * * I knew the matter would keep, and, therefore, being here again, I must tell the noble lord that I believe the statement that I made was most accurate, and, although from its particular character it is not capable at this moment of mathematical proof, before very long, perhaps, there may be even on the table of this House; but certainly in a form scarcely less authentic, sufficient proof of that statement.

Lord Palmerston defended the large estimates, and stated that the French Government had now eleven iron-clad vessels more than we have. In reference to Mr. Disraeli's reiterated charge of diplomatic intriguing at Washington, the noble lord observed:—

I denied that when the right hon. gentleman made the statement, and I repeat that denial now. Every one who knows Lord Lyons knows that a man like him, so honourable and straightforward in his dealings, would be incapable of intriguing and planning against his colleague. I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Mercier personally; but I have watched his progress through the many diplomatic missions which he has fulfilled, and I believe him to be a man as incapable as Lord Lyons himself of doing anything which he and his Government could not manfully avow. Therefore, I must again assure the right hon. gentleman that he has been totally misinformed, with regard to the assertion which he has made. Whatever the right hon. gentleman may think of former assertions, I again assure him that he is completely mistaken as regards our Mission and the French Mission at Washington. Lord Lyons and Mr. Mercier, I am happy to say, are in constant and friendly communication—neither of them has done anything without communication with the other. There has been no concealment; there has been what I may call joint action. The two Ministers have worked and co-operated almost as if representing the same Government; and they have exhibited the most perfect good faith towards each other in their negotiations with the Cabinet of Washington.

Later in the evening, the Government were defeated on the second reading of the British Museum Bill, by a majority of 92.

On Tuesday, Lord Russell laid on the table of the House of Lords the treaty for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, lately concluded with the Washington Government. The substance of it is the extension of the right of search, a species of right which the Yankees are now thoroughly enforcing with English vessels. The treaty is for ten years, and renewable if the contracting parties think its continuation desirable.

The Prussian Diet was opened on Monday. The Minister President made a speech intended to be conciliatory. He announced that the additional taxation should not be levied after the 1st of July next; and reductions in the military administration; saving in the cost of administration of the public debt; and increased revenue were to meet the decrease of income arising therefrom. He informed the Diet that repeated examinations have manifested the possibility of further savings, of a temporary character, being effected in the military expenditure. These reductions, however, in order not to injure the vital condition of the organization of the army, can only be continued until a new source of revenue is opened by the land tax. By this means the Government shows that it was ready and desirous to meet the

objections raised in former sessions, and is therefore justified in expecting that in considering the arrangements and requirements of our military force, due provision may be made for the independence and security of the country, which depend upon the undiminished excellence of the army." If the Diet is in a mood for compromise, possibly these terms will be, no doubt, rejected. The Government is fully aware that it has not gained by the re-election.

The Montenegrins are likely to give the Porte considerable trouble. On Sunday, they captured Nicksich, with 800 men, 27 officers, and 23 guns. Those who have invested in Turkish securities will not be pleased to learn that the commission for the consolidation of the public debt has not agreed upon the terms. The Porte objects to consolidate the whole floating debt. Certainly, the English Chancellor of the Exchequer would find it rather difficult to get on without an unfunded debt, and what we find so useful may be indispensable in Turkey.

The Hesse dispute has reached a climax. The Elector has rejected the Prussian *ultimatum*, and diplomatic relations are broken off by the recall of the Ambassadors from the Prussian and Hessian Courts. At an extraordinary sitting of the Federal Diet, the representative of Electoral Hesse declared that his Government was willing to suspend the elections, under the supposition that the resolution of the Federal Diet constituted a formal prohibition. The Diet referred him to the precise wording of its resolution. Possibly the Diet finds it easier to pass resolutions than to explain them. The Hesse affair is only worth notice as an example of the ineffectiveness of Federalism in Germany.

General Goyon's departure from Rome has greatly pleased the liberals. The General is accused of visiting Francis II., and of encouraging reactionary movements on the Roman frontier by his dilatoriness in their suppression.

The International Exhibition has been rather better attended this week. On Tuesday, the total number of visitors was 16,722. On Wednesday, an horticultural *fête* in the Society's gardens, attracted a large concourse. Still, the commissioners must mainly rely on the shilling days for the funds to pay the builders and relieve the guarantors of their responsibilities.

The German Ocean has flooded 10,000 acres of the Bedford Level, which, at the time of their submersion, were covered with crops. The accident has arisen from the blowing up of the middle level shore, and the subsequent breaking down of the banks. It is feared that the progress of the inundation cannot be checked soon enough to prevent further damage. The Bedford Level is a tract of low land, containing about 400,000 acres, situate in Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridge-shire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire.

The Prince of Wales arrived at Constantinople on Tuesday. He was greeted with a royal salute from the Turkish fleet. The Grand Vizier and the Captain Pasha immediately went on board the Prince's vessel. The Prince landed at the Imperial Palace, on the steps of which he was received by the Sultan. Court carriages and an escort were in waiting to convey his Royal Highness to the British Embassy. The Sultan returned the Prince's visit an hour.

Latest dates from Nassau confirm the report that the said port has been blockaded by Federal ships.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, May 21st, 1862.

The past week has been one of great excitement and violent fluctuation in our market, with a panic at one time scarcely inferior in severity to that which was caused by the affair of the Trent. Our last report left Middling Orleans nominally worth 12½, with a very dull feeling, under the news per City of New York. On Thursday and Friday the depression continued, the circulars of the latter day generally quoting Middling Orleans 12½ per lb., but on Saturday the market received another staggering blow from the advices by the Persia. By her the unexpected news arrived of the evacuation of Yorktown by the Confederates, with a fresh crop of rumours respecting Mr. Mercier's recent mission to Richmond. It was freely asserted that he was the bearer of very tempting overtures from President

Lincoln to the South, that an offer was transmitted through him to the Confederate Cabinet, guaranteeing the Southern States in the possession of all their former privileges if they would return to their allegiance with an amnesty for past offences, and additional security for slave property in the future. This report produced a very uneasy feeling among some holders of cotton; many persons argued that the proposition, if true, was so tempting a bait to the South in its present embarrassed state, that it might be accepted; and looking upon a sudden conclusion of the war as not unlikely, they became very anxious to get out of stock. Others, again, paid less attention to the report of mediation, but felt apprehensive of cotton shipments being resumed under the protection of the Federal power; they looked upon the retreat from Yorktown as another proof of Confederate weakness, and contended that before long the power of the South would be so shattered that the planters along the Mississippi would be glad to forward their crops to New Orleans under the shelter of the Federal gunboats. Influenced by these feelings, a regular panic sprang up in our market on Saturday. Forced sales of American cotton were made at a full ¾d. decline, or on the basis of 12d. for Middling Orleans; while even greater sacrifices were made in Surats, one considerable parcel of Middling Fair Dholerah cotton bought the previous week at 8d., was resold at 7½d., and a few other transactions occurred on the same basis. On Monday and Tuesday the depression continued, though with less of a panic feeling; but American cotton was sold even lower, and several transactions took place on the basis of 11½, 11½, and 11½ for Middling Upland, Mobiles, and Orleans respectively. Surats, however, were more firmly held, and the extremely low sales of Saturday were not repeated, the business done being chiefly based upon 7½ for Middling Fair Dholerahs. One sale of New Omrawatee "to arrive" was quoted as low as 7½, but very little was done in cotton afloat.

To-day, however, the tone of our market has changed as suddenly in the other direction. The North American's news has produced a revulsion in public feeling—no allusion is made to peace propositions, showing that the subject is passing from men's minds; and very alarming accounts are transmitted of the destruction of cotton and Southern produce along the Mississippi and its tributaries. What degree of credit is due to these accounts is difficult to decide, but enough is known to satisfy most persons of the desperate resolution of the Southern people, and the improbability of getting supplies of cotton from the ports while the war goes on. A strong speculative demand sprang up in consequence—all the cheap lots were withdrawn, and prices rapidly improved till ¾d. advance was paid on the forced sales of yesterday. Business has been much checked by the stiffness of holders, and the sales are restricted to 5000 bales, while Middling American cotton may be quoted at 12d. for Uplands, 12½ for Mobiles, and 12½ for Orleans. In Surats prices have recovered the largest part of the decline, the better description especially. Broach are within ¾d. of the highest point, while Dholerah Omrawatee, and generally speaking, the grades below 8d. are within ¾d. of the top. Middling Fair Dholerah may be quoted 7½d. to 7¾d., and fair 8d.

It may be remarked that in the last day or two strong and apparently well-founded reports have been circulated that the peace propositions above alluded to were actually made by Mr. Mercier on behalf of the Washington Government, but were peremptorily declined by the authorities at Richmond. This news is generally attributed to Mr. Slidell, the Southern Commissioner in Paris, and is looked upon as highly probable.

MANCHESTER, May 20th, 1862.

From the date of my last report of this market, the decline in cotton has been so decided as to lead to the expectation, on the part of buyers, that they would be able to purchase on much easier terms to-day than they could have done on Tuesday last.

The inactivity and despondency thus occasioned by American advices continue without mitigation, and to-day's market has been very dull, but more firmness is apparent at the close.

Yarns are, with some exceptions, lower all round as a rule; the best qualities spun from American cotton being scarce, maintain their value very steadily, and the decline in this class of yarns is very trifling.

The cloth market is very dull and irregular, with little business doing; manufacturers, however, as a rule, are moderately firm.

The Indian advices are very encouraging, and but for the opinion now gaining ground with respect to American affairs, that this is the beginning of the end, an increased supply of cotton may be looked upon as certain. As to the quantity likely to come forward, no one is in a position to form the slightest idea, and the uncertainty on this point is a ground for caution, both among buyers and sellers. But for this apprehension of consequences likely to arise out of a speedy settlement of the American question, we should have had a much larger business. Buyers for export, more especially to Bombay, have much encouragement, from the fact that shipments of goods, from January to April, both months inclusive, are only 38,646,692 yards, against 32,770,712 yards same time last year, from English ports, and from the Clyde 919,825 yards this year, against 1,831,623 yards same period last year.

As it is, buyers do not see their way very clearly, and are desirous of awaiting the advices of next mail, and then the next, such advices causing a feeling of mistrust or confidence, according as the news may be interpreted, as favourable or the reverse, to the termination of the war.

Prices in a general way are against sellers, but it is impossible to give quotations, since no offers large enough have been made to test prices.

The Cotton Supply Association are still pursuing experiments as to the extent to which cotton growers in India can be made available for the purposes of spinners and manufacturers, and specimens of yarns and cloth are constantly exhibited in our Exchange, which show a most decided improvement over the productions of last year, made from the same material.

The most marked decline to-day has been in both warp and weft cops suitable for Blackburn. These may be quoted at ½ to ¾ per lb. lower, and even 1d. per lb. from the highest point has, in one instance, been submitted to; this decline, however, has induced manufacturers to increase their stock of yarns.

The offers made for shirtings suitable for India and China, have been on the whole, much too low for manufacturers to accede to.

The concession is more apparent in the inferior qualities of cloth made from Surat cotton, than in the stocks of good cloth held over of last year's make, for which full prices are required.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRICES CURRENT.

(From the latest received Confederate Papers.)

NEW ORLEANS, Monday Evening, March 21, 1862.

COTTON.—We have not heard of a sale to-day.
TOBACCO.—80 hds. sold last week at very high prices.
SUGAR.—The market is extremely dull and the sales are confined to about 500 hds. at prices too irregular and unsettled for quotations.

MOLASSES.—The market is very dull, and the sales are confined to about 200 bbls. at 12 cents to 12½ cents for fermenting, and 15 cents per gallon for reboiled.

FLOUR.—The sales are confined to retail transactions at 18 dols. to 18 dols. 50 cents for superfine, and 20 dols. per bbl. for extra.

CORN.—624 sacks white, in bad order, sold at 1 dol. 45 cents, and 1250 sacks prime white, in store, at 1 dol. 50 cents per bushel.

RYE.—About 100 sacks sold at 2 dols. per bushel.
BRAN.—169 sacks sold at the advanced rate of 3 dols. per 100 lbs.

BACON.—3 casks of hams sold at 30 to 31 cents per lb. The retail demand is supplied at 27 cents for shoulders, 29 cents for hams, and 30 cents per lb. for clear sides.

PORK.—Mess is retailing at 45 to 50 dols. per bbl.
BEEF.—Prime is retailing at 32 dols. 50 cents, and mess at 37 dols. 50 cents, per bbl.

LARD.—The retail demand is supplied at 23 cents for tierces and 25 cents per lb. for kegs.

WHISKY.—The retail demand for old (Bourbon and Moon-gahala) has been supplied at 1 dol. 70 cents to 2 dols.; and rectified, made from Louisiana Rum, at 1 dol. 20 cents to 1 dol. 25 cents per gallon.

Nothing else reported.

CATTLE MARKET.

JEFFERSON CITY, March 25, 1862.

Arrived yesterday 130 Texas Beeves and 40 Veal Cattle. Amount of stock sold was 148 Texas Beeves, 153 Hogs, and 24 Veal Cattle. Stock remaining on sale is 205 Texas Beeves, 715 Hogs, 151 Sheep, 67 Veal Cattle, and 25 Milch Cows. We quote

PRICES.

Texas Beeves, choice, per lb.	10 to 15
Texas Cattle, first quality, per head	35 00 to 45 00
Texas Cattle, second quality	25 00 to 35 00
Western Beef Cattle, first quality, per 100 lbs. net.	— to —
Western Beeves, second quality, per 100 lbs. net	— to —
Hogs, first quality, gross, per 100 lb.	12 00 to 15 00
Hogs, second quality, gross, per 100 lb.	10 00 to 12 00
Sheep, first quality, per head	5 00 to 8 00
Veal Cattle, first quality, per head	12 00 to 15 00
Veal Cattle, second quality, per head	— to 9 00
Milch Cows, first quality, per head	60 00 to 75 00
Milch Cows, second quality, per head	45 00 to 60 00

NEW ORLEANS, Friday Evening,
March 14, 1862.

Our commercial community appear to fully approve the act passed by the Lower House of Congress, for the burning or destruction otherwise of cotton and tobacco, when in imminent danger of being seized by the enemy. In fact, many of our planters have already made the necessary arrangements to burn, not only their baled crops, but their seed cotton, in case the emergency should arise contemplated by Congress. Not only this, but the determination appears to be coming quite general to plant only a very small amount of the staple, and employ their labour in the cultivation of cereals, and the raising of hogs and cattle.

COTTON.—The sales reported during the past week comprise 300 bales, on the spot, sold to the navy department on Saturday at —; 150 bales, for future delivery here, on Tuesday, at 8½ cents for middling, and 100 on plantation, at 7½ cents for strict middling, 100 on plantation, on Wednesday, at 7½ cents for middling, and 81 on the spot, on Thursday, at 10½ to 11 cents for middling. This makes a total for the week of 731 bales. We have heard of no transactions recently at more than 8½ cents for future delivery, although last month we noticed sales at 9 cents. Middling on the spot is quoted at 11 cents, but has sold higher for good staple.

There have been some further receipts, but as they were on special permits from the Governor of the State, for immediate transshipment, they have made no addition to the stock.

Week's receipts 1,150 bales; last year 22,450. Total since Sept. 1, 26,333; last year, 1,714,500. Week's exports, &c., 1,150 bales; last year, 69,550. Total exports, &c., 25,437 bales; last year, 1,469,470, including 885,930 to Great Britain, and 295,210 to France.

STATEMENT OF COTTON.

Stock on hand Sept. 1, 1861	bales 10,118
Arrived to date	26,031
to-day	302— 26,333
Exported to date and in transit	36,451
Stock on hand not cleared, exclusive of amount in transit	25,237
Stock on hand last year	319,400

SUGAR.—The market opened this week with a less active demand, and the receipts being quite liberal, prices for the better qualities—the only description which have been in brisk demand—gave way ½ cent to 1 cent, while during the past three days this downward tendency has been more general, and prices have become so completely unsettled that we are compelled to omit quotations. The sales comprise 2600 hds. during the early part of the week, fair to fully fair closing on Tuesday at 25 to 30 cents, and 2700 since, including 1200 to day. This makes a total for the week of 5300. There is a great want of force to move the receipts, the labourers having mostly gone to the war, and planters are urgently advised to forbear shipments until there be a favourable change.

Sales corresponding week last year 6000 hds. at 1½ cents to 5½ cents for fair to fully fair.

Week's receipts, 14,070 hds.; last year, 7250. Total since 1st September, 166,906; last year, 138,750. Week's exports gone.

MOLASSES.—With moderate supplies and a slack demand, the market has continued inanimate throughout the week, the sales embracing 1800 bbls. during the first three days at 13 to 14c. for fermenting, and 16 to—c. for prime to choice, and 2500 since, including 800 to-day, at 12 to 13c. for fermenting, and 14 for reboiled, which may be regarded as fair quotations. This makes a total of 3500 bbls. In half barrels we notice sales of 650 packages at 15 to 17c. for fermenting, and 18 for prime.

Our receipts are about 70,000 bbls. in excess of last year's to the corresponding date.

Week's receipts, 6744 bbls. and 426 half-bbls; last year 8130 bbls. Total since September 1, 337,931 bbls.; last year 268,480. Week's exports, none.

TOBACCO.—There has been a good demand, but factors have either withdrawn their stocks from the market, or ask a greater advance than buyers are willing to pay, and we have not a sale to notice.

Lugs, Factory	— to —
Lugs, Planters'	— to —
Leaf, Inferior to Common	— to —
Leaf, Fair	— to —
Leaf, Fine	— to —
Leaf, Choice and Selections	— to —

Week's receipts, 20 bbls.; last year, 503 bbls. Total receipts since the 1st of September, 1018 bbls.; last year, 17,320. Exports, none. Total exports, 000 hds.; last year, 19,573.

STATEMENT OF TOBACCO.

Stock on hand 1st September, 1861	hds. 15,121
Arrived to date	1018
to-day	000— 1018
Exported to date	000
to-day	000— 000
Stock on hand not cleared	16,139
Stock on hand last year	18,375 hds.

LONDON, Wednesday Evening.

The aspect of affairs at the Stock Exchange was decidedly more favourable on Friday. The markets were in all respects better, and the arrival of the Porcia with the nature of the intelligence alleged to be communicated through this channel, stimulated purchases. It was then rumoured that the interference of the French Minister had produced an influence, and anticipations were expressed that hostilities would shortly be brought to a conclusion.

But on Saturday the market became weaker, and has not rallied yet. The impression has been gaining ground that money will shortly become dearer. It is unquestionable that the numerous foreign loans and schemes must take money from this country. On the other hand, the letters and accounts from America failed to strengthen the anticipations regarding the possibility of an early termination of the civil war, as the general opinion among the New York and Washington bankers is, that the South are without any disposition whatever to surrender. Many persons believe, however, that the recent negotiations of M. Mercier may lead to sudden and important results. Consols that opened on Friday at 93½ to 94 for money, and 92½ ex. div., for the account, were last quoted, to-day, 93½ to 94, again for money, and 92 to 93 ex. div., for the account. Many of the foreign stocks exhibit a partial depreciation, and railway shares also manifest weakness.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, by Rev. Thomas Foley, Dr. J. F. Morgan to Miss M. E. Gough; both of St. Mary's county, Md.

On the 22nd April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. James E. Alford, William Norris to Elizabeth Magers; all of that city.

At St. Vincent's Church, Baltimore, by the Rev. Mr. McCarthy, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Myers, Thomas Hedican to Annie Heiniken Myers, third daughter of Jacob Myers, Esq.

On the 20th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. S. A. Wilson, John Lee Wooten, of Baltimore, to Rebecca E., daughter of the late W. S. Bosley, of Baltimore county.

On the 17th April, at Frederick, by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Zacharias, George S. Roberts, of Baltimore, to Miss Laura A. Carmack, of Frederick.

On the 17th April, at the residence of the bride, by the Rev. W. H. Bates, Charles C. Sears, U. S. A., to Miss Jennie Skinner, both of Baltimore.

On the 17th April, at the Seventh Baptist Church, Baltimore, by the Rev. Richard Fuller, Edmund L. Woodside to Margaret E., daughter of R. B. Porter, Esq., all of that city.

On Tuesday evening, 15th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Henry Scheib, Charles Kennel to Miss Margaret A. Bregel; both of that city.

On the 8th April, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, John Hamilton to Miss Julia Ann Coulter, all of that city.

At Baltimore, Maryland, on the 22nd of April, by Rev. M. Slattery, William T. A. Beatty, to Miss Charlotte Jane Saugston, both of Baltimore.

On Tuesday, 4th inst., in New Orleans, W. C. D. Vaught, to Miss Isadore L. Walker, daughter of Felix Walker, all of this city.

On Thursday, the 6th inst., in New Orleans, at the residence of Captain Burns, by the Rev. Dr. C. S. Hedges, Mr. James Goodwin, to Miss Emily Augusta Hamilton, both of this city.

On the 2nd inst., at Pass Christian, Mississippi, by the Rev. Mr. McNeil, C. M. Bisbee, to Miss Mary C. Giese Cramer, both of Mississippi.

On the 13th inst., in New Orleans, by the Rev. C. S. Hedges, D. D., Mr. William Tell, to Miss Jane Eliza Richardson, all of this city.

On Thursday evening, 13th inst., in Mobile, by Rev. Dr. Moore, at the residence of the bride's mother, Mr. Lilia M. Hammond to Robert Robert, both of this city.

DIED.

On Monday, April 7, 1862, on the battle-field of Shiloh, Captain Charles C. Campbell, of the Sumter Rifles, Crescent Regiment, Louisiana Volunteers, aged 33 years, a native of Adams' County, Mississippi.

On Sunday, April 6, 1862, at the battle of Shiloh, Lieut. George Lewis Bond, 1st Louisiana Infantry, youngest son of S. T. Bond, of New Orleans.

On Saturday, April 12, Adelaide Probst, wife of T. Dantz, of New Orleans.

On Friday, April 11, in New Orleans, Mary McNamee, wife of George Tate, aged 45, a native of Ireland.

On Tuesday, April 6th, on the battle-field of Shiloh, Casilear Joseph Hartnett, aged 20 years and three months, step-son of a well-known citizen of New Orleans, Thos. H. Shields, Esq.

In San Francisco, on February 19th, Captain William P. Rogers, of Baltimore, Md.

In Richmond, Virginia, on April 11th, Mrs. Catherine Adair, wife of P. H. Skipwith, of New Orleans.

On Saturday, April 22nd, in New Orleans, H. B. Kemper, aged 58 years, a native of Kentucky.

On Sunday, April 22nd, in New Orleans, P. L. Moreau, aged 32 years, late Alderman from the Fourth District.

Near Franklin, Tennessee, on April 4th, William Scott McCants, aged 19 years, a private in Company E. Scott's Regiment Louisiana Mounted Men.

On Monday, 21st April, at Baltimore, Benjamin F. Staatch, in the 30th year of his age.

On the 19th April, at Baltimore, of consumption, Philip Linhard, in the 33rd year of his age.

On the 19th April, at Baltimore, Magdalene, wife of William Leinz, in the 29th year of her age.

In New York city, on the 22nd April, Frederick Bloomer, Esq., formerly of Baltimore. At rest.

In Washington, on Monday morning, 21st April, Mrs. Margaret R. Fleishell, daughter of the late Abraham and Elizabeth Wise, of Adams county, Pa.

On the 20th April, at Ashland, Baltimore county, Ann Connor, wife of Patrick Connor, in the 35th year of her age. My sharpest in peace—Amen.

On Sunday evening, April 20th, at Mt. Vernon Factory, Susan Ann Mason, wife of Moses Mason, in the 25th year of her age.

On the 19th April, in Washington city, Norval Wilson, eldest child of Thomas H. and M. Cornelia Havenner, aged 15 years.

On Friday, April 18th, at Hyatts own, Montgomery county, Carolina A., wife of Eli Wolfe, aged 53 years.

On the 16th April, at 11 p.m., at Cambridge, Md., Virginia T., consort of Dr. J. N. Baird, after a lingering illness, which she bore with Christian fortitude, and in the hope of a blissful immortality beyond the grave.

On the 13th April, at his residence in Queen Ann's county, Eastern Shore of Maryland, William Henley, of apoplexy, in the 53rd year of his age.

On the 10th December, at Pennsville, Morgan county, Ohio, John Burgess, in the 77th year of his age; a native of Maryland, but for the last fifty years a resident of Ohio.

On the evening of the 16th April, at Baltimore, Mrs. Harriet M. Wilmer, wife of Charles Wilmer, and daughter of the late Lloyd N. Rogers, Esq.

On Thursday, 17th April, in Harford county, near Fallston, Edwin Jane, in the 15th year of her age, youngest daughter of Mary M. and the late Captain Edwin Robinson.

On the 17th April, in Harford county, Edward Fiddington, aged 51 years, formerly of Baltimore.

On the 7th April, in Chickasaw county, Iowa, Jane Hollis, beloved wife of the Rev. Charles Hollis, formerly of Baltimore.

On the 19th February, in San Francisco, Captain William P. Rogers, a native of Baltimore, but for some years a resident of the former place.

DEATH OF A WELL-KNOWN CITIZEN.—We record, with pain, the death of Mr. Thomas W. Tobin, one of the publishers and proprietors of the *Baltimore Free Current*. Mr. Tobin has been in delicate health for some time, but until within a few weeks past has been actively engaged in his attendance on the Corn Exchanges. The deceased came to this city some years since from the North, and for a short time was occupied at his profession as a printer. During his sojourn here he has made hosts of friends, and few depart from this life in so deeply lamented nor more warmly esteemed.—*N. O. Crescent*.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following letter from a citizen of the Northern States to a friend in this country, proves that amid the general madness and frantic delusions of the North there are still some sober-minded men left, whose judgment remains clear, and whose voices must be heard in the first hall of the present hurricane of infuriated popular passions. The writer is a gentleman of vast political experience and high social standing:—

New York, May 1, 1862.

Though Spence's admirable book upon the civil war in this country has not reached us, yet its review in the *Quarterly* and *North British Review*, a tolerable insight into its principles and merits. Though kept down by the tame and depressing of the pro-Union press, yet its publication at such a critical moment in this country, where a day will bring about a change in the ruling articles in the *Journal of Commerce* of the last week in April, as well as to-day, you will perceive a manifest change in sentiment, and though that press was last year bribed or

threatened into a fierce support of Government, yet it is now coming out strongly for the support of the Constitution and State rights. And, as it would scarcely dare to do this of itself, the query arises if it be not under the prompting of the Government? The suit brought by Pierce Butler against the late Secretary of War, for false imprisonment, and which, no doubt, will be followed by many others, has perhaps alarmed the Administration, and it finds that it has gone too far. I do not know that, with an experience of forty years in studying our Constitution, that I can add anything to Spence's (or rather the *Quarterly's*) excellent review. There is no sort of question that the States made the Constitution as States, and not as a general people; for besides Spence's arguments (or the reviewer's) all amendments are provided to be made by three-fourths of the States—not of the people. Our Constitution, however, is not only not understood by foreigners, but not even by ourselves, except in rare instances. It is founded upon "the consent of the governed," as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. What governed? Not the people of the United States, for there was no United States at the time; only thirteen sovereign States, who appointed—what? why a mutual agency with certain limited powers, not an arbitrary Government. The right of withdrawal of any of these constituent States was neither conceded nor retained in terms. This might make the right of Secession a matter of doubt, perhaps; and behold, on a matter of doubt the North institutes a war against the South!!—and this in the nineteenth century—and by a people professedly extra moral, enlightened, and religious. But further, the Constitution has no penal clause against a State that secedes, even if it were refused by that instrument—no specific power of coercion or punishment; and the States were too careful to grant only specific powers to leave anything to inference. And behold, upon the double inference merely that the Constitution forbids secession and allows coercion, the Government, institutes a fratricidal war, instead of "considering a clear case for compromise, or friendly separation. But it is argued that the Constitution provides for the punishment of treason or rebellion. So it does, as regards those appertaining to the Government, such as its soldiers, sailors, employés, &c., as well as all citizens disowned by their respective States. But can a sovereign State be a traitor to its own agent—which it helped to make, and endowed with limited powers? But further, all States have full control over their own citizens, beyond the powers granted to the general Government. The most important, that of life and death and all internal management, exists with the State. She is, to all intents and purposes, a limited sovereign, as is the general Government. Hence, she says to the latter, "hands off my people, you cannot meddle with my citizens while under my ægis, you must face me as a sovereign State duly organized as such, and secured by the Constitution." This is a dilemma, indeed,—but it is the fault of the Constitution, not of those who avail themselves of its defects to withdraw, or do any other act not expressly denied in the document. The effect was just this, as probably intended. We had a Government strong enough, under consent of the governed, but too weak when force became desirable towards its constituents. No coercive power to restrain or punish was conceded by the sovereign States to their limited agent. But "as we made our bed so ought we to lie in it;" and our Constitution, weak or otherwise, abided by; but not only has it been violated in these doubtful points, but in actual provisions, *habeas corpus*, right of speech, and the press, war measures, &c., to say nothing of all political consistency. Says Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address—"Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon us."

And this is the man that in one short month proceeds to violate his own theory and the Constitution. But the real causes of the war on the part of the North lie beneath the clap-trap surface of patriotism and maintenance of the Union. They are three:—Firstly, if not mainly the spoils, the stupendous plunder arising from the control of thousands of millions under war expenditure. Secondly, the secure and permanent establishment of the protective system, for ever under a tremendous debt, and necessary war taxation. Thirdly, the war is intended to keep hold of the slave chain; does this stirle? Why, where have all the permanent profits of slave labour existed for the last thirty years? What has added spindle to spindle, ship to ship, dollar to dollar, and aggregated the wealth and capital of the thrifty North, which has, in fact, had the kernel, while the South has had but the mere shell of slave labour? why it takes a thousand ships to carry cotton alone. Was the North, then, ready that any foreign Power should step in and control the stupendous profits of slavery,—supply the South at a low-tariff with all her needs, and take all her productions under a favourable treaty? No, indeed, and poor well-meaning Lincoln was soon overwhelmed by this trinitarian power; nor, perhaps, in all the annals of war have three such powerfully selfish motives ever been brought into action at once. Ponder upon this and let the British public know the real causes of this abominable war—this trinity of motives.

The next letter, from Philadelphia, is from a large and influential mercantile firm to their English correspondents:—

PHILADELPHIA, May 6, 1862.

Since our letter of the 8th ult. relative to the position of affairs, several events of a military character have occurred. We have had the severe battle of Shiloh, in which the Union loss is now officially acknowledged at 11,000 killed, wounded, and missing;

and the result of which has been to check the forward movement of the Western army, notwithstanding the concentration of all disposable forces in that quarter. Fort Pulaski has been captured, while Savannah remains unattacked, and we have also the capture of Fort Macon, which is not a very important position. There have been some skirmishes, with varied successes, in Tennessee, Northern Alabama, and North Carolina. In Virginia the principal event has been the evacuation of Yorktown by the Confederates, at which point they had kept at bay General McClellan, with his entire command, for nearly six weeks. Opinions are divided as to the result of this movement, although we are inclined to adhere to the views expressed in our letter of the 8th ult., that the military policy of the Confederates may lead to their evacuation of Virginia, and their retirement to the Cotton States, where they may maintain their stand during the approaching summer, and they will probably have some 350,000 men under arms. But that which is regarded as the most important event is the successful passage of the Mississippi River to New Orleans, by a portion of the United States' naval forces running the gauntlet of the forts below, which were, and to our latest advices are, still held by the Confederates, and which has placed the city under control of the former. The advices thus far received are very meagre and unsatisfactory, but generally concurring as to the destruction of the cotton, tobacco, and other staples. We think the maintenance of this occupation somewhat dependent upon further military operations now in progress.

Inasmuch as all that has occurred was not only looked for by the writer, but even greater military results expected, we have no reason to change the views we have heretofore expressed as to the course of matters. Nothing has yet happened to affect the masses of the Southern people, beyond fortifying their determination of resistance, by increase of bitterness and exasperation.

The only announcement which the French Minister has felt at liberty to make publicly in connection with his recent visit to Richmond, is his conviction of their persistent resistance, relying in the last resort on the vastness of their territory, and the impracticability of holding it under military occupation. The hot weather is now rapidly approaching, and our Northern unacclimated soldiers will have to endure the trying test of the summer season in a calamitous climate, whose dreadful diseases will prove as powerful an ally for the Southerner as the winter winds for the Russian, under somewhat similar circumstances. Thus there are considerations which serve to counterbalance the advantages recently obtained.

It is now understood that there can and will be no resumption of unrestricted commercial relations with the seceded States whilst the war is in its present position. The Government have announced their intention to permit limited shipment to and from some of the ports, but under restrictions that will probably neutralize the permission. The reason is obvious. If the planters can obtain supplies, the war would never cease. We think that any hope of the early receipt of cotton may be abandoned, for if the Government were even disposed to open any of the Southern ports in their possession without restriction, so long as the interior of the Cotton States is held by the Confederates, the cotton will either be withheld, or if likely to fall into the power of the United States' forces, it will be destroyed. We, therefore, see no other prospect than the virtual stoppage of the cotton machinery of Europe, and the necessity of the consideration, on your side of the water, of the best means of providing for the unemployed millions who are dependent upon it.

MOBILE, April 15, 1862.

I have before me your valued lines of the 6th January, handed to me by Mr. —. This gentlemen, having for a few days since. The salt I have sold deliverable from the ship's side at 12 dollars per sack. The soap I hope to dispose of at 25 cents per lb. The bagging is nominally worth 25 cents per yard; but as our planters, in view of the continued recognition of an illegal and inefficient blockade by foreign Powers, are only planting a very small space of ground in cotton, the demand is somewhat slow for the article.

I have suggested to Mr. —, seeing how high rates of exchange are, the propriety of investing all proceeds of sales in cotton, to be held until shipment can be made with safety. All such purchases I would place under the protection of the British flag, with a certificate from the consul that it is British property, as a guarantee from molestation in the event of invasion.

There is a large crop on the plantations of last year's growth, but wherever the enemy approaches the torch is applied, owners preferring that their property should be utterly destroyed rather than stolen.

It would be impossible to enter into particulars at this time about our domestic affairs; suffice it, therefore, to say, the Southern people are firm in their determination to be free, or to perish in the attempt; and although some reverses have been met with, the Northern people are farther from accomplishing what they took in hand than they were when they first commenced the war twelve months since.

Cotton on plantation, sells at 5 to 7 cents per lb.; on the spot, 8 to 9 cents.

Sir,—I give you below some extracts from a letter I have recently received from a relative in the Confederate States of America, which will show the firm determination of the Southern people to win their independence, in spite of all the reverses they may meet with from the Federalists.

Speaking of the State of Georgia, he says:—

"A recent requisition was made on this State, by the Confederate Government, for twelve regiments, in response to which twenty have volunteered, and when they get off we shall have seventy regiments in the field. You can scarcely have an idea of the enthusiasm which pervades the whole country, and now that we have been successful in getting in from abroad what we most wanted, you need have no fear that we will be subjugated, although the insane madness of our enemies may protract the struggle to the bitter end, and bring upon themselves an hopeless state of insolvency. It seems strange to me that England, who is so largely their creditor, does not see this, and try to arrest a war, which, besides the most ruinous effects upon her trade and commerce, must cause her capitalists to be such heavy losers in the depreciation or worthlessness of the American securities they hold. England, usually so wise, so far-seeing, has, I fear, temporarily fallen into the hands of a fatal abolition clique (which we call here the "Exeter Hall Cabal") that will not give up the idea that the present move is to result in the abolition of slavery, to accomplish which they would ruin one of the fairest portions of the earth; degrade the slaves from Christianity to heathendom, and all its degrading vices; and destroy one of the main elements of the prosperity of England—the supply of cotton; on which so large a portion of her population depend for labour and subsistence."

"You are no doubt much annoyed by the false reports and rumours which you get through the *Herald*, and other leading New York papers, sent out for effect upon the people of England and France. They often manufacture and send out the most arrant lies, for which there is not a shadow of foundation; and when they refer to things which have occurred, they magnify their own temporary advantages and detract from ours."

"The capture of Fort Donnellson was one of the dearest bought victories which ever occurred. Our loss was about 7000 prisoners, and 1500 killed and wounded, while theirs is variously estimated at 6000 to 7000 killed and wounded. Such fighting was never heard of before; their dead were piled up five and six deep in some places on the field. Our men fought against the greatest disparity of numbers, and never gave up till they were utterly exhausted with four days' hard fighting, and fresh reinforcements came up against them. I think this victory (as they call it) has produced the most chilling effect on the North of anything that has occurred during the war; and, although they now hold possession of Kentucky, and part of West Tennessee, including Nashville, yet they find no sympathy with the inhabitants; and as soon as they attempt to move away from the rivers and the support of their gunboats, I think they will be cut up and suffer utter defeat. Be assured the public sentiment here is, that there never can be any reconstruction or further union between the North and South. Nor do we believe that all the power they can ever bring can subjugate a people who are determined that the bones of themselves and their wives and children shall bleach on the soil of their own sunny clime, before they will ever yield to their detestable invaders."

Such, Mr. Editor, are the sentiments expressed by one who is old in years and experience—who has a large stake in the welfare of his country—who has been at all times "a man of peace;" and yet he is now willing that this most unnatural war should be waged even to the bitter end, rather than again come under that Constitution of which the Northerners are so fond for others, although they themselves have broken it over and over again. How long will it be ere the reflecting men of the North begin to see that the conquest of the South is impossible? How long will the Christian nations of Europe stand with folded arms and see fellow Christians shedding each others blood; and for what? As Earl Russell very properly said, some months ago, "for independence on the one side, conquest on the other." And are our starving millions to perish while this is being decided by the dreadful ordeal of the sword? God forbid! Surely it is now high time for the might of England and France to step forward, and say to the troubled and bloody waters of fratricidal strife, "Peace, be still; the world can no longer look on in horror at such a spectacle of brothers rushing at each others throats. We can no longer allow our cotton operatives to stand idle, our ships to rot at the wharves, our trade and commerce to be paralyzed, merely that you should go on sacrificing both life and wealth for no practicable purpose; so, 'Uncle Sam,' if you cannot persuade 'Cousin Sallie' to come back into your loving arms by more gentle means than you are now trying, you must let her go to seek her fortune in her own way, and we will act as her 'chaperons' when she is first introduced as an independent nation of the earth."

Would not such a course of action be true wisdom in the end? J. S. H.

Forest Hill, 19th May, 1862.

A correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, who accompanied General Mitchell, writes from Huntsville, dated April 24, as follows:—"The people here, as at all points this side of Nashville, Shelbyville excepted, are seceded. Many are despondent, and admit our superior strength and their hopeless condition, but the majority feel and talk fight. I have sounded their sentiments, and assure you that there is nothing left in their organization, mental or other, friendly to the Union cause or betraying aught that speaks of love for American institutions. In the mistaken notions the Northern people entertain relative to the feeling of their misguided (?) brethren in the South, their thoughts are second to the wish. Let the North become reconciled to the fact that, in order to restore the Union as it was, the South must be subjugated, and act accordingly."

Foreign Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 6th, (by Persia.)

The great event that has happened since I last wrote you, has been the evacuation of Yorktown by the Confederates. I have advised you, for some time past, that McClellan was making his approach to these works in regular siege form, and that, with his superior artillery, he would be able to destroy them whenever his preparations were completed. It appears that there was a council of war early last week, at which General Lee and other principal generals were present, and the result of which was a determination to fall back. The retirement was, therefore, commenced about the middle of the week, and the entire army, said to consist of not less than 70,000 men, successfully withdrew, without the loss of a man, leaving behind them their heavy siege guns, some ammunition, and some camp equipage and stores. The Union troops, early on Sunday morning, found the works deserted, and immediately entered and occupied them, finding in the town of Yorktown but four inhabitants, and they were negroes. McClellan immediately despatched the news by the wires, and closed his despatch by stating that "he was in rapid pursuit of the enemy," whom he intended to "push to the wall." His advancing columns soon reached their proposed destination. They came up to the rear-guard of the Confederates on Sunday afternoon, were met, and repulsed with considerable loss, and left a cannon as a trophy to the Confederates. Our last advices are up to Monday morning, when the Union troops were evidently awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, preparatory to further demonstrations. The point at which McClellan's advance was checked was about two miles in front of Williamsburg. It has been stated that the Confederates had erected considerable defences at this point, but we have no positive knowledge of it. I do not think that it is their design to make any considerable stand at this place. The necessity of their evacuation of the Yorktown defences had not only become imperative from the probability of their destruction by the Union gunboats; but with the menacing columns of McDowell and Banks approaching on the north and west of Richmond, it became highly important that the lines of the Confederates, so widely extended, should be concentrated; and above all, it was necessary that the line of retreat across the James River should be held and kept open, if a defeat or other reasons rendered it necessary to abandon Richmond. It may finally be determined to retire into North Carolina, holding the army as nearly as possible intact; but I think it is barely possible that Virginia will be evacuated, except after at least one battle. Virginia has done so much for the Confederates, that the men from the Cotton States would scarcely desert her, unless it was rendered judicious and proper for the ultimate success of their cause. I have no doubt, that it may be contemplated to adopt, however, the Fabian policy, and throw upon the United States forces, the necessity of following into the low latitudes during the approaching summer months. The general impression is, evidently that the evacuation is a Federal advantage, and many people look forward to the occupation of Richmond within a few days, but there are a few who consider the withdrawal of the Confederate army, with a mere trifling loss of heavy siege guns, as a gain to them, and that McClellan has been out-generalled. Be this as it may, McClellan must and will, without doubt, press forward, and unless it be the design of the Confederates to abandon Virginia, there will be a great battle, which must necessarily take place within a few days, and may, perhaps, be transpiring even while I write. Upon examination of the works at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, on the York River, it was found that they could easily have been carried, and it was probably the knowledge of this that caused the Confederates to risk nothing further by occupying a position which was not only becoming untenable, but really very hazardous. McClellan is said to have sent up the York River a considerable force by transports, which will probably land at West Point, but, of course, the Confederates will be prepared to meet them if necessary. We have nothing further from either McDowell's or Banks' columns, but I do not doubt they are quietly moving forward.

There was an engagement a few days ago near Corinth, with advantage to the Federals, but it was not very important. Halleck's army is now undoubtedly moving forward, and unless Beauregard also designs to withdraw from Corinth, there must be a battle at this point. It is very possible that the occupation of New Orleans may change the determination and plans of Beauregard, and I should not be surprised if he quietly retired, and held his forces ready to combine at a future day with the Eastern army, should it fall back into the Cotton States. From New Orleans we have not had anything of an official character.

The Confederates have sustained a considerable loss in the capture of two steamers, the *Bermuda* and *Ellis Worsley* (Isabel), containing munitions of war; almost as serious to them as the loss of a battle. I should not be surprised if some trouble was created by the *Bermuda* affair, as she was sailing under British colours, and on her voyage from Liverpool to Nassau; and was captured off the British Island of Abaco. Great Britain will be likely to make a fuss about it.

Money is getting to be a perfect drug—loans on call made at 4 per cent.; this is nothing more or less than the beginning of the experience of the inflation of the currency. Gold is rising—3½ is now the rate, and sterling has advanced to 114; and the bankers think that, no matter whether we have peace or war, the rate will go higher.

I have just seen an announcement in the *New York Herald* that the Forts St. Philip and Jackson, below the city of New Orleans, had been taken, or had surrendered. I do not think it comes in an authentic shape, but it is very possible.

PARIS, May 20th, 1862.

The friendly disposition of the French Government towards the Confederate States, as resolved in the *Constitutionnel*, "Conciliation, Mediation," far from having been checked by the fall of New Orleans and the retreat of the Confederate army from Yorktown, those events seem, on the contrary, to strengthen more and more the determination of the Emperor to offer his friendly mediation to the belligerent parties, and if rejected, to enforce it with the whole military and naval power of France.

I have stated, in one of my preceding letters, that I could have told you much more upon the subject had I felt at liberty to do so. Well, the truth, the whole truth, may as well be divulged now to the people of England, and, indeed, the time has fully arrived when it should be known without further reticence, so that the responsibility of the present European distress may attach precisely where it should.

I am at liberty to state this day, on the most undoubted authority, that, since the fall of New Orleans into the Federal hands, the Emperor has renewed his former propositions to the English Cabinet to recognize the Southern Confederacy; and, if necessary to put an end to this war, to combine a joint armed intervention. I am further informed, from the same source, that the strong, urgent, and repeated appeals of the French Cabinet have so far met with no response whatever from Lord John Russell, notwithstanding the universality of sympathy which has been so unmistakably shown by the English people in favour of the recognition of the Confederate States.

A letter of much significance from an intimate friend of Mr. Seward to a gentleman of high respectability, has been received lately, and as its contents are quite germane to the subject matter of this letter, I think they will prove acceptable to your readers, for they fully disclose the well-matured policy intended to be pursued by the United States' Government with regard to the existing state of things on the American continent.

The Government of Washington (says this letter) has no idea whatever of putting up with the violation of the Monroe doctrine by France and Spain. It has been elevated to the height of a political dogma for more than half a century, and shall not be permitted by the United States to be permanently disturbed. For the present, we have our hands full with the crushing of the Southern rebellion, and cannot give to the Mexican affairs the peculiar attention they are entitled to. But the rebellion once smothered, and the South organized into military territories under our dominion, it is the settled determination of this Government to pour into Mexico all the necessary forces to drive out instantly the European invaders. It is the firm purpose of President Lincoln to make Napoleon III. understand at once, that if the koozes who reign in Europe have been pleased thus far to kneel down at his feet, the Mexican and American Republics feel neither inclined nor disposed to bow to his would-be power and might; much less to permit even the supposition of his being capable to establish any sort of supremacy over the destinies of this continent. The United States' Government has, therefore, resolved to check, in the meantime, the progress of the French troops; with this view it furnishes now 250,000 dollars per diem to President Juarez to keep up an army equal to that task.

As to Cuba, we will make a quick work of it as soon as we are ready, and it is well for England she has had the good sense to withdraw her troops from Mexico.

This letter produced quite a sensation, while some regarded it as one of the vain boasts so familiar to Northern arrogance. The better informed diplomatists seemed, on the contrary, inclined to consider it well worthy the close scrutiny of the European Cabinets. They emphatically declared it to be their earnest conviction that the demagogues who held the power in the

United States had construed the unintelligible patience of Europe into fear, and that unless it decided to put down the insolence of the United States, they would certainly involve the whole of Europe in a general war before many months elapse.

One of them unhesitatingly asserted that Mr. Seward had, during the whole of his political career, advocated the wresting of Canada from England; that all the filibustering expeditions had been gotten up by Northern capitalists, whose thirst for new territories had led them to consider Mexico, Cuba, and Canada as properties merely placed in trust in the possession of their respective Governments, for the ultimate use and benefit of the United States; that he thought it impossible for the North to conquer the South, especially more so to keep it subdued, if ever conquered; but that he had no earthly doubt that if his speculations, with regard to the issue now pending between the North and South, proved erroneous, then, in that case, the North, infatuated with its recent military achievements, would certainly take advantage of the present warlike dispositions of the American people to overrun Mexico and Canada.

In making all due allowances for the well-known exaggerations of Northern politicians, their long-cherished hope of extending their undisputed dominion over the whole American continent, the confidential relations existing between the writer of this letter and the United States' Secretary of State, everything tends to confirm the supposition, that it is the settled purpose of the present Cabinet to make a bold stroke to carry this plan through. Indeed, it is not at all improbable that the Secretary of the Treasury has already thought of alleviating the burden of taxation, so bitterly complained of at the North, by appropriating the fertile territories of Mexico to the payment of the United States' bonds.

It remains to be seen how far these plans of the United States' Cabinet will agree with those which, for a few days past, are currently attributed to the Emperor Napoleon.

If, as it seems to be generally accredited in Paris, the Emperor has made up his mind to endow France with the magnificent old kingdom of Montezuma, he who has boldly torn the treaty of 1815 in the face of all the European Powers is not likely to suffer his plans to be thwarted by the *Munroe Doctrine*.

If we can give credence to the *London Times*, one very important point is gained. Far from having any opposition to fear from England, this policy of the Emperor meets with its cordial and unreserved approbation.

PARIS, May 20, 1862.

The telegraphic transmission of political news has deeply modified the mechanism and the condition of existence of the newspapers. Now-a-days any important political news instantly runs over the wires through the whole of Europe, and is almost simultaneously spread in all the newspapers of the Continent. The over-busy reader throws a hasty glance over the telegrams; and believes himself sufficiently informed; but those who enjoy some leisure hours are not altogether satisfied with this smattering of news, their eager curiosity requires some further explanations, needs some few commentaries, and wishes to be made acquainted with the details accompanying the main facts. This last class of readers can hardly be reconciled to the conciseness of a telegraphic despatch, which always leaves behind much to be gleaned.

Inasmuch as you feel disposed to open THE INDEX to my letters, I will endeavour to bring home to you the rumours of the week, the general preoccupation of the day, and the impression produced by such or such a fact. I will observe, and tell you the result of my observations just as they present themselves to my mind, and without any pretension whatever to style. I will write to you as to a distant friend who feels an interest in knowing all that is going on in this great capital of the world. I expect my letter to be considered by your readers as a more friendly gossip with them.

Having thus exposed my programme, I come to the facts.

Italy, as you are aware continues to draw the close attention of the public, and of political men. A recent event has just disappointed the hopes of the go-ahead party—I allude to Garibaldi's project of invading the Tyrol and Illyria. The Government of the King Victor Emmanuel found it necessary to check this movement, though prepared by its own friends, on account of the remonstrances of the French Government. The Emperor Napoleon entirely disregards all the clamouring in favour of the Italian revolution, and has no idea whatever of being led into any such wild and ridiculous adventures. With regard to the Roman question, the newspapers are filled with the most absurd speculations. The rumour that France had advised the Pope to flee from Rome is a ridiculous *canard*. The Emperor ignores it knowing that such an astounding event would very seriously affect the strength of his own Government.

The French newspapers, which are subservient to the Italian cause, mistaking their aspirations and desires for realities, constantly announce, as accomplished, facts which they are soon compelled to contradict. The visit of Prince Napoleon was to be

followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome; the momentary return of General de Goyon to Paris was a recall. What did these rumours amount to? Nothing but the instructive fact that it is a safe rule to guard one's self against the news and erroneous interpretations set in circulation by interested friends.

A fact which would certainly have provoked a great excitement in England, seems to pass here quite unnoticed. After a verdict discharging M. Mires of all the charges brought against him, he (M. Mires) responding to a spontaneous call of all the stockholders who had been made to suffer from the illegal proceedings of the Court of Paris, consented to take charge of the *caisse des chemins de fer*. He instantly set to work to retrieve the losses experienced by them in consequence of his detention. As fortunate as ever, M. Mires succeeded at once in a negotiation to procure a loan for the Austrian Government. He opened a subscription to raise the capital required. But as soon as M. Mires attempted to make the fact known through the newspapers, an order was issued by the Government to forbid the insertion of his advertisements, and this without any due notice given to Mires, or any legal reason alleged against this banking operation. Notwithstanding the numerous reports maliciously spread to injure his personal character, M. Mires is unquestionably endowed with great financial talents, powerful energy, and many noble qualities, which have secured him a large number of warm and devoted friends. He has immediately called for redress, and will no doubt obtain it at the hands of the proper authorities.

Two newspapers, the *Temps* and the *Pays*, have of late been engaged in personal quarrels of the most deplorable character. Abuses have been exchanged between their chief editors, provocations ensued, ink was very freely used, but not a drop of blood was spilt. After a great deal of talk and fuss, the antagonists finally came to an amicable settlement of their impending difficulties; the only true victims being the subscribers, who were deprived of their usual editorials for a whole week. However, it is generally thought that M. Granguiollot carried the day.

Instead of being detrimental to Paris, as it might have been supposed, the London Exhibition seems to prove extremely beneficial to the capital of France. Indeed, it has become the halting place of all the strangers who are on their way to England. They are daily met examining the beauties of the new Paris of Napoleon the Third, as though they were preparing their eyes to admire the better the industrial splendour of Kensington Palace. Said-Pacha, the Vice-King of Egypt, is now enjoying the royal hospitality of the Tuileries. Mahomed Eli Sadock, the Bey of Tunis, is expected in Paris next month. Both are said to be travelling through Europe for the purpose of forwarding their recognition as independent sovereigns. It is even asserted that France is just as well disposed towards them as it is towards the Confederate States of America; but I fear their projects will meet with no little obstacles on the part of England.

As you may well suppose, the American war is the all engrossing topic of the day. Paris may be said to be divided in two camps; but if by some the Confederates are thought to be inferior in number, they are generally considered the bravest, the most chivalrous, the best marshalled, and especially the most honest and trustworthy, of the two contending parties. Indeed, I heard a gentleman, indignant at the monstrous abuse made of the telegraph wires by the North, say, that it was a very fortunate thing the Transatlantic cable had broken, for long ere this the poor Southerners would all be thought killed and buried.

Not being a military man, I can form no precise idea of the bearing which the fall of New Orleans and the retreat from Yorktown may have upon the final issue of the war, therefore I can but give you the impression produced by these two events upon the French generals. They unhesitatingly pronounce it to be their opinion that the Southern generals are actually playing with the would-be American Napoleon as a man would with a child. One thing is certain, however, our commercial men are getting more than tired of this protracted state of things, and cordially wish Lincoln was out of this world's way.

Thalberg, the grand and celebrated pianist, who for the last ten years had kept himself sequestered from the musical world, has lately given four concerts, which have been attended by a numerous crowd of amateurs. He has been as brilliant as ever. Thalberg will soon be on his way to England, where he intends to give a series of concerts in honour of the Exhibition.

A subscription has just been opened to build a monument to consecrate the memory of Halcyon. The amount required is 40,000 francs. The Emperor has headed the list with 3000 francs, and Pereire has offered 2000 francs. The full amount is expected to be made up by the end of this week.

P. B.

ST. THOMAS, W.I., April 29th.

Political news you will of course not expect from me. Whatever of this kind I could send must necessarily be but a faint and inaccurate repetition of what has reached you long before in a more valuable form. We frequently receive letters and newspapers from the South, and in future I shall endeavour to send you such as come into my possession.

We look upon the signal victory achieved by the Confederate troops at Corinth, as an effectual check to any movement of the Federals for some time to come, though Halleck is concentrating the whole of his army for the purpose. Before he can get ready the hot weather will have fairly set in, and even

without Beanregard in his way, he could not reach the Gulf without enormous suffering and much loss. Several Southerners have passed through here on their way to Havana, and to Bermuda or Nassau. — and — have both got safely in. All whom I conversed with, as well as all the friends of the South here, are hopeful of a termination of the war before the next business season opens. Meanwhile, however, a great portion of last year's crop will be destroyed, and but a scanty crop will be made this year to replace the loss. —, who arrived a few weeks ago, is positive that wholesale burning of cotton is absolutely certain, and says that throughout the country only small patches of cotton were being planted when he left. The plantations near the Georgia and Carolina coasts are, for the most part, wholly abandoned, and in Alabama and Mississippi the planters are of one mind as regards what they think their true policy.

Vessels are arriving daily at Havana from Confederate ports. Two steamers, the *Circassian* and *Minbro*, arrived safely from your side, and, having coaled, cleared for Havana. Others are expected.

Please direct the attention of your friends to the important use which could be made of this island in this respect, and concerning which I will write you privately.

Tonnage is at present scarce. Last engagements were at £4 10s., £4 10s. 6d., for direct ports in the United Kingdom; £4 12s. 6d., £4 15s. for the Continent. For Federal ports, 3 dols. per 110 gallons molasses, and 3 dols. 7½ cents. per 100 lbs. of sugar, are about the current rates.

Exchanges—Sterling 90: day bills, 475 to 477½.

SOUTHERN PROSPECTS.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

THE marvellous profusion of sensation paragraphs, telegrams, prophecies, and congratulations poured forth, without stint or effort, by the New York papers, reminds one more of the legerdemain of Houdin, than any other modern work of art. When out of a hat he produces tons of feathers, strips of coloured paper, and heaven knows what besides, one stands aghast at the immensity of the production. And such is about the position of most Englishmen at reading all the information presented to us, with an amazing volubility, by the only records of late events in the seceding States which the autocracy of Washington allows to reach these shores. It is almost impossible for a plain sober-minded man impartially to weigh and consider all this weight of matter. But when sifted, it appears to me to amount to this,—that Mr. Jefferson Davis has merely continued the programme which he announced some two months ago, the soundness and discretion of which met with hearty approbation from all well-judging politicians, viz., that the Confederates had attempted too large a plan for their resources, and must concentrate their energies for a more powerful action. Had there been any symptoms of terror or submission the case would have been widely different, but it is clearly the reverse. According to the invariable rule of human nature, partial defeat has made the South more determined to fight. But it having been proved to demonstration, that wherever their enemies can bring gunboats to bear upon a field of battle, success is hopeless in their present dearth of similar appliances to counterbalance this overwhelming power, the only course open to the Southern generals is to remove their forces to such positions as will preclude this action; and this has evidently been done under the advice, and with the concurrence of the ablest men, the sole exception being General Magruder, whose gallantry and eager desire to meet his foe may, we trust, ere long be rewarded upon a field where the chances are more even. Strategically speaking, the fall of New Orleans weakens the Federals. It must be kept by a large garrison, and that under circumstances which are likely to prove it no easy tenure. What its commercial value may be, it is impossible to tell, but it does not seem probable that the resources of the country, behind and above, will be forthcoming to load the vessels its reopening under the Federal auspices is supposed to give the means of recalling to its deserted wharves. The evacuation of the lines of Yorktown means nothing more than a very sensible refusal to meet McClellan at a position where his command of the sea would give him incalculable odds in his favour. As to moral effect, that is all rubbish. Does any one of the authorities assert that the South is cowed? Is there the slightest evidence of slackness of hatred on the part of the Southerners against the invader? On the contrary, is not the natural result of all these towns shelled or captured, the compulsory burning of their property, and the slaughter of fathers, husbands, and sons, bearing fruit in undying hostility against the mercenaries who are unconstitutionally forcing a detested rule upon a free and gallant people.

It is now some twelve months ago that some hundred gentlemen, in defiance of law, were arrested in the Border

States, and committed to prison for alleged treason against the United States' Government. Time after time, promises, threats, and cruelties have been lavished upon them. It is certain that the simple taking of the oath of allegiance would open their prison doors at once. Have any of them taken it? And if individuals so sorely tried can be constant, surely States in arms, free on their own desecrated soil, and fighting for their wives and daughters, as well as for the freedom of their native homes, are not likely to betray their sacred trust. I have somewhere seen the war described, on the part of the South, as a war of passion. It may be so; but to my mind it is more a war of principle, and when the two are combined it becomes a war of religion, and the history of mankind shows of what men are capable when fighting under such inducements. But there is another consideration which has not yet found its way to the public mind. In one of my early letters which you did me the honour of publishing, I called attention to the justification, on the ground of public safety, of the monstrous overriding of the courts of law by Mr. Secretary Seward and the muzzling of justice by his bare dictum, and drew the comparison of his tyranny to that awful prototype, the Committee of Public Safety of Paris, whose action he is imitating. There are other parallels in the case, which Europe would do well to lay to heart before it is too late.

Like France, the United States have sown the dragon's teeth, and armed myriads have risen to her call. Like France, she has created an enormous issue of assignats upon an imaginary security; what reason is there for supposing that different results should follow in the case of North America from those which deluged Europe with blood, and cost France a million and a half of the best lives of her children? Granted the complete subjugation and conquest of the South, what will the North do with their million of soldiers? They have already told us—Canada is to be overrun—Cuba and the West India Islands are to be wrested from their worn-out despotisms—Mexico is to be annexed—and not a single vestige of monarchy is to be left on the soil of North America. No doubt the Monroe doctrine is to be reasserted to the courts of Europe, backed by the argument of a million of trained soldiers. And as to the payment of these gentlemen there is but one argument, *Ve victis*. Thank God, things are not come to this yet, and, in my opinion, are not likely to do so! The Southern armies have never yet been beaten at fair odds, they have beaten their enemies everywhere, and on every occasion, where the naval superiority of the Northerners did not give the military an overwhelming advantage. The Southern councils are united and silent. We all remember the old sentiment of the great war of the beginning of this century, *C'est affreux le silence des Anglais*. It may be reproduced.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

A correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* gives the following particulars of an interview between Captain John Morgan, and the Federal General Buell, at Nashville:—It seems that Captain Morgan, having learned that General Buell had determined to hang four of his men as outlaws, who had been taken prisoners in his memorable scout of March 8th, he proceeded with a flag of truce and ten of his men to Nashville. On his way he met General Mitchell, with a large force of the enemy's cavalry, and to whom he made his object known. Mitchell said he was just going out to search for Morgan, and regretted to meet with him under the protection of a flag of truce. Morgan, with a meaning look not to be misunderstood, assured the Federal General that no one more than himself shared his regret and his disappointment, and hoped that an opportunity would soon offer of meeting him under more favourable circumstances. Mitchell then gave Morgan an escort, and accompanied him to Buell's headquarters. Buell was greatly surprised at a meeting with the bold partisan face to face, and evincing no little uneasiness, asked to what circumstances he was indebted for the honour of this visit. Morgan replied that his errand was a Christian one; that he had been informed that General Buell had threatened to hang four of his men who had been taken prisoners, as outlaws, in violation of the rules of war and civilization; that he had thirty-six Federal prisoners in his possession, and that, if such was Buell's determination, he should retaliate by hanging nine Federals for every one of his men. Buell disclaimed any such intention, and said he should never violate the usages of civilized warfare. Morgan then proposed an exchange of the thirty-six Federal prisoners for his four men, saying that the difference in numbers was but a fair valuation of the services of his brave troopers. Buell replied that he was compelled to decline the offer, as he could not negotiate with an officer inferior to him in rank. "That is unfortunate, sir," replied Morgan, "as the objection could not hold good in any other sense;" and the interview then terminated.

The Memphis *Avante* has intelligence from Nashville, that, on the reception of Lincoln's Message to Congress on the subject of emancipation, nineteen Federal officers resigned their commissions, and returned home.

Wendell Phillips, the chief Anti-Slavery orator, made a speech in New York, on May 6, in which he said:—"I have a letter at home, which I will read to-night, from a man in Missouri. He says:—Your armies have driven out the armies of Secession in Missouri; you think you have done the work; but you are mistaken. There is no freedom of speech here. Three of my acquaintances have been killed for the expression of loyal sentiments. A man entered my store and shot my own clerk. I dare not walk the streets at all for fear of assassins."

MARKET VALUE OF SOUTHERN SECURITIES;

Prepared from the New York Stock Quotations.*

SOUTHERN STATE AND CITY SECURITIES.

DESCRIPTION OF SECURITIES.	Amounts out- standing.	Interest.		Principal pay- able.	Offered, per cent.	Asked, per cent.
		Rate.	Payable.			
STATE LOANS.						
Alabama—Coupon Bonds	3,423,000	5	May and Nov.	1877	..	..
Arkansas—Coupon Bonds	1,471,000	6	} In de- fault. {	1868	..	..
Georgia—Coupon Bonds	38,000	5		1868	..	..
" ..	525,000	7	"	Var.	63	64
" ..	2,073,750	6	"	Var.	74	80
Kentucky—Coupon Bonds	4,879,244	6	"	'68-'72	87	90
" (bank)	600,000	5	"	18..	..	..
Louisiana—Coupon Bonds	2,064,300	6	May and Nov.	Var.	68	70
" (banks)	5,398,533	6	"	Var.	..	..
" (railroads) ..	2,447,000	6	"	Var.	..	..
Maryland—Inscribed Certificates ..	5,064,251	6	Quarterly.	Var.	100	100
" (sterling) ..	8,857,222	5	"	Var.	..	..
Mississippi—Coupon Bonds	2,000,000	6	In def. si. '39	'41-'71	..	..
Missouri—Coupon Bonds	100,000	6	April and Oct.	1862	..	..
" ..	439,000	6	Jan. and July.	'63-'83	..	..
" Coupon (RR.) Bonds ..	23,101,000	6	"	'72-'86	52½	53
North Carolina—Coupon Bonds ..	9,129,555	6	Jan. and July.	1872	..	..
" ..		6	"	1883	69	70
" ..		6	"	1886	..	..
South Carolina—Inscribed Certificates	1,708,017	6	Jan. and July.	'68-'90	50	55
" Coupon Bonds (sterlg)	484,444	5	"	1868	..	..
" (capitol)	500,000	6	"	1886	..	..
" (RR.) ..	1,310,000	6	"	1877	55½	58
Tennessee—Coupon Bonds (banks) ..	1,125,000	5	Jan. and July.	..	..	..
" (capitol) ..	608,000	5	"	..	..	..
" (in. impmt.) ..	2,063,606	5	"	..	..	..
" (Hermitage)	48,000	6	"	..	..	..
" (RR.) ..	12,193,000	6	"	..	58½	58¾
" War Loan (1861)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia—Inscribed Certificates ..	18,758,642	5	Jan. and July.	..	..	..
" ..	12,624,500	6	"	..	40	48
" Coupon Bonds		6	"	'85-'93	60	61
" (sterling) ..	1,865,000	5	"	1892	..	..
CITY LOANS.						
Baltimore—Inscribed Certificates ..	..	6	Quarterly.	'70-'90	80	..
Louisville—Coupon Bonds (RR.) ..	..	6	Various.	'80-'83	70	70
" ( ? ) ..	..	6	May and Nov.	1887	..	..
Memphis—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	Jan. and July.	..	..	..
" (guaranteed)	..	6	"	..	..	..
New Orleans—Coupon Bonds (RR.) ..	..	6	Jan. and July.	'72-'74	..	..
" " municipal) ..	..	6	"	1892	..	..
COUNTY LOANS.						
Bath (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	April and Oct.	1883	..	..
Bourbon (Ky.) ..	..	6	Jan. and July.	'81-'83	..	..
Boyle (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	"	1883	..	..
Clark (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	April and Oct.	1883	..	..
Fayette (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	Jan. and July.	'81-'83	..	..
Mason (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	Jan. and July.	'81-'83	..	..
Montgomery (Ky.)—Coupon Bonds ..	..	6	April and Oct.	1883	..	..
Shelby (Tenn.)—Coupon Bonds .....	..	6	April and Nov.	1884	..	..

SOUTHERN RAILROAD BOND LIST.

DESCRIPTION OF SECURITIES.	Amount out- standing.	Rate.	INTEREST.		Principal payable.
			When Payable.	Where payable.	
Alabama and Tennessee Rivers :—					
1st mortgage, convertible	833,000	7	Jan. & July.	New York	1872
Louisville and Nashville :—					
1st mortgage (after State lien)	2,000,000	6	Feb. & Aug.	New York	1883
Richmond and Danville :—					
Mortgage, coupons	250,000	7	Feb. & Aug.	New York	1859
Mortgage, registered	150,000	7	April & Nov.	Richmond	1860
South Carolina :—					
Sterling, coupon	183,333	6	..	London	1863
Sterling, coupon	2,000,000	5	..	..	1866
Virginia Central :—					
1st mortgage (guaranteed by State)	100,000	6	Jan. & July	Richmond	1880
2nd mortgage, coupon	198,000	5	..	Richmond & N. Yk.	1872
3rd mortgage, coupon	926,000	6	..	..	1884
Virginia and Tennessee :—					
1st mortgage (S.F.) coupon	500,000	6	..	New York	1872
2nd mortgage	1,000,000	6	..	..	1884
Income bonds	448,000	6	..	Lynchburg	1865
Wilmington and Manchester :—					
1st mortgage	596,000	7	May & Nov.	New York	1866
2nd mortgage	200,000	7	..	..	1872
Wilmington and Weldon :—					
Mortgage (sterling) coupon	443,555	6	..	London	1863
Bonds (sterling) issued 1858	144,000	6	..	..	1868
Bonds (endorsed by State)	150,000	6	..	New York	1876

A LIST, INCLUDING MILEAGE, ROLLING STOCK, COST OF PROPERTY, LAST YEAR'S EARNINGS, ETC.

Years Ending	Railroad.				Rolling Stock.			COMPANIES. [An asterisk (*) in the column "Rolling Stock" signifies that the cost is included in that of "Railroad." A dash (—) signifies "nil." Running dots (....) signify "not ascertained."]	Cost of Property.		Liabilities.		Earnings.		Price of Shares.						
	Main Lines.	Lateral and Branch Lines.	2nd Track and Sidings.	Road in Progress or Projected.	Engines.	Cars.			Railroad and Appurtenances.	Rolling Stock.	Share Capital paid in.	Funded Debt.	Floating Debt.	Gross Earnings from all Sources.	Earnings less Current Expenses.	Dividends paid during Year.	Offered.	Asked.			
						Passenger.	Freight, &c.														
June 30, 1860	52	M.	M.	M.	No.	No.	No.	Alabama and Florida	1,328,996	122,340	\$	577,953	\$	803,500	105,255	\$	101,102	37,866	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.
June 30, 1860	110	..	..	..	51	..	..	Alabama and Tennessee Rivers	2,261,927	184,906	1,067,006	777,777	210,485	207,626	111,232	..	..	..	3	5
May 31, 1860	95	..	7	..	..	..	..	Atlantic and North Carolina	2,157,503	*	1,545,225	400,000	276,372	103,953	35,572	..	..	..	..	..
June 30, 1860	87	..	..	..	16	7	124	Atlantic and West Point	1,192,389	*	1,250,000	126,000	..	418,136	265,827	8	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	280	7	..	..	235	124	3,272	Baltimore and Ohio	21,314,042	3,604,731	13,118,902	10,781,833	566,070	3,922,203	2,305,788	6	..	..	41	..
Sept. 30, 1860	30	..	..	..	7	33	167	Washington Branch	1,650,000	*	1,650,000	..	..	462,880	290,840	9	..	..	..	..
Nov. 30, 1860	191	..	..	..	53	62	697	Central (Georgia)	4,366,800	*	4,366,800	..	..	1,715,025	764,574	..	..	29½	..	..
Mar. 31, 1860	171	61	..	..	..	..	..	Georgia (and Bank)	4,156,000	*	4,156,000	312,500	..	1,159,188	528,043	8	..	..	..	..
May 1, 1860	70	..	6	280	7	5	124	Houston and Texas Central	4,232,345	*	455,000	975,000	369,000	282,816	196,568	..	..	..	..	..
Aug. 31, 1860	207	..	..	..	..	..	..	Hannibal and St. Joseph	12,364,134	*	1,782,886	10,571,000	156,643	961,856	487,333	..	..	..	..	..
June 30, 1861	29	..	11	..	..	..	..	Lexington and Frankfort	591,121	52,300	514,433	130,000	..	108,914	43,268	..	..	..	..	..
June 30, 1861	65	..	14	..	13	10	225	Louisville and Frankfort	1,383,326	126,735	1,194,587	464,515	..	245,416	98,679	4	..	..	..	..
July 1, 1861	185	84	17	..	38	22	320	Louisville and Nashville	8,039,598	564,200	5,682,255	3,260,500	277,133	807,163	461,199	..	..	..	..	..
May 31, 1861	518	14	..	..	40	28	512	Mobile and Ohio	12,000,000	*	..	..	..	1,402,858	695,370	..	..	..	..	..
Feb. 29, 1860	89	28	..	..	23	14	283	Montgomery and West Point	1,838,718	427,265	1,419,769	922,622	23,579	505,156	260,269	6	..	..	..	..
June 30, 1860	272	20	20	..	43	37	672	Memphis and Charleston	5,866,578	878,069	3,809,949	2,659,000	157,730	1,635,096	873,596	4	..	..	..	..
April 30, 1860	286	..	..	..	25	22	336	Mississippi Central	4,966,022	756,292	2,000,961	2,551,732	895,992	584,342	1,328,692	..	..	..	..	..
Oct. 1, 1860	81	..	..	18	7	6	130	Mississippi and Tennessee	1,603,427	168,203	820,527	806,649	209,947	233,527	134,135	..	..	..	..	..
April 1, 1860	79	..	5	..	5	2	75	Norfolk and Petersburg	1,963,088	*	1,511,000	540,610	142,646	84,219	31,946	..	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	104	..	..	..	8	..	..	North-Western Virginia .....	..	..	..	..	..	269,203	74,617	..	..	..	..	..
Nov. 30, 1860	151	8	44	..	39	17	319	Nashville and Chattanooga	3,632,882	*	2,056,544	1,731,000	..	734,118	337,384	6	..	..	..	..
Dec. 31, 1860	80	..	178	12	12	216	..	New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western ..	3,954,420	505,260	3,242,318	566,000	339,297	481,922	223,649	..	..	..	..	..
Feb. 28, 1861	206	..	203	45	37	513	..	New Orleans, Jackson, & Gt. Northern ..	5,570,452	1,040,729	4,500,000	2,665,000	935,717	1,232,624	555,434	..	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	88	68	10	..	16	16	175	Orange and Alexandria	16,250,000	*	2,063,655	2,517,500	590,056	450,427	222,204	..	..	..	..	..
Dec. 31, 1860	49	..	..	..	11	22	120	Panama	8,000,000	*	4,976,000	2,190,238	44,900	1,550,873	1,036,132	12	121	121½	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	141	3	12	..	28	30	418	Richmond and Danville	3,726,037	*	1,981,197	1,200,000	75,908	560,904	282,328	..	..	..	..	..
Dec. 31, 1860	136	106	..	..	67	50	790	South Carolina	6,911,230	1,084,260	5,819,275	2,643,833	363,688	1,499,630	701,943	7	..	..	..	..
July 31, 1860	106	101	16	..	18	22	201	South-Western	3,770,425	*	2,921,900	396,500	19,813	..	388,853	13	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	178	..	21	7	27	19	228	Virginia Central	4,952,753	541,197	3,162,751	1,480,392	52,929	634,081	359,130	5	..	..	..	..
June 30, 1860	205	9	11	..	39	27	374	Virginia and Tennessee	5,994,259	838,475	3,452,813	3,265,600	571,958	740,489	317,957	..	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	162	15	..	..	23	18	182	Wilmington and Manchester ..	2,632,737	*	1,130,470	1,045,000	51,300	469,158	219,688	..	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	162	..	..	..	26	37	145	Wilmington and Weldon ..	2,927,129	*	1,399,860	737,555	62,135	500,269	246,494	..	..	..	..	..
Sept. 30, 1860	138	..	..	..	52	24	705	Western and Atlantic	5,901,497	*	..	..	..	832,347	451,411	..	..	..	..	..

* These quotations antedate the fall of New Orleans. They will be carefully revised from time to time: thus indicating what effect this event may have had upon the values of Southern Securities.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1862.

The War in America.

THE news of the North American is the most important that any steamer has yet brought since the outbreak of this unholy war. It proves that the Southerners made no empty threat when they declared that they would burn their property, and take their wives and children to the swamps, rather than have the appearance of even temporary submission to their Northern invaders. Along the whole line of the Mississippi up to the frontiers of the Confederate territory, and along the shores of the broad tributaries of that giant stream, the passage of the Federalist gunboats by the forts near its mouths was the signal of a universal conflagration—the parallel of which the history of the world does not afford. No one who knows the character of the Southern people ever doubted that such would be the reception in store for the Federal armies and navies. That Europe's so long persisted in scepticism is only another proof of how utterly fallacious is its estimate of the nation whose agonies it now witnesses with apparent indifference.

But this is only the prelude of the great tragedy which will surely be enacted, should continued success attend the Federal arms. Not a portion merely, but the whole of a magnificent crop, on which millions depend for their sustenance, the year's produce of a boundless soil unequalled in fertility—God's rich gift to all the nations of the earth—will be given to the flames as a holocaust to save one nation's life. Nor is this all. When the South has lost all worth living for—when its teeming soil is a smoking wilderness,—its beautiful homesteads heaps of smouldering ashes—its industrious labourers a swarm of thriftless vagabonds and paupers—when it has lost all that men hold dear and defend with their heart's blood, then it will live and fight for revenge. Assume that the North succeeds in overrunning the country, that Northern garrisons occupy every town, that Northern military governors rule each State as a subject territory—what then? Every marsh, every forest will be filled with desperate men, thirsting for the blood of the hated foe. Every march of Northern troops into the trackless interior will be a campaign, and so soon as they have crushed one insurrection, another will break out in their rear. Every rebel they hang or shoot will cost them a dozen lives; for assassination would be deemed a patriotic duty, and massacre a strategy of war. The next generation would take up the feud, and wage it more remorselessly than their sires. Not a mother but now teaches the child in her lap to hate the Yankees; not a father trains his son to use of the rifle without branding the same lesson upon his mind. Depths of hatred will be reached, nay, are reached already, that the imagination recoils at with a shudder.

Those whom age or sex precludes from the revenge of blood, would adopt another and an equally efficacious revenge. A social and commercial war would be waged long after the armies of the Confederation had crumbled into roving partizan bands. The Northern colonists with whom the Washington Government hopes to hold the country would be Pariahs among the sullen

natives. It would become a disgrace to hold intercourse with them, an infamy to intermarry with them. To buy of them, to sell to them, to have a Yankee thing about one's house or person, would be to do what no man or woman, however slight their claims to social consideration, would dare to do. Not the open enemy alone, but even the lukewarm now, even those who, in the hour of success, might have obtained their pardon, would bear the mark of Cain on their forehead to all Southern eyes. Not one, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic, might hope to be ever forgotten or forgiven. This is said from a thorough knowledge of the Southern character, strong and almost savage in its loves and hates. Already the Federalists reckon up their losses by the rifle balls of the guerillas in Kentucky and Tennessee at over 2000 men. What must it be if they should ever penetrate into the heart of South Carolina, or Alabama, or Mississippi, where every boy would have a father to avenge, and every wife a husband?

But we cannot see, in the latest accounts anything so promising to Northern success, that the South should be left to no other weapons than those of despair. As yet, not one of its armies has been scattered, not one of its leading generals defeated, not one pitched battle lost where water-courses did not afford the enemy the assistance of his naval forces. A country which has an unbroken array of 350,000 men under arms cannot be said to be subdued, nor to be near subjugation, though seaport after seaport, and even the capital itself, might fall into the hands of the invader. Richmond might be taken, and yet the proportions of what the North calls the "rebellion," would be fearfully greater than when President Lincoln, in April, 1861, rashly resolved to quench it with a levy of 75,000 men. More than four times that number would still have to be met by his armies, and met on battle-fields where mortar boats and iron-clad vessels cannot decide the victory. How greatly he depends on these may be judged from the more detailed accounts of the fall of New Orleans, for this city appears to have been most gallantly defended by the forts at the Mississippi mouth, and if it be true that the Confederates lost 1500 men, whilst the Federals lost only 30, the tale is told most eloquently, and the only wonder is that the forts held out so long. This tale means an attacking party, securely out of harm's way, beyond the range of opponents' guns, against defenders on whom each shot and shell tells fatally. It also confirms us more strongly in our first impression that the evacuation of Yorktown was a masterpiece of strategy equalled only by that at Manassas, and that McClellan's disgrace is equally great in both instances. Neither to the Confederates nor the Federals can this isolated peninsula be of the slightest military importance, and the only conceivable reason for its being held at all by the former—a fact which at the time surprised all Europe—must have been to check the invaders at their chosen point of attack, and to gain time for interior defences. This was from the first the opinion of the best military critics, who confidently predicted that it would suddenly be abandoned so soon as McClellan had wasted a month or two in laborious preparations for a siege.

Our object, however, is not at present to speculate upon the kaleidoscopic changes of this remarkable war. We wish to direct the attention of our readers to the fact, which seems almost forgotten, that there are other considerations involved in it besides those of the relative strength or chances of success of the contending parties. There is a moral consideration of right or wrong.

If the South can give stronger proofs of its unanimity and unalterable determination than it has just given, we are at a loss to imagine them. Wholesale destruction, like that which the telegraph announces, cannot be the work of the military authorities. It is impossible that the Confederate President should have had troops all along the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, ready to burn the harvest of unwilling owners. Such a deed is the deliberate self-sacrifice of the individual, and not of the collective mass. In all this fearful destruction,

we are told but one planter was found who objected to the burning of his property. Will Europe longer allow itself to be deluded by Northern falsehoods, that this is a war against a set of treasonable conspirators against the authority of a lawful Government? And if it is a war against an unanimous and devoted people, determined to assert a right which in no modern instance has been refused to any people, by what train of reasoning, or upon what system of political or governmental theories, can the conduct of the North be justified? Is Europe prepared to admit, as a fundamental maxim of international law, that might alone makes right, that the stronger has always a right to subdue the weaker, and that a nation's sole title to existence rests not upon its fulfilling the usual conditions of nationality, but upon its ability to contend for an indefinite period against overwhelming odds, and under circumstances of peculiar and exceptional difficulties and disadvantages? If so, what right will Europe have to complain should the North follow up the assumed conquest of the South, achieved, as it would have been, by the indirect aid of Europe, with the conquest of other equally tempting regions, such as Mexico, Cuba, or Canada?

Continued Insults to the British Flag.

THERE are persons living in civilized communities, some of them British subjects—we grant they are few in number, and their influence is microscopically small—who regard national prestige and national honour as worthless chimeras. They would sell the one for a piece of calico, or a yard of carpet, and throw the other into the bargain. Does the protection of our immense Colonial Empire cost a seven-tieth part of our annual revenue? Then turn it adrift, let it stand alone, or affiliate with another Power, or do anything, provided the colonists do not buy less of our manufactures. Cannot we squeeze something out of the natives of India for governing them? Unless we are paid for our trouble, why should we care for the social progress and happiness of two hundred millions of our fellow-creatures? Let us rid ourselves of our Indian Empire. Let us leave it to anarchy and to retrogressive barbarism. Let gold be the nation's god, and let us worship it with all our heart, soul, and strength.

These soulless, sordid creatures are short-sighted and foolish, as well as despicably base. Prestige and honour are not only beautiful, but they are powerful, and the progenitors of wealth and prosperity. What saith history? There is not an instance on record of a nation losing its prestige or its honour without losing its commercial supremacy. National greatness and commercial greatness grow together, and cling together. They mutually thrive or mutually fade. Divorce them, and the one declines and the other decays. It is true, our costly armaments are a charge upon our commerce, but it is not less true that without our costly armaments our vast commerce would not have had existence, nor could not continue to exist. If England becomes a third-rate Power, her trade will proportionally dwindle. The strong and not the weak gather the riches of the earth. The maintenance of England's prestige and honour not only appeals to our manliness, our patriotism, and our chivalry, but it is allied, closely, inseparably allied, to our monetary interests. An unavenged insult does more than stain our reputation, it inflicts a debilitating and rankling wound.

Till lately the flag of England had never been insulted with impunity. Even enemies have shown respect for the honoured emblem of our glory. It was reserved for the Yankee to dishonour the flag of the mother country by taking a cowardly advantage of our unwise forbearance.

Ever since the Trent affair, when in place of ample reparation we accepted an idle shuffle, and a lame excuse, as insulting to our common sense as the act it professed to cancel was to our honour, our mercantile marine has been treated with the most astounding and unprovoked insolence by the Federal

navy. Our ships are boarded and ransacked, and our seamen treated with a coarse impudence which would be an evidence of boldness, if it were not mere contemptible bullying. There is no bravery needed to fire shot and shell at the unarmed ships of a neutral and friendly power. Take the seizure of the Bermuda as a specimen.

The Bermuda was an English vessel, sailing in English waters. A gun was fired from the *Mercedita*, a Federal war steamer. The signal was not unnaturally disregarded. Instead of a second signal, a shotted gun was fired, and "the shell came whistling in between the mainmast and the smoke stack." An officer from the *Mercedita* was sent on board the Bermuda, the ship's papers were demanded, taken to the Federal vessel, and shortly afterwards Captain Westendorff was required to wait upon the captain of the *Mercedita*. The papers were perfectly regular, and it was rather difficult to find an excuse for seizing the Bermuda; at length Captain Westendorff was asked where he loaded, and having replied that he took in his cargo at Liverpool, the Federal captain remarked, "then that vessel must be searched." Captain Westendorff was detained on board the *Mercedita*, whilst three boats, with officers and men armed to the teeth (the Yankees seemed to have a wholesome dread of unarmed English seamen), were despatched to take possession of the Bermuda. Whilst the search was going on, the course of the Bermuda was changed, and the British flag was not hauled down again until three hours after the Federals had had entire charge of the vessel.

Setting aside the illegality of the capture, it is impossible to find any excuse for the insulting conduct of the captors. We must repeat that the seizure of the Bermuda, and the manner thereof, are not in any respects exceptional. Not to weary and disgust our readers with a long list of Federal outrages, we will just remark that we know that the *Stephen Hart*, a British vessel, sailing from a neutral port to a neutral port, without any intention of running the blockade, was seized by the Yankees, and the English flag was kept flying with the Yankee flag above it. It is also notorious that Judge Betts has refused to give a decision in reference to a disputed capture.

Notwithstanding our indignation at such infamous treatment, we have no desire to see England involved in war with the Northern States. But these insults must not, cannot, be endured. If they are much longer continued, we know the spirit of England too well to suppose that she will be contented with a diplomatic reparation. If the Yankees will have war, let us have war, and God defend the right. At all events, let those who are the chosen guardians of our national honour, and to whom that honour must be dear and sacred, by remonstrance or by force, prevent the Yankees from treating the Union Jack as a paltry rag.

What does Intervention mean?

THERE appears to be in many minds a singular confusion of the two subjects—intervention and recognition. They are political acts entirely distinct in principle; so much so, indeed, that the same principle may forbid the one and enjoin the other at one and the same time. For instance, a laudable desire to be on terms of amity with all other communities, may direct us not to intervene between belligerents, and provoke the hostility of one of them; yet this same desire may impel us to recognize a Government established over itself by a great population, lest, otherwise, the enmity of that community should be assured to us. Again, intervention assumes the use of force, either at once applied or held out in prospect, whilst recognition is a perfectly peaceful step, in strict accordance with international law, and with the established usage of the civilized world.

And those who confound matters so distinct as these, appear to be in some degree of error as to intervention itself. It is now becoming the fashion to denounce intervention, or speak of it with bated breath, as of something dangerous and reprehensible.

It happens that lately we have been employed in an intervention of the most objectionable character, conducted in the most clumsy manner, for objects which no one attempts to fathom or explain; and whilst our ships and marines were thus employed in one part of America, there were those who would have it regarded as a thing to be held up to reprobation, if, with vital interests at stake, and for objects comprehensible by all, we choose in another part of America to adopt the same course. We have been denouncing a principle and acting upon it at the same moment; and those who shrink from it and croak sensitively when remotely in prospect, are perfectly quiescent on the subject where it is in actual operation. Again, the doctrine itself, excellent though it is as a rule for general guidance, becomes little better than absurd when pushed to excess. If we are never to interfere in the affairs or with the acts of foreign Powers, the sooner we adopt the old legislation of Japan the better. Shut yourself up from all communication with the outer world—none will then interfere with you, or you with them. This is a simple, intelligible, and, it may be, virtuous policy, but it was never yet the policy of England. We, on the other hand, have chosen, instead of that seclusion, to take an active and influential part in the world's affairs. We have sent our ships to every port, and planted our feet wherever enterprise could find a ledge to stand on; we have created vast interests, which depend for their health or existence on the products, laws, conduct of other people; and, having thus incorporated ourselves as a living part of a great system, we cannot profess or affect isolation from it. It is not for us to say to other people, "whatever injures you, affects ourselves; if you destroy your crops, we also suffer, for they are part of our industry as well as yours; if you stir up wars, we, too, feel their effects; if you blockade great coasts, we, too, are stricken; but still, do as you list; we have abandoned a history of a thousand years, and adopted non-intervention as a law unto ourselves, and now if you strike us on one cheek, we will turn to you the other also."

Hence to adopt non-intervention as an article of faith is to remove political affairs from the hands of the statesman into those of the missionary. Political questions are not the field for abstract doctrines, but for dealing as wisely as we may with hard facts, each of them to be weighed on its own merits. In this case, whilst we differ entirely as to the doctrine, in the exaggerated form it now commonly assumes, we agree that in America intervention by force of arms, or, in other words, a war with either party would be a great evil to this country. We cannot enter into any war without something to lose, and this is one in which there would be nothing to gain. Is there any contingency which would expose us to great danger of such a war? Undoubtedly there is, although at present it may be remote. The subjugation of the Southern States by the North—the inflation of such a victory—the employment of the million of armed men cast adrift—that lust of dominion which grows with what it feeds on, and, beyond all these, the stinging remembrance of the Trent reparation to be avenged, all these together would impel the victorious North to discover that it needed the St. Lawrence as well as the Mississippi. Those who shrink from the idea of a war with half of that people would then have to encounter one with the whole of it.

The recognition of the Southern Government affords, on the other hand, a sure escape from this danger. It is well known that such a course has long been desired by France, and if taken in concert with that Power, it would not only be an act held to be peaceful by every international code, but it would also be the restorer of peace to the country now afflicted with war in its direst form, and the means of removing from the future that danger of war with this country which impends as an event certain to follow one possible result of this contest. But it may be necessary to show in greater detail why such action on part of the two Governments would be a harbinger of peace. We will admit that in order that it should be such certain conditions are neces-

sary. First, that recognition should not be confined to a single Power, for this might permit its influence to be disregarded for a time. Secondly, that the position of military affairs should at the time permit all reasonable men to entertain doubt as to their final issue. Both these conditions would exist. Whenever the independence of the South shall be acknowledged by this country, there will be several Powers, Spain and Belgium, as well as France, quite ready to join in the measure. The other consideration exists already. A large proportion of the intelligent men of the North has long been satisfied that the attempt to subjugate the Southern States was chimerical, and if continued much longer must result in national bankruptcy. Letters constantly reach this country imploring for some form of mediation to terminate the sufferings of the country. A peace-party has always existed at the North, and must exist, unless we are to assume that all are blinded by passion or self-interest; but this party has been powerless and dumb in the presence of contractors and their allies, and of those impelled by the zeal of fanaticism or the spur of ambition. There has been, too, the fear of Fort Warren before its eyes. Immediately on the recognition of the Southern Government by the European Powers, it would speak out, and with the voice of common sense. Excitement would sober down into reason and the great majority of the community would wake as from a distempered dream.

Another effect of the measure, still more conclusive, would be its result in a financial point of view. The history of the world has never presented such an instance of corrupt and wasteful extravagance, or of reckless plunging into debt. An expenditure from which nations of the accumulated wealth, and with the vast revenues of England or France would shrink aghast, is here treated with unconcern by a people comparatively poor, and whose national income is insignificant. But this can only be done for a time. A youth with an income of £100 a year may spend £1000 a year, and whilst doing so will appear to the by-stander a much richer person than if he were living within his means. All the world knows how this will end, though none may precisely say in what month the career will come to its inevitable fate. This war is carried on entirely upon such a system. There is not even the pittance, the £100 a year—no particle of income exists, nor has any tax yet been levied towards a war expenditure which cannot be estimated at less than £150,000,000 per annum. If the total expenditure be taken at Mr. Sherman's last estimate, it will, after allowing for all sources of income, leave the rate of descent into debt even greater than the sum named. The effect of European recognition, in such a state of affairs, is so obvious that no reader can require it to be argued.

Another consideration would present itself to thinking men. They would say, "The Powers have already suffered, and with no little patience. That patience is now exhausted; shall we do well to trifle with it more? At present we may with a good grace yield to the wishes of Europe, and in doing so demand such terms of peace as those Powers will be glad to second. If, on the other hand, we persist further the consequence lies plain before us,—they will adopt other means to save their working classes from misery, and instead of ourselves declaring the terms that would suit us, we shall have to swallow what others dictate."

If these views be correct, recognition is a peace-maker, and nothing else. It is not our purpose to express any opinion whether or not the day has arrived for the friends of the South to ask it at the hands of those Governments which profess no longer to be guided by the doctrine of Divine Right. We believe that, up to the present time, no such request has been formally made by any of the representatives of the Southern Government. They complain that the public law of Europe has been slighted, wilfully slighted, in submitting to a blockade, the inefficiency of which, at some points, has been plain to every person of mercantile or naval experience. From whatever motive this has arisen, whether out of recollection of the past, or foresight into the future, or calculations of advantage to accrue in other directions, or the habit of truckling to the

coarse petulance of the Washington Government—whatever its cause, they hold that the declarations of Paris should not have been passed to be spurned on the first great occasion. They marvel, too, that the Powers of Europe should submit with humble acquiescence to the insolent defiance which shuts out their people from three-fourths of the coast of America. But upon the question we are considering—that of the recognition of the South—we believe they have hitherto been contented to abide with confidence the issue of military events—assured that, whatever the sufferings of the Southern people, their endurance would be equal to the occasion, and that, whatever the casualties of the war, it would in due time be proved that a country of a million square miles, inhabited by brave men, is not to be subdued by mercenary troops or amateur generals; and that the Government appointed by such a people, with a unanimity rarely, if ever, equalled, is a fact which ere long the justice of Europe, and its respect for truth, would lead it to admit and recognize as a fact.

French Diplomacy in America.

WHERE the field of conjectures is so vast and inviting, we may be pardoned for also trying our skill in competing with others to frame them. If we are not more fortunate than others little harm will be done; but we venture the assertion that those we shall make rest upon a better foundation than many which have authoritatively claimed public credence. We build our conjectures upon two facts, which must be considered as indisputable. First, that M. Thouvenel disclaims any knowledge of the objects of M. Mercier's visit to Richmond, or of its results, neither having been communicated to him by the French Plenipotentiary. Secondly, that Lord Lyons has informed his Government on the strength of a conversation held with M. Mercier himself, on that gentleman's return to Washington, that M. Mercier was charged with the mission from Mr. Seward to the Confederate authorities, assuring them that if they would voluntarily lay down their arms and re-enter the Union, no concession would be deemed too great—no amnesty too ample—no guarantee to their property and institutions too stringent to be cheerfully accepted by the North. Assuming that both M. Thouvenel and Lord Lyons make their respective statements in perfect good faith, there is a tangle of mysteries, great ones and small ones, covered by these two facts. Why should the French minister, known to be a prudent as well as an astute diplomatist, venture upon a step which has set the whole world in a blaze of curiosity, and which, of itself, forms an event of no small historical importance, without so much as informing, much less consulting, his immediate official superior? Having thus taken it without consulting, or even informing that superior, why should he leave him still to share that curiosity which he must feel in common with all those who have a less imperative right to the desired information? But, stranger still, why should the French minister adopt so unusual a course for no better reason than to carry a message, which he must have known in advance, to be worse than useless for any practical purposes, from one Foreign Government to another Foreign Government, and the latter a Government not recognized by his Sovereign? Why should Mr. Seward send such a message, and why of all the diplomatic corps, should he select the French Ambassador as his envoy?

We have a theory of our own, which seems to us the only one that can make these apparent absurdities intelligible. According to this theory, M. Mercier acted upon instructions received direct from the Emperor, and not transmitted through the usual diplomatic channels. This would enable M. Thouvenel to reply truthfully to the enquiries which could not fail to be made by the English Ambassador at Paris, that he knew nothing of M. Mercier's object or intentions, and that no instructions had been forwarded to him from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. M. Mercier's report would necessarily go to the same quarter from which his instructions were received.

This again would enable M. Thouvenel to make the same truthful reply to the same anxious enquiry a second time. Lord Palmerston and Mr. Layard, in their turn, might assure Parliament and the country that M. Mercier, for aught they knew to the contrary, might have gone on a pleasure trip, or for the benefit of his health to the capital of an "Insurgent Power." The advantage to England of her Premier being able to give so comforting an assurance may appear questionable to those who cannot appreciate the wisdom of her present Foreign policy. The advantage to France appears clear enough. If M. Mercier's mission resulted in nothing, there was an end of it, and many disagreeable explanations spared. If it led to its intended results, the Emperor had only to say "I did it," and this again saves disagreeable explanations.

So far, our theory of the play is consistent with the known characters of the *dramatis personæ*. To apply it to the second act, we must endeavour to borrow a little Scotch second sight. Let us then imagine M. Mercier, having received his instructions, to cast about for a plausible pretence to carry them out. He has an interview with Mr. Seward. With true French candour, he represents to the Federal Secretary of State that Europe begins to entertain great doubts about the speedy termination of the war; that the accounts from the South are unsatisfactory and contradictory; and that he is seriously meditating to ascertain in person, what the true condition of the "Rebels" is, and what the real policy of their leaders. Mr. Seward, putting the best face on a disagreeable matter, assures the French Ambassador that the Government of the United States can have no possible objection to his giving himself so much unnecessary trouble. The Frenchman is sure to reply that it will be no trouble at all, and that he should only be too happy if he could be made the instrument of effecting a reconciliation. Mr. Seward can of course trust him to hold no official intercourse, nor have even the appearance of holding official intercourse with the rebel authorities. But Mr. Seward has so repeatedly taken pains to convince him that the United States have no other motive in this war than to preserve the integrity of their territory and the authority of its lawful Government; that if these objects are attained, the Government is ready and anxious to preserve intact the rights of the several States, and all the rights secured to individuals by the Constitution; that it is willing even to add to that Constitution such clauses and new guarantees as may have become necessary to the security of the South owing to its recent misguided course. Would M. Mercier be authorized to repeat these assertions of Mr. Seward to influential men with whom he may come in unofficial contact during his Southern tour? Mr. Seward assures him that he is quite at liberty to use these conversations wherever, and with whomsoever, he deems proper. He not only reiterates what he has said before, but adds much more in the same mild conciliatory way. No cat ever purred more gently, nor had its claws more carefully hid in velvety paws; for the Southern mouse had yet to be caught. This is our theory of the mission with which Lord Lyons informs his government Count Mercier was charged by Mr. Seward.

What the third act in the play will be, we will not now pretend to predict. Our well-informed Paris correspondent states, positively, that M. Mercier's report to the Emperor can leave the French Government no room to doubt as to either the ability, or the determination, of the South to continue the war until its independence shall be acknowledged, or its annihilation completed by its own hands. The recent destruction, by the owners themselves, of property so valuable to the commerce and industry of all nations, proves that the French Minister's impressions at Richmond were not those of a man who forms a hasty judgment. It is possible that M. Mercier's instructions had in view a more extensive pacification of America than has heretofore been ascribed to them. France has interests in Mexico, as well as in the Confederate States of America. If M. Mercier was directed to

make these interests heard at Richmond, he must have found willing ears. Not only would it be sufficient for the South to become the enemy of any cause, that the North has constituted itself its friend; but there are weighty considerations which might incline the Confederate Government, even in times of profound peace, to favour French views in Mexico. Between the rival factions of that Republic, it has, indeed, no choice. The worst that can be said of either is, that it is as bad as the other. But the South is deeply impressed with one truth, which, in practice, has been recognized since the beginning of history; but which, in theory, has been almost ignored in modern times. This truth is, that two races cannot co-exist in the same country without one being subservient to the other. All the perplexities of modern politics, in the judgment of Southern statesmen, have always been summed up in the brief phrase—"Mexico needs a white man's government." In whatever manner, or by whatever means, a government of white men can be secured for its neighbour, the South would be glad to lend a helping hand. We are not sure but it would willingly see a monarchy established in Mexico; and would care but little whether the monarch was Prince Napoleon of France, or Archduke Maximilian of Austria, or Prince Frederic Karl of Prussia, or any lackland scion of royalty who possesses the nerve and ability to create order in that chaos of anarchy. Itself, moreover, has for thirty years been learning the lesson that too much democracy is not good, even for the white man; how much more deeply must it be convinced that it is not suited to the wants nor promotive of the happiness of a population, the bulk of which is composed of Indians, negroes, and the hybrid offspring of the crossing and recrossing of half-a-dozen different races. Certain it is that the South could well afford to give a fourth of its present army to any scheme of Mexican pacification, in exchange for a few vessels of war or a steel-clad frigate or two, by means of which the remainder of its army might be better supplied with weapons and munitions of war. The South lacks neither men nor courage, nor generalship, nor stern resolve; what it does lack is an abundance of arms and military stores, to obtain which no price would be too dear. Even as it is the South has proved itself a formidable foe to encounter, and even in its present hour of trial it would be a valuable ally to secure.

Political Parties.

If posterity judges of the political character of Englishmen by the history of the last two years, we shall be regarded as an eminently apathetic people. John Bull, the prince of grumblers, submits like a lamb to Mr. Gladstone's fiscal phlebotomy. The tax-gatherer finds his office a very pleasant one. Instead of being received with angry frowns, he is welcomed with genial, grateful smiles. Within the memory of very young men, Mr. Gladstone was the champion chosen to destroy that terrible, devastating, devouring dragon, the Income Tax. What is the conduct of the gallant knight? Instead of slaying, he enters into a cordial alliance with the ravening monster, and tells us that the Income Tax is not likely to be repealed or diminished. The right hon. gentleman's inconsistency is forthwith and unreservedly forgiven. He miscalculates the Revenue; or he runs us into debt, or he does not provide a sixpence for contingencies; and we care for none of these things. If we intimate deferentially that a little reduction of taxation would be rather pleasant, we are blandly informed by Mr. Gladstone that he has an intense desire to reduce taxation, and would do so if it were not for the wicked expenditure of the naughty Palmerston Government. We presume to remind the right hon. gentleman, that he is Chancellor of the Exchequer, a leading member of the Palmerston Government, and responsible for its acts. He replies, in one of those speeches which are so delightful to persons who have a taste for rhetorical tickling, and after informing us that he does not shirk his responsibility as a Member of the

Government, and hinting at the dual character of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, concludes by defending the Colonial administration of the Government.

And so, too, with our foreign policy. John Bull has a considerable share of pride. He will stand a vast amount of pinching at home if he appears grand abroad. He would rather have a daily collection of assessed taxes than follow the advice of Professor Smith, and give up his colonies and dependencies, because they are expensive. He was proud, too, of his Continental reputation. He insisted upon being consulted and considered in all European affairs. Whether he knew the music or not, he always expected to play first fiddle. Who can forget the popular enthusiasm excited by Lord Palmerston, when he sent a fleet to annihilate a little kingdom, because the said little kingdom owed, or was supposed to owe, a little money to a little cosmopolitan personage euphoniously designated as Don Pacifico, the Jew? Alas! what a change has come o'er us! Prussian railway officials treat English travellers with unbridled violence. The Yankee does as he likes with our mercantile marine, and our shipowners must instruct their captains to be very humble and submissive to Yankees who choose to board and search their vessels, lest ship, cargo, and crew should be sunk by shot and shell. Our European influence is at a low ebb. We are too glad now to be allowed to play second fiddle, for fear of being condemned to the ignominious task of beating the drum. Englishmen know these things are so, and they say it is a pity they are so; and there is an end of it.

We might enlarge on this apathy; we might notice that the prostration of our great manufacturing industry produces no excitement; but having said enough to show its existence, we will proceed to investigate its cause—which we believe is the anomalous state of political parties.

Until 1846, there were two great and distinctive Parties: the Tories, who thought progress consisted in the steady development of the Constitution; and the Whigs, who associated progress with the idea of improving of the Constitution. For example, neither party objected to Reform, if Reform appeared expedient; but the Tory theory of Reform was a more complete representation of interests, whilst the Whigs thought only of an extended suffrage. Sir Robert Peel broke up the Tory Party. We say nothing against his conversion to Free Trade. In our opinion it was reasonable and well timed. But he need not have deserted his friends. He should have counselled the repeal of the Corn Laws on the ground of expediency, but should not have been the proposer thereof; and then, when Free Trade had become the law of the land, the Tory Party would have accepted the situation, and been strong enough to carry on the Government of the country. He pursued a different course, and the result was faction and confusion.

The complexity was increased by new party nomenclature. Whig and Tory were in themselves indefinite terms, but they implied definite differences; the terms Liberal and Conservative are very definite, but they imply differences that do not exist. A Liberal is so Conservative that he will not consent to any radical changes; and a Conservative is so Liberal that he freely advocates constitutional progress. When the Conservatives are in office, the Liberal organs decry them for passing Liberal measures; when the Liberals sit on the right of the Speaker, Radicals are indignant at the Conservative tone of Ministerial speeches and measures. Yet there is the same difference between them as between Whigs and Tories—a very important and salutary difference.

The Radicals saw their opportunity and embraced it. Their strength greatly increased. Had they been prudent they might have become dangerous; as it is, they have unintentionally but effectively reconstructed the Tory party. Mr. Bright's rabid Reform agitation, his revolutionary denunciations of the rights of property, his coarse and bitter tirade against the Peerage, has made Conservatism unusually popular. At the present time the Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons is stronger than the Liberal Party: and this brings us to a very curious part of our subject.

The strength of the Opposition is unquestionable. The Government is defeated time after time. The Independent members are willing to give an independent support to a Derbyite Government. The Irish members would regard the accession of Lord Derby to office as a signal triumph. In the House of Lords there is a clear Conservative majority. Sometimes comments are made about the small attendance of peers; but if the occasion came, Lord Derby could command a full attendance. Why, then, have the Conservatives continued in opposition?

Not that they altogether approve of the policy of the present Government. But Lord Palmerston is a thorough Conservative, and has been enabled from his peculiar position, to perform some very signal services for Conservatism. His Lordship is personally popular with all classes. Lord Palmerston's mild Conservatism is more cheered by an audience of working men than Mr. Bright's blatant demagogism. He has managed, with commendable tact to play with the Radical Party, and break its power. To the horror of the Radicals, they discern how they have been checkmated on Reform, and that the Tories are on that question more liberal than the Liberals. Lord Palmerston deserves the thanks of the country for putting an end to all chance of mob rule. The Tories could have resisted a Radical onslaught, but they could not have stultified it so effectively. The Conservatives have remained in opposition because it was better for the country to keep Lord Palmerston in office.

We thus explain the political apathy, which is, indeed, only political inactivity. Lord Palmerston is personally popular, known to be Conservative in his principles, and capable of checking the arrogant pretensions of Radicalism. Besides, the Opposition has been so strengthened that it can put a veto on the proceedings of the Liberal Government. Thus all things secure, there was no need for any great political action. The heavy taxation, the perpetuation of the Income Tax, the Budget blunders, the unsatisfactory state of our foreign relations, the prostration of our manufacturing industry, have been silently endured, from the knowledge that at the fitting moment the Opposition was able to change the Ministerial policy, or to undertake the administration of affairs.

The press generally supports the Liberal Ministry; the country unquestionably supports the Conservative Opposition, and the Liberal Government is continued by permission of the Conservatives. Will this last? Now that Radicalism is routed, will the Conservatives still support the present Cabinet? We reply that it is impossible. A Government on sufferance is a source of national weakness. It is likewise unconstitutional. The House of Commons represents the governing interests, and the Cabinet ought to represent the House of Commons. We believe that the Conservatives would have been in office early in the Session but for the sad event that darkened the close of the year 1861. The desire not to disturb the sorrowful retirement of Her Majesty may give the Palmerston Ministry a little longer term of office. But our gracious Queen is too devoted to the discharge of her sovereign and constitutional duties to permit the public service to be hindered by her domestic afflictions. It is evident that important political movements will shortly take place. The sooner the better for England. A strong Opposition is a safety valve of the Constitution; but an Opposition stronger than the Government is a dangerous innovation.

THE Commercial Agent of the Confederate States gratefully acknowledges the generous donation, by a patriotic Southern lady, of £50 to be applied to the relief of distressed seamen entitled to the protection of the Confederate Government.

Several cases had of late occurred where such relief was needed, but the Government, during the continuance of the blockade, had not deemed it necessary to provide a fund for this purpose. The fact coming casually to the ears of this lady—whose name we regret not being at liberty to mention—without suggestion or solicitation from anyone, she placed this liberal sum at the disposal of the gentleman who requests us to express his thanks

through these columns. A short time since a number of Southern ladies, whom the outbreak of the war found residing in Europe, and prevented from returning, sent a very considerable amount of money to the Confederacy, to relieve the widows and orphans of the Confederate soldiers. A country which nurtures such women cannot be easily subdued.

SMALL items of intelligence are sometimes exceedingly significant. The summary of news per North American, concludes with the following paragraph:—

The North American touched at Cape Race on the 13th, but was unable to receive the latest news, owing to the breaking down of the telegraphic line upon the previous day.

The damage must have been considerable to entirely cut off the communication, or to need more than a day to repair it. Was the breaking down caused by the conveyance of news unfavourable to the Federals?

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

THE TRAIL TOO FRESH.

WE followed the French steamer into where a pilot could be obtained, and as the tide did not serve for crossing the bar both vessels anchored. We sent a boat to the Frenchman, which proved to be the steamer of war, Vautour. In the afternoon, the tide being favourable, we steamed up and anchored off the town of Paramaribo. The governor and people received us very kindly, but we had great difficulty in getting coal. As it happened, the supply was very limited, and the United States Consul had not been idle; all his influence was brought to bear on the merchants to prevent our obtaining supplies. However, after a day or two, money prevailed, and we commenced coaling; the process was very slow, for Dutchmen on the other side of the water are like Dutchmen on this side. Official visits were interchanged with our "French friend." He did not like the manner in which the Sumter had come down on him at sea, as he said, when we saw his flag we should have allowed our men to leave their quarters. In answer he was told that a few minutes before we ran down on him we also had the French flag up, and thought probably he was endeavouring to deceive us, as we had endeavoured to deceive the supposed Yankee. He was not exactly satisfied on the point, and he and our captain argued a clear case into total obscurity, drank wine, smoked cigars, and separated very good friends. We heard here that the United States steamer, Keystone State, had been in Barbadoes, coaling, while we were in Trinidad; she had been in pursuit of us for some time. We were anxious to meet her, as our armaments were about the same, and the number of men about equal, though she was much the larger of the two vessels. After we left Trinidad, she went there, and finding we had gone to the eastward, in order to overtake us, she went to the westward—rather a strange idea we thought—it put us in mind of a sportsman in California, who was very anxious to kill a grisly bear; he had been hunting for them a long time. At length he found the trail, and, after following it for some hours, gave up the chase and returned to camp. On being questioned why he did not follow in pursuit, he quietly replied the trail was getting too fresh. It must have been so with the Keystone State. The trail was getting too fresh.

Every obstacle that could be possibly thrown in our way was done by the Yankee consul at Paramaribo. He tried to buy all the coal in the market, and gave orders on his Government for it; but the United States credit was not very good out there, so that failed. He then endeavoured to hire all the lighters, and very nearly succeeded in doing so; one or two merchants held back, and allowed the use of theirs to us. He then bribed the lightermen to sink forty tons of coal that they were bringing down the river to us; and in every way, by little underhand petty meannesses, sought to annoy us during our stay in port. Such little things do not redound to the credit of any man, particularly the representative of a great Government.

ON THE LOOK OUT.

On the 31st of August, everything being ready, coal and supplies on board, we left Paramaribo, leaving behind us many who had received and entertained us kindly there, and whose good wishes for our success will long be remembered with gratitude. The morning of our leaving, the captain sent his servant on shore for marketing, &c., and that miserable creature, the Yankee

consul, induced him to desert the ship. Poor Ned! perhaps you have had dreams of freedom, now you have the reality, but I venture the assertion that before many months have passed you will be

Longing for the old plantation,
And for the old folks at home.

Before leaving, we heard of six or seven large fast steamers in pursuit of us, and were satisfied that some, at least, would take the right direction; that is, if their size was double that of our own. So it behoved us to get away as fast as possible from the probable cruising grounds of our pursuers. By getting out of coal off the mouth of the Amazon a whole month has been lost to us; we must endeavour to make up the lost time. After getting to sea stood to the eastward along the coast, bound to Maraham, in Brazil, where we arrived without any incident worthy of note, except striking once very hard on a rock as we were about entering the harbour—knocking off our false keel, and doing other damage, the amount of which we could not ascertain, as there were no docks there. Here, too, we were received very kindly by the authorities and the people, in fact, everywhere we went the people either took a kind of sporting interest in us, or considered us as "*enfants perdus*," and of course could not withhold their sympathies from us. We took in coal at once, and on the 15th of September put to sea again, bound to Cape St. Rague, with the intention of cruising off there to catch the homeward bound ships from the Indies. On getting out from under the land, we found that the trade winds were blowing a half gale of wind, and from the former experience of the officers on board, they would continue fresh until November. We were compelled therefore, very reluctantly, to give up St. Rague. We then changed our course to the northward, crossed the equator again, and steered for the calm belt, which at this season of the year we would find from latitude four to eight degrees north, and where we hoped to meet plenty of vessels, to break again into the monotony of a long sea trip. We could not expect to get many rich prizes there, but we had been so long without taking one that any kind of one would do, in order that we might know that there were some afloat.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

OUR FIRST ADVENTURE.

Dalton, Georgia, April 23th, 1861.

DELAYED here by want of rolling stock, as it is said, to carry off that vast northward flowing tide which gathers volume at every wayside station. Some say we are delayed to await orders from Montgomery, as there are dark rumours afloat that Tennessee has forbidden the passage of Confederate troops through her territory, in the same manner as she has emphatically refused that passage to the Northern forces intending to invade the South. I believe these reports to be malignantly circulated by emissaries of the enemy, to produce ill-feeling and mutual distrust where harmony of thought and action is so essential. In a few days, if not hours, Tennessee will assuredly be a member of the Confederacy, for none but cowards can be neutral in such a contest as is now approaching, and none but fools can hope to stay it by conciliatory attitude. The North has drawn the sword; we must force, not beg her to sheath it again. Some men in Tennessee may still talk of "impartiality," and of "keeping her soil sacred from the tread of hostile armies;" but the heart of the people is sound, and its beatings cannot be repressed by a few would-be leaders.

There are several regiments forming here, most of them from Georgia, but one or two from Alabama. They have given quite an animated appearance to this little village just struggling into life by virtue of its being the point of intersection of several railroads. In one of the half-built houses, upon which the village rests its title to be called a village at all, I have just seen one of the prettiest and most novel sights that I ever added to my memory album. The ladies, for thirty miles around, have collected here in an improvised sewing society, busy with needles and sewing machines in working for the soldiers. Where they have found so many sewing machines I cannot imagine, unless they have emptied the store of some enterprising dealer in "Yankee notions," who may have speculated upon the future grandeur of this still unborn city. At all events, never have these useful contrivances of Northern ingenuity served a better purpose than they now are, in making tents for those who go forth to defend their homesteads against Northern covetousness and rapacity. Few of the companies here have uniforms, most of the men being still in their civilian clothes, and ours is, I

believe, the only company which has its own tents and camp equipage. These ladies are truly engaged in a patriotic service, for without them, many of our enthusiastic youths here must go into the field without a change of clothes, or a tent to sleep under. It is a strange sight, this large hall filled with high-bred dames and damsels, all bent with an industry which they never knew before, upon a toil which, but for its object, would be as repulsive to them as it is new. Most of them are accompanied by their black attendants, and mistress and maid vie with each other in the amount of work each can do. And real work they do, indeed, for ever and anon a lot of jackets, or of trousers, or underlinen, or a set of tents, is handed over to the quartermaster's officers, who, but for these ladies, would have no stores to dispense.

There is a guard at the entrance of the hall to screen the fair workwomen from the intrusion of the merely curious; but some of us have found access, under various pretences, the most unscrupulous of which is in the case of a member of our company, who cut off several buttons from his new jacket to have the pleasure of having them sewed on again by the delicate fingers of a beautiful young girl, whom the wretch deliberately made the unsuspecting victim of his guile. There was at first a suggestion that the mutilated jacket should be sent in without its wearer; but how can a soldier be expected to have a choice of wardrobe ready for a change at the bidding of an impertinent sentinel? The young lady seamstress, who sewed the buttons on again, is, strange enough, a niece of Mrs. Lincoln, a Kentucky *belle*, on a visit to friends here. Mrs. Lincoln, it appears, is, like her husband, a Kentuckian by birth.

Eight o'clock, p.m.

Orders have just arrived. We are to leave here at one o'clock to-night. The rumours of this morning seem unfortunately only too well founded. Eastern Tennessee, through which we must pass on our way to Virginia, is in a state of excitement, which may already have broken out into open insurrection. There is good reason to believe that the railroad-bridges are held by armed bands of Union men, and that the first blood we may have to shed will be on Southern soil. We are to have fifteen rounds of ammunition served out, and the unexpected need for this proves to be the true cause for our detention here. The bitterness of feeling among our men is intense, and I fear if we have to fight our way through to Virginia, it will be difficult to restrain them from excesses which they would never have thought of committing on a Northern foe. I must still believe that the reports are grossly exaggerated. East Tennessee, I know, is inhabited by a population widely differing from that of the middle and western portions of the State in origin, in interests, in manners, and pursuits. A large portion of it is a mountainous country, with a sterile soil, settled by small farmers more resembling the peasantry of Europe than the planters of the South. Such a people could not, perhaps, be expected to appreciate and understand the great change which has, to them suddenly, come over the country. The great issues at stake are unknown to them, except through the wilful perversions of leaders like Parson Brownslow, men whose very existence is a plague-spot to any community. But I cannot think so ill even of the East Tennesseans as that they would take for their model one whose chief delight is to blaspheme his Maker in the very robes of His servants, and in the very place of His worship; one whose masterpiece of pulpit eloquence was in saying, "that he should fight Secession until hell froze over, and then fight the Secessionists on the ice."

Knoxville, Tennessee, April 30th.

Our first adventure is at an end, and would be amusing if it were not for the real hardships of our journey hither. We left Dalton at one o'clock last night, in no better conveyance than cattle cars, thirty men in each, closely packed on the floor, and with no ventilation except that afforded by the fissures in the sides. The doors, for some unexplained reason, were closed, and we kept in the full enjoyment of the atmosphere left behind by the sheep and pigs that had preceded us as passengers. A series of forced marches would have been preferable to this railway journey in a dark foul prison, momentarily expecting an attack, against which we would have been helpless. We had ten rounds of ammunition served out to us on leaving Dalton, with strict injunctions, repeated to each man in person by the company officers, not to fire or even load without express orders. About an hour after daylight this morning, the train stopped for wood and water. Thanks to our frantic beating against the walls of our prison, and our united yells many times repeated, the doors were thrown open, and we had once more a glimpse of light and a mouthful of fresh air. I believe if we had continued in this locomotive Black Hole some of us would have died.

On looking out it was discovered, with amazement, that we were the only live freight on board. During the night, the train being too heavy for the engine, had been divided, and that portion on which the troops were, left to follow. Nothing in the appearance of our car indicating the presence of human beings, and a cattle car resembling in all respects a luggage van, we were, by a not unaccountable mistake, sent on with the heavy freight. When the discovery was made we were within an hour's run of Knoxville. A consultation was at once held, and there being neither officer nor non-commissioned officer among us, the first step was to find a leader. To avoid even the appearance of an election, which we all condemn in principle, the unanimous voice of our little forlorn hope gave the command to one who had on several occasions acted as corporal in company drills. The engineer informed us that the railway bridges which we had passed were indeed held by Tennessee troops, but they were troops under the orders of the governor, sent to protect them against the malignity of disaffected individuals. It was therefore decided to go on to Knoxville, there quietly to await the arrival of our companions. If insults were offered us, we were ordered to hear them with dignified silence; if violence by a greatly superior force, to make no resistance. It was an anxious half-hour, that last one before making the chief city of East Tennessee.

So, here we are, in the town of Parson Brownslow, the place which had been represented to us as the hot-bed of disloyalty to our sacred cause. Thirty men at the mercy of any band of his followers who may choose to insult us, or do worse. But neither Brownslow nor any of his men can be seen or heard of. On approaching the station, we descried the United States' flag waving from a huge staff, but *reversed*, and with the banner of the Confederacy floating triumphantly over it. So soon as the cars stopped, we were greeted with a loud "Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" and surrounded by men who cordially took us by the hand, and offered us the hospitalities of the city, in the shape of unlimited drinks at the neighbouring bar-rooms. They seemed mortified when we informed them of the suspicions we had entertained, and assured us that though "there might be a few damned scoundrels of traitors in their midst, they dared not show their faces, and would be 'eaten up' if they did," and that even the blasphemous parson kept prudently silent. In a short time all apprehension was removed, and we obtained leave to disperse in various directions to take a look at this really beautiful town.

A TRIUMPHAL MARCH.

Lynchburg, Virginia, May 1st, 1861.

If we were a band of conquering heroes returning home with well-won laurels, instead of a set of youths who have yet to win their spurs in their country's cause, we might more appropriately have accepted the ovations we have received ever since we left Knoxville, and, indeed, ever since we left Montgomery. We have been pelted with bouquets at almost every village we passed, and scarcely a man of us that has not secured his own individual trophy. Many of the bouquets have cards attached to them, with patriotic prose or verse written in dainty ladies' hands. My own reads:—

God speed ye, patriotic sons of the South. Our hearts follow you to your battle-fields, and our prayers shall strengthen your arms in your sacred duty. Conquer, or die in the attempt; but let none return so long as a Northern foe threatens our homes.

Another which I am permitted to copy by the happy recipient, is, if possible, still more enthusiastic:

Hail! brave defenders of a holy cause. Our heartfelt wishes, our constant prayers, attend you whithersoever you go to search the hated foe. Let no Yankee footsteps pollute the native soil of free men and free women. Your memory will be sacred to us if you fall, our smiles shall reward you if you return victorious. Better death than disgrace. God defend the right!

The younger members vow that when the war is over, they "will come back and find out these noble girls that write such pretty notes." Each one thinks that which fell to his share the most eloquent, and hugs the conceit that it was specially intended for him. Wherever the train stops, hives of girls of all classes of society crowd the depot, and the more enterprising of the gay volunteers generally manage to leave the cars, and make the best use of the few minutes the locomotive is willing to allow to their flirtations. Men we seldom see in any large numbers; they are all drilling and making ready to follow us. The only place, besides Knoxville, where we received the greetings of our own sex, was near Marietta, in Georgia, where 400 commissioned officers of the Georgia militia had been formed into a camp of instruction under the personal supervision of the Governor.

The ladies, however, are not unmindful of our material wants, and know that we cannot feed on the rose leaves of their nose-gays. At Greenville, in Tennessee, we found a substantial lunch prepared by them for the whole

regiment, and good hot coffee enough for two regiments. We were agreeably surprised at this, because we had been led to consider this locality the most disaffected in all East Tennessee. It is the home of Senator Andy Johnson, over whose house still waved the Stars and Stripes, as if in defiance to the Secession ensign displayed from the flagstaff at the station. The Senator himself we had passed a few hours before in a train going towards Knoxville. He looked pale and suffering. A few of the men were sufficiently lacking in self-respect to groan as the two trains stopped by the side of each other, to which he replied by taking his hat off. The offenders were severely reprimanded by the officers, and their conduct condemned by the whole regiment. It is, however, a remarkable forbearance on the part of our people to let this man, as well as Brownlow, go at large. Johnson was actually on his way to make a Union speech at some place on the road. He is said to be an eloquent orator, and to have unbounded influence among the people of the mountains.

At Whitville, a small hamlet marking the boundary of Virginia and Tennessee, we found no breakfast, except for some twenty or thirty of us, for the few hospitable private houses could accommodate no more; but we were welcomed to Virginia by a speech of no moderate pretensions. Among the privates of our company is a barrister of note, whom we appointed orator of the occasion. Unfortunately, in the midst of his eloquent peroration, the whistle sounded, and orator and audience had to scamper, *saute qui peut*, to jump on the moving train.

At Liberty, some 300 ladies had assembled, and with their own hands prepared us dinner. Ours and another company, perhaps because we were the best dressed, had a table allotted us overlooked by a low back gallery thronged by our fair entertainers, thus enjoying the advantage of hearing their comments on the appearance, individually and collectively, of our modest selves. The repast came near having a tragic termination, for a portion of the frail balcony gave way, though, thanks to the prompt rush in assistance, without more serious consequence than the display of a well-turned ankle or two.

Whatever had been the enthusiasm of our reception on the way, it is exceeded by our welcome to Lynchburg. The city seems to have gone mad with joy. As the regiment marched through its whole length (for the regiment is now together, the various companies having overtaken us during our different stoppages), we seemed passing through a city on fire, so continuous were the flashes of fireworks, and so dazzling the blaze of light. We were leaving the suburbs for our camp-ground, a few miles further off, when the telegraph announced the passage of an ordinance of Secession by the Legislature of Tennessee. Though we are punctilious sticklers for military discipline, no sooner had the news been passed by the officers along the line, than the regiment burst forth in cheer after cheer, joined in by the thousands in the streets and windows; "Hurrah for Tennessee!" "Hurrah for the Southern Confederacy!" "Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!"

Reviews.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL.*

MR. MOTLEY'S works are too old for serial criticism, and too new for critical essayism. We have no inclination to dispute the unanimous and deservedly favourable verdict that has been pronounced upon their merits. We desire, in directing attention to "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," and "The History of the United Netherlands," to point out the parallel between the struggles for liberty so eloquently described by Mr. Motley, and the fierce conflict now raging on the continent of America. We may have occasion to dwell upon some peculiar and close analogies, but there are three all-important lessons that it will be our special endeavour to bring under the notice of our readers.

First, we learn from the Rise of the Dutch Republic, that it is impossible to crush a spirit of national independence. The Netherlands passed through a fiery ordeal—which, even at this distance of time, we cannot contemplate without a feeling of awe—victorious, purified, and unscathed. It was all the world to nothing against them, yet they triumphed. The voice of History is the voice of God, and it whispers comfort, courage, and enduring assurance to those who are contending for freedom and for civilization.

A liberty-loving people may be afflicted, tormented, desolated with fire and sword, even crushed for awhile under the iron heel of brute force despotism, but they cannot be subjugated.

Is there a Southerner who, though fully prepared to offer property and life on the altar of national freedom, yet in the dark hour of trial deems it possible that his country may pass under the dominion of its ruthless invaders? We bid him remember the struggle for Dutch Independence, and be of good cheer. We believe the triumph of the Confederate States is near at hand, but we will not indulge in boasting prophecy. Perhaps the deadly strife may be protracted, but the sacredness of the cause ensures a triumphant issue. Liberty will not be less precious because it is purchased with so much noble blood, and such great sufferings. It is impossible to conceive that the Confederate States can ever be reduced to the extremities of the embryo Dutch Republic. The pangs of national birth are as terrible as the throes of national dissolution, but in the case of the Dutch Republic they were unusually terrible and lasting. Success seemed hopeless. The European nations looked on coldly. Occasionally sympathetic admiration was excited by the heroic determination of the people. There was, for example, something irresistibly grand in the resolve rather to give the country to the ocean, than to permit it to become the patrimony of tyrants. As usual, fortune appeared to favour the strong and to oppress the weak; but in the end right became mighty and conquering.

And the story of "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," written by a Northerner, ought to teach the North a lesson. Do the Northerners imagine they can subdue the South, and keep in bondage 7,000,000 of people who are determined to be free? A people of another and a purer race? If so, they must despise or cannot interpret the past. Mr. Motley observes in his preface:—

To all who speak the English language, the history of the great agony through which the Republic of Holland was ushered into life must have peculiar interest, for it is a portion of the records of the Anglo-Saxon race—essentially the same, whether in Freisland, England, or Massachusetts.

This is essentially true; yet when Mr. Motley wrote it he could have had no conception that in a few years it would be so peculiarly applicable to his own countrymen. His testimony is additionally valuable, when we remember that he is a staunch opponent of Southern independence. Curiously enough he disregards the oracle of the past that he has so eloquently revealed. He discerns not "the great agony through which the Republic of Holland was ushered into life" should tell the South that if the national heart desires independence, the goal will be reached, though it may be through wearying tribulation; and simultaneously warn the North of the utter hopelessness of an attempt to domineer over a nation panting for independence.

Secondly, the history of the Netherlands is conclusive as to the impossibility of fusing naturally different races. Mr. Motley refers to this as the main cause of national troubles.

Thus, the population of the country was partly Celtic, partly German. Of these two elements, dissimilar in their tendencies and always difficult to blend, the Netherlands people has ever been compounded. A certain fatality of history has perpetually helped to separate still more widely these constituents, instead of detecting and stimulating the elective affinities which existed. Religion, too, upon all great historical occasions, has acted as the most powerful of dissolvents. Otherwise, had so many valuable and contrasted characteristics been early fused into a whole, it would be difficult to show a race more richly endowed by Nature for dominion and progress than the Belgio-Germanic people.

Physically the two races resembled each other. Both were of vast stature. The gigantic Gaul derided the Roman soldiers as a band of pygmies. The German excited astonishment by his huge body and muscular limbs. Both were fair, with fierce blue eyes, but the Celt had yellow hair floating over his shoulders, and the German long locks of fiery red, which he even dyed with woad to heighten the favourite colour, and wore twisted into a war knot upon the top of his head.

The polity of each race differed widely from that of the other. The government of both may be said to have been republican, but the Gallic tribes were aristocracies, in which the influence of clan-ship was a predominant feature; while the German system, although nominally regal, was in reality democratic. In Gaul were two orders, the nobility and the priesthood, while the people, says Caesar, were all slaves. The knights or nobles were all trained to arms. Each went forth to battle, followed by his dependents, while a chief of all the clans was appointed to take command during the war. The prince or chief governor was elected annually, but only by the nobles. The people had no rights at all, and were glad to assign themselves as slaves to any noble who was strong enough to protect them. In peace the Druids exercised the main functions of government. They decided all controversies, civil and criminal. To rebel against their decrees was punished by exclusion from the sacrifices—a most terrible excommunication, through which the criminal was cut off from all intercourse with his fellow creatures.

With the Germans the sovereignty resided in the great assembly of the people. There were slaves, indeed, but in small number, consisting either of prisoners of war or of those unfortunate who had forfeited their liberty in games of chance. Their chieftains, although called by the Romans princes and kings, were, in reality, generals chosen by universal suffrage. Elected in the great assembly to preside in war, they were raised on the shoulders of martial freemen, amid wild battle cries and the clash of spear and shield. The army consisted entirely of volunteers, and the soldier was for life infamous who deserted the field while his chief remained alive. The same great assembly elected the village magistrates and decided upon all important matters both of peace and war. At the fall of the moon it was usually convoked. The nobles and the popular delegates arrived at

irregular intervals, for it was an inconvenience arising from their liberty, that two or three days were often lost in waiting for the delinquents. All state affairs were in the hands of this fierce democracy. The elected chieftains had rather authority to persuade than power to command.

In pursuits, in religion, in social habits, the differences were as great as in their political systems. There were urgent reasons for amalgamation, yet all the efforts to effect it were in vain. The Romans could not bring it to pass. It could not be achieved during the struggle for national independence. At length, all the Powers of Europe combined to unite the obstinately separate races; but it would not do, and in a few years the United Netherlands were disunited. Mr. Motley laments that Providence did not permit a fusion of the two races. We do not share that regret. We doubt not the distinction of race is an all-wise and divinely beneficent ordination. There is nothing inharmonious in the arrangement. Fire and water are antagonistic, but they work accordantly in the locomotive. Attempt to fuse them, and the one will be extinguished, the motive power of the other undeveloped.

Whether we like it or not, it is impossible to deny that some races are fit for government, others to be governed. We do not refer exclusively to that law of nature by which the superior settling race crushes out the inferior aboriginal race. We ask if any one doubts that the natives of India are better and happier by reason of Anglo-Saxon dominion? Have the ultra-abolitionists ever proposed to give the negro political privileges? Between independent races there may be a close alliance, but not a lasting governmental union. Such a union will cause a restless craving for supremacy, sure to eventuate in hostility. There is much comfort obtained from the *post-mortem* examination of the United States' Constitution. We see how it might have been doctored and preserved for awhile; but we also perceive that it was inherently unsound, and that no skill or devotion could have perpetuated its existence. We only marvel that a political connection between such diametrically opposite nations should have lasted so long. Our opinions we know are displeasing to those modest philosophers and those devout philanthropists who are confident of their ability to vastly improve creation and to reform the moral government of the world. The stone they offer to their dupes is the doctrine of equality. They consider ethnological differences as diabolical inventions. They contend but for man's wickedness there would be a fusion of races. Why not go a step further and advocate a fusion of sexes?

Our third point is, that no one can study the history of the Netherlands without being impressed with the inadequacy and danger of Federalism. We need not, however, go back very far to make this discovery. Germany has wonderfully small influence in the Councils of Europe. Why? Her system of Federation keeps her down. The proceedings of the German Diet would be amusing if, considering the mental greatness of Germany, they were not disgracefully puerile. And we have in the United States a very palpable instance of the evil results of Federalism.

We propose, then, to enlarge on these three things: the impossibility of destroying the independence of a nation of freemen; the infusibility of races; the imperfectness and impracticability of Federalism. Mr. Motley's works afford us ample materials for so doing.

Before discussing the Revolution it will be well to reflect on its essentially conservative character. The Netherlands were rather the tributaries than the subjects of their princes. To them belong the glory of originating municipal independence. They enjoyed a large amount of civil and social freedom, and whenever their hereditary rights were assailed they were prompt and bold in their defence. The municipal privileges of the Netherlands people, nearly equal to State rights, were the great bulwarks of their liberty. Doubtless many a tyrant wished that the Netherlands had but one neck. Mr. Motley thus concludes his summary of the period anterior to the abdication of Charles V., and it shows what priceless privileges the people had to contend for:

Thus in this rapid sketch of the course and development of the Netherlands nation during sixteen centuries, we have seen it ever marked by one prevailing characteristic, one master passion—the love of liberty, the instinct of self-government. Largely compounded of the bravest Teutonic elements, Batavian and Frisian, the race ever battles to the death with tyranny, organizes extensive revolts in the age of Vespasian, maintains a partial independence even against the sagacious dominion of Charlemagne, refuses in Friesland to accept the papal yoke or feudal chain, and, throughout the dark ages, struggles resolutely towards the light, wresting from a series of petty sovereigns a gradual and practical recognition of the claims of humanity. With the advent of the Burgundian family, the power of the commons has reached so high a point, that it is able to measure itself, undaunted, with the spirit of arbitrary rule, of which that engrossing and tyrannical house is the embodiment. For more than a century the struggle for freedom, for civic life, goes on; Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary's husband Maximilian, Charles

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* By JOHN LOCHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands.* By JOHN LOCHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

V., in turn, assailing or undermining the bulwarks raised, age after age, against the despotic principle. The combat is ever renewed. Liberty, often crushed, rises again and again from her native earth with redoubled energy. At last, in the sixteenth century, a new and more powerful spirit, the genius of religious freedom, comes to participate in the great conflict. Arbitrary power, incarnated in the second Charlemagne, assails the new combination with unscrupulous, unforgiving fierceness. Venerable civic magistrates, haltered, grovel in sackcloth and ashes; innocent, religious reformers burn in holocausts. By the middle of the century, the battle rages more fiercely than ever. In the little Netherlands territory, Humanity, bleeding but not killed, still stands at bay, and defies the hunters. The two great powers have been gathering strength for centuries. They are soon to be matched in a longer and more determined combat than the world had ever seen. The Emperor is about to leave the stage. The provinces, so passionate for nationality, for municipal freedom, for religious reformation, are to become the property of an utter stranger: a prince foreign to their blood, their tongue, their religion, their whole habits of life and thought.

The Revolt of the Netherlands was not brought about by any hawking for a change of government, or by ambitious conspirators, but was undertaken for the preservation of constitutional rights. The famous edict was inimical to the most cherished rights of the Netherlands. It was resisted firmly, but prudently. A mob-revolution Philip could have put down, but a popular conservative revolution, managed by the leading men of the nation, was irresistible. From first to last, there was a manifest desire to conciliate. William of Orange did all he could to avert the national convulsions. No sooner had he learnt the determination of the Emperor to afflict the Netherlands with the scourge of the Inquisition, than he set to work, not to overthrow the existing dynasty, but to avert the danger that threatened the liberties of his country. He succeeded in getting rid of the foreign soldiery; he procured the recall of the detested Granvelle, but he did not conspire against his sovereign.

The Prince was accused of ambition and intrigue. It was said that he was determined to concentrate all the powers of government in the state-council, which was thus to become an omnipotent and irresponsible senate, while the King would be reduced to the condition of a Venetian Doge. It was, of course, suggested that it was the aim of Orange to govern the new Tribunal of Ten. No doubt the Prince was ambitious. Birth, wealth, genius, and virtue could not have been bestowed in such eminent degree on any man without carrying with them the determination to assert their value. But he practised no arts to arrive at the supremacy which he felt must always belong to him, whatever might be his nominal position in the political hierarchy. He was already, although but just turned of thirty years, vastly changed from the brilliant and careless grandee, as he stood at the hour of the imperial abdication. He was becoming earnest in face, thin of figure, sleepless of habit. The wrongs of which he was the daily witness, the absolutism, the cruelty, the rottenness of the government, had marked his face with premature furrows. "They say that the Prince is very sad," wrote Morillon to Granvelle; "and 'tis easy to read as much in his face. They say he cannot sleep." Truly might the monarch have taken warning that here was a man who was dangerous, and who thought too much. "Steak-headed men, and such as slept o' nights," would have been more eligible functionaries, no doubt, in the royal estimation, but, for a brief period, the King was content to use, to watch, and to suspect the man who was one day to be his great and invincible antagonist.

So far from intriguing for the downfall of Philip, William resolved upon informing him of the whole truth, and if his plainspoken warning had been heeded, the revolt would have been stayed. In 1564, the decrees of the Council of Trent were ordered to be published and enforced. The Duchess Regent knew the danger, and hastened to obey the Royal command. It was determined to send a special mission to Spain, and Egmont was the chosen envoy. What was the conduct of William the Silent? He was remarkably farseeing, and therefore, if he desired the destruction of the monarchy, he would have done what he could to encourage Philip in his insane career. On the contrary, instead of concealing, he vehemently denounced the ruinous policy.

There was a stormy debate in council after Egmont had accepted the mission and immediately before his departure. Viglius had been ordered to prepare the Count's instructions. Having finished the rough draught, he laid it before the board. The paper was conceived in general terms, and might mean anything or nothing. No criticism upon its language was, however, offered until it came to the turn of Orange to vote upon the document. Then, however, William the Silent opened his lips, and poured forth a long and vehement discourse, such as he rarely pronounced, but such as few except himself could utter. There was no shuffling, no disguise, no timidity in his language. He took the ground boldly that the time had arrived for speaking out. The object of sending an envoy of high rank and European reputation, like the Count of Egmont, was to tell the King the truth. Let Philip know it now. Let him be unequivocally informed that this whole machinery of placards and scaffolds, of new bishops and old hangmen, of decrees, inquisitors, and informers, must once and for ever be abolished. Their day was over. The Netherlands were free provinces, they were surrounded by free countries, they were determined to vindicate their ancient privileges. Moreover, his Majesty was to be plainly informed of the frightful corruption which made the whole judicial and administrative system loathsome. The venality which notoriously existed everywhere, on the bench, in the council-chamber, in all public offices, where purity was most essential, was denounced by the Prince in scathing terms. He tore the mask from individual face, and openly charged the Chancellor of Brabant, Engelbert Maas, with luxury and corruption. He insisted that the King should be informed of the necessity of abolishing the two inferior councils, and of enlarging the council of state by the admission of ten or twelve new members, selected for their patriotism, purity, and capacity.

Above all, it was necessary plainly to inform his Majesty that the canons of Trent, spurned by the whole world, even by the Catholic princes of Germany, could never be enforced in the Netherlands, and that it would be ruinous to make the attempt. He proposed and insisted that the Count of Egmont should be instructed accordingly. He avowed, in conclusion, that he was a Catholic himself and intended to remain in the faith, but that he could not look on with pleasure when princes strove to govern the souls of men, and to take away their liberty in matters of conscience and religion.

The conservatism of the Netherlands Revolt is worthy of our hearty admiration. Men who disturb society for the sake of doubtful rights and governmental theories are to be unequivocally condemned. The only justification of revolution is when it is undertaken for the defence of existing rights, and for the maintenance of the Constitutional Government. Rights may be enlarged and the form of government changed by revolution, but these effects should not be the objects of revolution. Indeed, Philip, and not his subjects, was revolutionary; for he wished to violate rights, and they defended them. So in America. The Confederate States did not rebel, for sovereign states cannot rebel; nor did they effect a change of government, much less a revolution. They flew to arms to defend the Constitution which the Northerners have trampled under foot.

(To be continued.)

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—It would be an endless, as well as unwelcome, task to notice and refute all the calumnies which Northern writers lavish on the institutions of the Confederate States. The slanderous comments on Southern affairs which are penned by Mr. Lincoln's officials, and printed by his obedient, humble servants, the editors of Northern newspapers, deserve only to be passed by with silent contempt. In the majority of cases they are so transparently false and malicious as to render it wholly superfluous to expose and denounce them. But when authors of repute publish statements ostensibly to disclose the true position of affairs, but really for the purpose of inducing those who do not know better to accept their prejudiced and partial views as gospel truth, it is both right and necessary to discuss the grounds on which those statements are based, and point out the objects for which they are advanced. Among those Americans whose writings and opinions have an audience and an influence in Europe, Mr. Emerson occupies a prominent place. Many in this country have been accustomed to give him credit for writing with philosophical calmness and philosophical depth. By professing to be a philosopher, he tacitly refuses to be a partisan. He may never have made good his profession, and may have as little real claim to originality as the mocking-bird; nevertheless, it is unquestionable that his countrymen have taken him at his own valuation, and that not a few Englishmen admire and believe in him. Whatever he writes is sure to meet with attentive readers; hence we think it incumbent on us to give a critical examination of an essay by him on "American Civilization," which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April.

The subject is one about which many interesting particulars might be furnished by an American possessing a talent for discerning the distinguishing characteristics of his countrymen, and the candour to give an unvarnished account of what he had perceived. In every country civilization is manifested under an aspect peculiar to that country. The civilization which prevails at Peking and Jeddo differs from that of Paris and Vienna as much as Chinamen and Japanese differ from Frenchmen and Germans in costume, manners, and disposition. Very different from either is the civilization of America, and whoever shall clearly point out wherein the difference consists will deserve and receive the thanks of all thinking men. Not only has Mr. Emerson failed to do this, but he has not even made the attempt in a way calculated to ensure success. The burden of his essay is, that the North is civilized, and the South barbarous. According to him, civilization "implies the evolution of a highly-organized man, brought to a supreme delicacy of sentiment, as in practical power, religion, liberty, sense of honour and taste." Now, unless this man be organized on more correct principles than those on which the foregoing phrase is constructed, he must be an incomprehensible personage. It is afterwards said by him, "I have thought it a sufficient definition of civilization to say, it is the influence of good women." While it is unquestionable that women must have some share in the "evolution" of highly-organized men, they cannot have an exclusive part in civilizing a community. Good women imply good men, and when both are in the majority a country may be called civilized. There are certain tests employed by Mr. Emerson for the purpose of determining the rank to which a country is entitled in the scale of civilization. One of these is the manner in which knowledge is diffused. The diffusion of knowledge is understood by him, man's "bringing the university to every poor man's door in the news-boy's basket." If the words "knowledge" and "news" are synonymous, then a man who can read a penny newspaper enjoys advantages similar to the one who receives a university education. We sincerely hope, for the sake of the Northern youth, that the Universities are not on a par with the news-papers of the North. The manifestation of a "tendency to combine antagonisms and utilize evil," is said to be an "index of high civilization." Examples of this are "the skill that pervades complex details; the man that maintains himself; the chimney taught to burn its own smoke; the farm made to produce

all that is consumed on it; the very prison compelled to maintain itself and yield a revenue, and, better than that, made a reform school, and a manufactory of honest men out of rogues." That a man's maintaining himself by the labour of his hands should be gravely cited as a mark of high civilization, is truly marvellous. We had always fancied one distinction between the naked savage and the civilized man was, that while the former must do everything for himself the latter got others to work for him. More novel and puzzling still is the statement that "the chimney taught to burn its own smoke," is an example of the "tendency to combine antagonisms, and utilize evil, which is the index of high civilization." Without discussing the part which chimneys play in modern civilization, it must be owned that the conclusion which we draw from the phrase concerning a "chimney taught to burn its own smoke," is that Mr. Emerson regards it as an index of civilization for chimneys to be constantly on fire! Although good women have influence, poor men read penny newspapers, and the mechanical arts be perfected, yet unless a nation possess morality it will be imperfectly civilized. That indispensable requisite is thus enlarged on by the essayist: "There can be no high civilization without a deep morality, though it may not always call itself by that name, but sometimes the point of honour, as in the institution of chivalry; or patriotism, as in the Spartan and Roman republics; or the enthusiasm of some religious sect which imputes its virtue to its dogma; or the cabalism, or *Esprit de corps*, of a masonic or other association of friends." The difficulty we have is, what body of men have not possessed this "deep morality." It seems to be a protean thing existing under the most varied names and aspects. As here explained, it must have animated both the Crusaders who went forth to deliver the Holy Land from the Saracens, and the followers of Mahomet, who called upon their fellows to believe in the Koran or die; The buccannier, who lived by plunder; the Parisian mob, which slaughtered men, and worshipped a naked prostitute in honour of liberty; the American colonists, who battled for independence; the Mormons, who practise polygamy in order to fit themselves for heaven, might all lay an equally just claim to being inspired and actuated by a "deep morality." There is one body of men whom Mr. Emerson expressly excepts; the inhabitants of the Confederate States. Not only are they wholly destitute of what he styles morality; but their Northern foes are the living embodiments of it. This, then, is the object of the Northern philosopher's essay; to eulogize the North and libel the South. One of the passages in which the latter is characterized and defamed deserves both quotation and examination. "But if there be a country which cannot stand any one of these tests,—a country where knowledge cannot be diffused without perils of mob-law and statute-law,—where speech is not free,—where the post-office is violated, mail-bags opened, and letters tampered with,—where public debts and private debts outside of the State are repudiated,—where liberty is attacked in the primary institution of their social life,—where the position of the white woman is injuriously affected by the outlawry of the black woman,—where the arts, such as they have, are all imported, having no indigenous life,—where the labourer is not secured in the earnings of his own hands,—where the suffrage is not free or equal,—that country is, in all these respects, not civil, but barbarous, and no advantages of soil, climate, or coast, can resist these suicidal mischiefs." Granting, for the sake of argument, the tests adduced by Mr. Emerson to be valuable and conclusive in determining the degree of civilization enjoyed by a people, let us apply them to the nation at war with the Confederate States. We shall discuss the question aided by the light which recent and well-authenticated events have thrown upon it. In a country, then, where men are maltreated like Mr. Kimball for the sole crime of openly expressing sympathy with those who were his fellow-countrymen, though no longer his fellow-citizens, and where ninety-eight newspapers have been forcibly suppressed because advocating views distasteful to the Government, it may justly be said, "that knowledge cannot be diffused without perils of mob-law and statute-law," and that "speech is not free." In a country where letters are ostentatiously opened by Government officials, and lying despatches drawn up by a Secretary of State to serve Government ends, it may justly be said that "the post-office is violated, mail-bags opened, and letters tampered with." In a country where private persons and public companies are forbidden by the Government to pay dividends or interest on the shares and funds held by Southern citizens, it may justly be said that "public debts and private debts outside the State are repudiated." In a country where a century ago the arts were unknown, and where the only articles manufactured were bark canoes, moccasins, bows and arrows, and tomahawks, it must be said that "the arts, such as it has, are all imported, having no indigenous life." In a country where there is a professed equality between the white and black man, but in which there are States that the black is not permitted to enter, while in the others he dare not exercise his political rights, it may justly be said that the "suffrage is not free or equal." To sum up the whole, a country wherein there is neither freedom of speech, nor of the press, where the post-office is converted into an inquisition, where the property of men owning no allegiance to its rulers is rubricously confiscated, where the negro is nominally put on a level with the white man, and really treated worse than a dog, must, on the showing of Mr. Emerson, be regarded as "in all these respects, not civil, but barbarous, and no advantages of soil, climate, or coast, can resist the action of these suicidal mischiefs." This Northern philosopher would have acted more sensibly if, instead of wasting his ingenuity in vilifying the Southern people, he examined, with some attention, the "civilization" which now prevails among his immediate fellow-countrymen.

Candour obliges us to admit that, in Mr. Emerson's opinion, the North will not prove itself perfectly civilized

until it shall have abolished slavery and subjugated the barbarous South. Into the question of slavery we shall not enter farther than it concerns the statements of the essayist. In common with the majority of our countrymen, we hold that the Federal States are fighting for empire, and the Confederate States for independence. Believing this, we cannot understand how Northern men fancy that what their armies and navies cannot accomplish an act of Congress will achieve. We are assured the following will be the result of abolishing slavery "by edict":—"The slaves near our armies will come to us; those in the interior will know in a week what their rights are, and will, when opportunity offers, prepare to take them. Instantly the armies that now confront you must run home to protect their estates, and must stay there, and your enemies will disappear." The later consummation must be devoutly wished by the majority of Northern men, were it only to exhibit to the world a spectacle the reverse of that displayed by their own army when, after taking three months to advance as far as Manassas Gap, it returned to Washington in two hours. Although Mr. Emerson calls upon Congress instantly to abolish slavery "by edict," yet he also thinks "if the duty of Congress to pay for such slaves as we ought to pay for." He thinks there would be no difficulty in awarding compensation to their owners, "as the parties injured are such a handful that they can very easily be indemnified." In other words, compensate the slave-owners who have remained loyal to the Union; but confiscate the property of the "rebels." The result would doubtless be most gratifying to Yankee minds, for, as no loyal slaveholders are to be found, there would be no occasion to compensate anybody. Were Congress to emancipate the slaves "by edict" to-morrow, the position of affairs would in no wise be altered. The war would go on. Indignant the South might be, but she would be undismayed, and would fight against those who had impotently tried to ruin her with redoubled ardour and animosity. Contenting as she does against fearful odds without flinching, without shrinking, and not without success, she gives proof of having in her the right stuff out of which great nations are formed, and that her people are too highly civilized to submit to the degradation of becoming the servants of men having narrow intellects and vulgar minds. Bonaparte's opinion was, that Providence always sided with large battalions, but his own history and the experience of all mankind conclusively demonstrate that the victors in the long run are those who strike for freedom.

That the Confederate States will ultimately attain what they are gallantly struggling for, we have no doubt. Supposing, however, that the Union were restored and slavery abolished, what would the exultant and victorious North do next? It would banish the negroes. Harsh and horrible as that act would be, yet it could not exceed, in iniquity the treatment which these miserable beings now receive at the hands of the Northern people. They call them men and brothers, and regard them as beasts. When Heinrich Heine was travelling in the Harz Mountains, he met a man who delighted in tracing the admirable adaptation of everything in Nature; how, for example, the trees were green, because of that colour being refreshing to the eyes. To which Heine added, that God had created oxen because ox-tail soup was strengthening for men, that he had created asses for the purposes of comparison, and had created man that he might enjoy ox-tail soup, and thereby show himself to be no ass. In like manner, it seems as if the negro had been created for the express advantage and recreation of the Northerners. They make of him a stalking-horse for the purpose of parading a hatred of slavery which they do not cherish, and profess a philanthropy which requires no self-denial; hating slavery because the South is benefited by it, and calling for its abolition, that the Southern planters may be ruined. Moreover, the occasional sight of a negro gives them occasion for thanking Heaven with pious fervour that they have been created with fallow skins and lank hair.

A REVIEWER.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AT WASHINGTON.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—There seems to be no end to the mystery of M. Mercier's proceedings, or to the audacity of assertion and denial that his known actions have given rise to. On the other side of the Atlantic, a mission on tobacco business, an intimation from the Emperor to the Confederate Congress, that they must submit at once; that he would no longer recognize them as belligerents; and much of the same sort, has been positively asserted by the New York journals. Here, the "Press" has certain information, that he went to ascertain the means of resistance the South possesses, and was specially ordered by the august inhabitant of the Tuileries. The French papers positively deny that he had any instructions at all, and Mr. Layard, the Foreign Under Secretary, assures the House of Commons that he had no diplomatic mission whatever. And now, above all, comes the startling announcement of Monday night, by Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Conservative Party, and the equally astonishing denial of Lord Palmerston, in answer to him. But we will leave them to speak for themselves. The report runs thus.

Mr. Disraeli said:—

I thought, at the same time, that if there were any place where France and England had a common object, and should have a common course of policy, it was America: notwithstanding which, I regretted to add, word had reached my ears that there was the same want of accord between the representatives of the two Governments there which we find in other places. I did not say much on the subject; it was a delicate one. But I said that

there was a sort of constant management, an attempt to obtain rival influence, which, considering that they were accredited to the President of a Republic, and were in direct communication with the Minister of a Republic, seemed to me quite out of place, and more in keeping with the intrigues round the capricious tyrant of a Divan. I said that; I could have said a great deal more. The noble lord, when he replied, contradicted me on that head in terms which, allow me to say, were neither social nor parliamentary. The noble lord said the statement was false. Well, I did not interfere at the moment, because, to tell the exact truth, I really was so pleased to see the noble lord at the end of a long debate disporting himself with so much vigour (great laughter and cheering), that I could not bring myself to interrupt him by an interference, which would not have been angry, but which would have been serious. But I also thought probably this House would believe that one filling, however unworthy, the position which I now occupy, would not have made a random statement on such a subject. I knew the matter would keep, and, therefore, being here again, I must tell the noble lord that I believe the statement that I made was most accurate, and, although from its particular character it is not capable at this moment of mathematical proof, before very long, perhaps, there may be even on the table of this House, but certainly in a form scarcely less authentic, sufficient proof of that statement.

Lord Palmerston replied:—

I went on to say that the right hon. gentleman must have been deceived by some information which he had received, and I cautioned him not to trust to the same source in future, inasmuch as that information was totally devoid of foundation. He stated on a former evening that Washington was the scene of intrigue between the English Minister and the French Minister; that they were undermining each other by their intrigues. I denied that when the right hon. gentleman made the statement, and I repeat the denial now. Every one who knows Lord Lyons knows that a man like him, so honourable and straightforward in his dealings, would be incapable of intriguing and planning against his colleague. I have not the pleasure of knowing M. Mercier personally; but I have watched his progress through the many diplomatic missions which he has fulfilled, and I believe him to be a man as incapable as Lord Lyons himself of doing anything which he and his Government could not manfully avow. Therefore, I must again assure the right hon. gentleman that he has been totally misinformed with regard to the assertion which he has made. At the same time, there are persons who, by the extreme simplicity of their character, are led away—are induced to believe easily and hastily that which is told to them by individuals whom they suppose to be possessed of accurate information. Whatever the right hon. gentleman may think of former assertions, I again assure him that he is completely mistaken as regards our Mission and the French Mission at Washington. Lord Lyons and M. Mercier, I am happy to say, are in constant and friendly communication; neither of them has done anything without communication with the other. There has been no concealment; there has been what I may call joint action. The two Ministers have worked and co-operated almost as if representing the same Government; and they have exhibited the most perfect good faith towards each other in their negotiations with the Cabinet of Washington.

Now, what are we to believe of all this positive assertion and denial? Does the notorious insincerity of Napoleon III. pervade all his diplomatic residences? Are he and his ministers in league with Lincoln and Seward, or is he in accord with the country with whom we hear so much of the perfect cordiality he retains? Who is to tell us? and where can we find the key to the unhappy truth, which seems overwhelmed under all this mass of contradictory but still infallible assertion. One thing is certain, for Lord Palmerston does not venture to deny it, that Mr. Disraeli possesses means of information which his Government were not able to attain to, and I happen to know—as the phrase goes—that the occasion to which both he and Mr. Disraeli alluded was far stronger than either of them put it. When Mr. Disraeli alleged the existence of this secret guarantee of the Italian provinces to Austria, the knowledge of which Lord Palmerston totally repudiated, and which it took his Government more than a week to ascertain, Mr. Disraeli was asked how he knew of it, and he said, "I saw it." There is also another instance of his peculiar means of knowledge, which has not been promulgated, but which most forcibly illustrates his position, that he is little likely, on a grave and delicate subject, to err in a positive assertion; and that was the conversation between Nicholas of Russia and Sir Hamilton Seymour, on the projects of the former towards the "sick man" of Turkey. They were alone, and it was a very considerable time before anything transpired, and then only by Sir H. Seymour's own report. And yet, to my certain knowledge, within a few days of that conversation being held, the substance of it, and even some of the very words used, were in Mr. Disraeli's possession, and by him communicated in certain influential quarters. And he is very unlikely to be deceived in this; and if he is not in error—if there has been, as he asserts, a "sort of management," an "attempt to obtain rival influence" at Washington—what are we to think of the action of England and France in this momentous crisis? Is there to be any limit to the mendacity, the arrogant insolence, the reckless extravagance, and wholesale cheating of the Washington officials? Are the Envoys of England and France inoculated with the maula? Is the lobbyist of the Thurlow Woods, and such nation growths of the luxuriant tropical vegetation of unbridled Democracy, carried into the grave and decorous decency of diplomatic relations? Heaven help us in this mass of lying and cheating! The worst of it all is, that, as usual—

"Quidquid dolant reges plectuntur achi."

Yours, &c., M. P.

IS RE-UNION POSSIBLE?

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—“New Orleans has surrendered.” The question is, how much nearer are they towards accomplishing the subjugation of the South? Suppose the next mail should bring us news of the surrender or capture of Memphis, will it follow (the Union is thereby so far secured?)—or let us further suppose a victory gained at Corinth, will Secession be crushed then? Will the armies of the Confederate States be disbanded quietly and peacefully to return to milder occupations, and obediently uphold the Union? The answer I fear would leave to Federal sympathizers.

We have months ago been told a port or ports would be opened, from whence would flow plenty of cotton for our wants. Will our Northern friends favour us by saying how many bales they will ship between now and January 1863, and point out the localities where they will procure it so abundantly in an unburned State? I apprehend when the promise was made, it was unthinkingly—the ashes being meant, and not the fibre. There is little doubt all parties interested in the article would feel indebted to the Federal Government for giving a clear answer to these questions—but I am afraid in this case “Hope told a flattering tale.”

Just for pastime (for the idea is nothing more), let us arrive at the conclusion that the Federal power will be successful, and capture every point sought—how are they to be retained, and the Republican liberties of the people at the same time be preserved to them? Or in what manner could the civil process of the law courts be carried out among a subjugated and unwilling people, mourning over their desolated homes and the blood of their slain?

Is it, or is it not, in contemplation to enforce such at the sword's point against or among unwilling millions?

For the benefit of us unenlightened Europeans, will some kindly disposed Northern gentleman explain what Republican Union means—is it a unanimous and united we will? or does it signify a partial and domineering Federal you must? I cannot but hope some of those able writers who have ere now favoured us with praises of the North, and condemnation of the South, will condescend to answer even what to them may seem a silly and childish question. I have always thought union meant general unanimity and agreement, but from what I have been able to glean during the past year, in America it is typical of disagreement and coercion; perhaps I err; I seek enlightenment.

There has been a very general desire manifested by the Governments of Europe not in any way to become embroiled either with North or South, and for that reason they have been neutral, although suffering severely. It was often reported a strong Union sentiment prevailed within the Southern States, which, although silenced for the time, would find voice on the approach of the Federal army. Until the truth of such reports was ascertained, recognition of Southern independence could not be resolved on; therefore it might not be amiss for the people of the Confederate States to declare to European Powers whether or not they are willing to return to the Union,—let them now say (and thus remove all doubt), will they be ruled by Mr. Lincoln.

The Confederate Commissioners could not take a more effective step than to impress upon President Davis the importance of a general popular declaration throughout the Southern States as to whether the heart of the Southern people is with the cause for which they contend. If the millions within those States declare for independence, under what pretext can their recognition among the family of nations be longer delayed?

The present Ministry of England surely would not refuse, when we find Earl Russell to have said, at the late Newcastle banquet:—"If, after many years of civil conflict, those States should be subjugated, should we not then see those Southern men yielding to a force, and would not that very materially interfere with the liberty of nations?"

AN ENGLISHMAN.

One fact which has lately come to our knowledge speaks volumes. It is conveyed in a letter from Mr. Seward to a friend in Europe, in which he confesses himself now satisfied that there is no Union minority in the seceded States. We have frequently shown how improbable was the existence of any such; for if it had existed at all it would most assuredly have made itself heard and seen at the approach of friends.—*The Daily Telegraph*.

The United States' transport steamer Daniel Webster, Commander Blethen, arrived in the harbour, after a passage of thirty-six hours from Ship Point, having on board 187 soldiers, under the care of Drs. Cryer and Smith, of the United States' Sanitary Commission, Washington. These sick and dying soldiers were taken from about 3000 whom General McClellan was forced to leave behind on the occasion of his recent advance; 1000 of which large aggregate are supposed to belong to New York regiments. They are afflicted with typhoid fever, rheumatism, and other maladies contracted on the swamps of the Peninsula.—*New York Times*.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCIFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
inquiries of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

**REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.**
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rinford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 50, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson,
8, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TRIDEGAR IRON WORKS.
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rilled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by B. G. BERSLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Eyre's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commis-sions for books and
books of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES:
Their origin and the remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HODGKINS, New Bond-street.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most profitable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
activity, but will converge its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bid their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
picture of the Southern business, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mightily lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND CONGRATULATORY DE BENEFACTION.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.

THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Beneficence, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.
A series of Lectures will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and Ladies'
Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirees, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.
For every £5 subscribed to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard
and Co., 1, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.

A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.

G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO AND BRITISH
COLUMBIA, via Panama—Steamers from
Southampton on the 2nd and 17th of each month.
THROUGH BILLS OF LADING for goods, &c., are
issued by the ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY, in connexion with Messrs. Wells, Fargo,
and Co., of San Francisco. Goods should be sent
to Southampton, addressed to the care of a shipping
agent there. Jewellery received in London.
For further particulars apply to Captain Vincent,
Superintendent; or to R. T. REEP, Sec.
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, E.C.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent mu-sic-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Langier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

WEST INDIES, Mexico, Colon, or
Aspinwall, Panama, Central American, and
South Pacific Ports, San Francisco, and British
Columbia.—The ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY'S STEAMERS leave Southampton, with
H.M.'s Mails, on the 2nd and 17th of every month,
conveying passengers and parcels, also specie and
goods, under through bill of lading for any of the
places mentioned above. For particulars apply to
Capt. Vincent, Superintendent, Southampton; or to
R. T. REEP, Sec.
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, London, E.C.

Parcels and specie are received at the Company's
office, in London. Specie, goods, parcels, or bag-
gage sent to Southampton, should be addressed to
a shipping agent there.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the 1st
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Mittenberger.
J. Leary.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
J. Masson.
J. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cassius Oliver.
A. B. Smith.
Nina Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 232,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,333,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 600,623 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1860.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st July 1862.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANNIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS
Geo. Councilly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poutx.
C. Houild.
G. Mittenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voighier.
B. O. Vignard.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$61,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,412,959 55
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
load Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PATENT PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight and duties.
Does not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquafortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of a ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a
dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, *Ten-shillings per annum;*
Stamped, Thirty-shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to IV. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX" it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—May 22, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 5.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 29, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	53
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	56
Liverpool Letter.. .. .	56
Manchester Letter	56
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Prices Current	57
Marriages and Deaths	67
Private Letters and Extracts	67
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Our Paris Correspondent	69
LEADERS—	
What does Union Mean?	72
The Supply of American Cotton	73
The Seizure of the Bermuda	73
The State of Europe	74
Editorials	74
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
Taking the Oath	75
Our First Camp	75
CRUISE OF THE SUMNER—	
The Yankee Captain and his Dollars	76
Living in Clover	76
REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	
A Historical Parallel, No. II.	76
Abel Drake's Wife	78
SOUTHERN PROSPECTS	78
THE CONFEDERATE GUNBOATS AT MISSISSIPPI	78
SOUTHERN PROSPECTS	78
EUROPEAN POLITICAL HERESIES	78
THE AMERICAN QUESTION	79
ADVERTISEMENTS	80

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE surrender of Norfolk, the blowing up of the Virginia, the destruction of the Gosport navy yard, and all public property, are events which will not surprise those who understand the Confederate policy of not sacrificing a single patriot by defending untenable positions, and of destroying that which might fall into the hands of the enemy. On the 10th, General Wool, with 5000 men, landed at Wiloughby Point. When the Federals had marched to within three miles of the city, they were saluted with a few shotted guns and forthwith fell back, made a long *detour*, and arrived at the entrenchments at five p.m. The Mayor and Civic Council of Norfolk proposed terms of surrender, to which General Wool assented. Satisfied with this victory, General Wool and his troops watched the destruction of the Virginia, and the Gosport Navy-yard. On the 11th, after ascertaining that the Confederates were really gone, a powerful Federal fleet steamed to Craney Island; and General Wool's troops gallantly took possession of the city. The operations were directed by President Lincoln, assisted by Mr. Secretary Chase. Mr. Stanton was also present, and had a long consultation with General Wool and General Viele—perhaps as to the disposition of the spiked guns. The Mayor avowed the loyalty of the citizens to the Confederate Government. The Federal soldiers could not restrain cheers for President Davis, and groans for President Lincoln. There are graphic accounts of the disgust showed by the women at the sight of the Yankees.

Speculations are rife as to why the Virginia was destroyed without fighting another battle. The destruction of the famous ironclad was imperative, since she could not be moved out of the reach of the enemy. The explanation of her inactivity is, perhaps, that she had no opportunity of punishing the

enemy, and the Confederates do not bark unless they have a fair chance of biting.

The Confederates, by latest accounts, were still falling back on Richmond, having destroyed the railroad at West Point. The operations are conducted with the greatest order and success. The Northern telegram says:—"The Confederate retreat is reported to be admirably accomplished; they carry their waggons and provisions in the daytime, and their troops by night, covering their retreat by a line of skirmishers stretched across the country, and driving in their stragglers at the point of the bayonet."

The reports as to the position of McClellan's army are rather contradictory. On May 13th, we are told "General McClellan's forces have advanced beyond New Kent Courthouse, within twenty-two miles of Richmond." On the 15th, we are informed that "in the night of the 13th a skirmish occurred with the Confederates, who were in their immediate front," and that "General McClellan's forces were at Cumberland, Pamunky River, twenty-six miles from Richmond." Are we to assume that the report of the 13th, as to McClellan's being within twenty-two miles of Richmond was false, or that, in consequence of the skirmish in the night of the 13th, the Federals had to fall back? By the latest received accounts we learn nothing of McClellan's whereabouts, but that "the Confederate and Federal outposts are only 100 rods distant from each other."

The assertion that the Confederates will make a stand at Bottom's Bridge, is a Yankee "guess;" but of this we may be sure, that McClellan will not be able to alter the plans of the Confederate leaders, or induce them to give battle at an unnecessary disadvantage.

The Confederates can afford to wait, but not so the Federals. They are in an enemy's country, and the summer is at hand. Already, and as early as the 10th May, 800 invalided and wounded soldiers arrived at New York from Yorktown, by one steamer. Indeed, the invalids are coming in daily, and from all quarters.

Governor Sprague reports the Federal loss at Williamsburg at not less than 2000; but the loss is supposed to have been much heavier. The New Jersey Brigade alone had 565 killed and wounded.

The Battle at West Point was a most unmistakable Federal defeat. The Northerners confess to a loss of 500 prisoners, and that the arrival of the gunboats "saved Franklin from suffering severe disaster." The plain English of this is, that Franklin did "suffer severe disaster," was defeated, and but for the arrival of the gunboats, the whole of his troops would have been cut to pieces, or made prisoners.

There has been an engagement at Falmington, five miles north-west of Corinth. The Federal brigade, under General Pope, was attacked by a Confederate corps, and after considerable resistance defeated and driven back. We have not received accounts of the losses on either side, but Mr. Stanton condescends to inform Europe that "the loss of the Federals was considerable." When the truth oozes out, we shall find that Pope's brigade was roughly handled and completely routed.

According to General Halleck's estimate, General

Beauregard has under his command from 120,000 to 170,000 men. We quite understand the nervousness of the Federal Secretary of War in reference to the anticipated battle of Corinth, and give him credit for prudence and foresight, in ordering "that newspaper correspondents shall not be permitted to telegraph any account of the approaching battle at Corinth after it has taken place until the report is first revised by the military censor at Cairo."

On the 14th, General Halleck announced that he "would on that day move his camp four miles to the front. The Federal forces are at an average distance of two and-a-half to three miles from the Confederate entrenchments at Corinth." We presume, if the Federals are within three miles of the Confederate entrenchments, they cannot advance four miles without taking the said entrenchments. It would seem that the Federals think the only use of writing despatches is to produce a jumble and conceal truth.

General Pope's defeated troops have been joined to the division under General Mitchell.

The Federals complain, and we doubt not, with sufficient cause, of the badness of their ground. They cannot advance without meeting corduroy roads and bridges. The ground being in such a state not only impedes the progress of the forces, but is sure to engender a great deal of sickness.

The *Charleston Mercury* of May 5th, says:—

There is a feeling of perfect certainty of defeating Buell and Halleck in a signal manner. Corinth is far enough from the gunboats to give opportunity for capturing or destroying them. Hence, it has been selected as the battle-field. General and troops are alike confident.

There was a naval engagement on the 10th, above Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi. The first report was from Captain Davis, and stated, "that eight Confederate iron-clad gunboats attacked the Federal flotilla under Commander Foote. The action lasted one hour. Six Federal vessels were engaged. Two Confederate gunboats were blown up, and one sunk. The Confederates then retreated under the guns of Foote. One Federal vessel was injured." Two days later, we are informed that "Captain Pennock officially reports that, in a naval engagement near Fort Pillow, one Federal gunboat was sunk, and one disabled." It is not impossible, that as Captain Davis ignored the Federal losses, he exaggerated the Confederate losses; and there is every reason to suppose that the Confederates gained the day.

General Butler, despite the "Union sentiment," and the enthusiastic "Union meetings," finds it necessary to rule New Orleans with military despotism. The Mayor and Aldermen have been sent to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. General Butler has proclaimed that:—

The violation of property or persons protected by the Federal army will be punishable with death.

All persons must treat the Federal flag with the utmost deference and respect, under penalty of severe punishment.

The keepers of all public property, whether State, national, or Confederate, must make a return to General Butler's headquarters.

All shops and places of amusement are to be kept open in the accustomed manner, and service is to be held in the churches as in times of profound peace.

The circulation of Confederate notes among the poorer classes will be permitted so long as inconsiderate persons will receive them.

Federal officers will be appointed to examine all editorial newspaper comments and correspondence before its publication will be allowed.

All assemblages in the streets, by day or by night, are forbidden.

The Federal General could not get any of the newspaper offices to print his proclamation, and was obliged to employ Northern printers, and to protect them while at work with a Federal guard. We are not likely to hear much more about "Union sentiment" in the South. Indeed, the North is throwing off the mask. The *New York Herald* observes:—

But, supposing that neither in New Orleans, nor in any of the other Southern cities that may fall into our hands, is a spark of Union feeling to be found, are we for that to forego our duties in the vindication of the authority of the Federal Government, and in the punishment of the traitors? By no means. The Union feeling that is wanting we can soon manufacture by promoting a military emigration from the North.

There is great distress in New Orleans on account of the short supply of provisions.

It appears that Commander Clouet, of the French steamer Milan, protested against the threatened bombardment of New Orleans. After observing that he had 30,000 French inhabitants to protect, and that only forty-eight hours had been allowed for evacuation, he continues:—

"This short delay is ridiculous. If you are resolved to bombard the city, you will have to account for this barbarous act to the French Government. In any event, I demand sixty days for the evacuation."

The *Times* calls attention to the fact that there was not an English vessel to protect English subjects from the contemplated Federal outrage.

President Lincoln has issued a proclamation, relaxing the blockade of New Orleans, Beaufort, and Port Royal, from 1st June, upon the following conditions:—

Vessels clearing from foreign ports destined for New Orleans, Beaufort, or Port Royal, must obtain licences from American Consuls abroad, which will be granted upon satisfactory evidence that such vessels will convey no person, property, or information contraband of war either to or from the above ports.

These licences must be exhibited on arrival to the collectors at the above ports.

When cleared outwards from the above ports such vessels must have the collector's clearance, showing that the above conditions have not been violated.

The violation of these conditions will involve the forfeiture and condemnation of vessel and cargo, and exclusion from the privilege of entering the United States during the war.

In all other respects the existing blockade remains in full force and effect, and is only relaxed in regard to the above ports.

In the first place, there is not the remotest chance of any trade with the ports named; and secondly, the Federal character for straining laws and facts in its own favour is too well known for merchants to risk their ships and cargoes on the above conditions.

Confiscation is the order of the day.

The Federal General Hunter, commanding the Military Department of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, has issued a proclamation declaring martial law in those States; and, as martial law and slavery are incompatible, all slaves in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina are declared for ever free. Moreover, the House of Representatives has passed a Bill abolishing slavery in the territories of the United States by a vote of 85 to 50. Well may the South congratulate itself that it was not cajoled to trust to the honour of the Lincoln Government. We would, however, suggest, that it is wiser and more dignified to kill the lion before dividing his skin; and further, that the resolution of the South never to submit to the North does not require strengthening by any such exhibitions of Yankee lawlessness.

Even in the North respectable people are disgusted with these shameful proceedings. A large meeting of the Conservative members of Congress has been held at Washington, denouncing Abolitionists and Secessionists. A resolution was passed denouncing the confiscation measures. Unfortunately, the influence of the respectable classes in the North is "nil."

It is rumoured that General Hunter issued the proclamation without President Lincoln's authority.

Money is being voted with a profusion that must be highly gratifying to Northern contractors.

The House of Representatives has passed the Army Bill, appropriating 421,000,000 dollars for the year ending June, 1863. In addition to this 208,000,000 dollars have been voted during the present session for current army expenses and deficiencies for the present year. That is a total of £135,000,000 sterling. The Government paper-mills must not be

idle. But though notes are printed and issued by thousands from day to day, the supply does not keep pace with the demand, for we hear of soldiers' wives rioting in New York because their husbands had not received pay for three or six months.

The Federals will not find much quiet in Kentucky. We learn by telegraph that "A Secession plot to hand over the town to the Confederates has been discovered at Paducah, Kentucky. The conspirators have been arrested." If it needs an army of 700,000 men to take a few Confederate towns, how many soldiers will it require to keep seven millions of rebels in order?

The Federal squadron had arrived off Fort Morgan, to attack Mobile. It is also reported that Federal gunboats have been reconnoitering before Savannah.

Mr. Edward Stanley, of San Francisco, has been appointed military governor of North Carolina. It must be remembered that North Carolina is the boasted stronghold of "Union sentiment," and yet a military governor is needed.

In the Federal Congress, Senator Trumbull has offered a resolution, that the President should, if it were consistent with public interests, communicate to the Senate any information he may have of any design on the part of any foreign Power to intervene in the contest now existing, and should also state whether any foreign nation had made any arrangements with the insurgents, or had contemplated to do so? If the resolution should be passed, it will be necessary to attach confessions to the United States' legations; and further, to induce foreign Governments to agree to confess their secret thoughts. If decorations were allowed in the United States, we would suggest that Senator Trumbull should forthwith be invested with "cap and bells."

The Mexican policy of France meets with general approval. Whether it accords with the Convention or not, it is called for by the urgency of the case. English interests in Mexico are larger than those of France, and yet they are left to the mercy of Juarez, or the intervention of our ally.

A very important note from M. Thouvenel has been communicated to Cardinal Antonelli, stating that France does not intend to effect any change in the present state of the Roman question, and recommending the Pope to place more confidence in the Emperor's Government.

The Hesse affair is settled, as far as the Diet is concerned. The Ministers of the Elector have sent in their resignation by the advice of the Austrian and Bavarian Ministers, who declared this course to be absolutely necessary to prevent the further intervention of Prussia.

A resolution in favour of introducing a Bill for voting by ballot was carried in the House of Commons on Tuesday by a majority of 83 to 50. The victory was gained by a trick. The House always empties when the ballot discussion comes on, and fills in time to vote against it. Mr. Berkeley saw his opportunity, said ditto to his former speeches, and, by pressing on the division, obtained a majority.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, May 28th, 1862.

Our last report closed upon a strong market under the North American's news at 3d. advance on the forced sales of the previous day, and with Middling Orleans worth 123.

On Thursday and Friday, the tone was quieter, holders began to offer their stocks more freely; buyers held back, and the full advance of Wednesday was scarcely maintained. On Saturday, the dullness became more marked; a telegram was published in the *Times*, purporting to come from good authority, to the effect that the Southern army was defeated and surrounded in Virginia. The news was generally discredited, but it influenced a few timid holders, who pressed sales at 3d., and in some cases 3d. decline. The business was restricted to 2000 bales, chiefly Surats. Middling Fair Dhollerahs were sold at 74d., and Middling Orleans at 124d., or even less.

On Monday, however, the tone of the market was entirely altered under the America's advices, which were keenly discussed on 'Change. The telegram of Saturday proved to be wholly groundless, but much fresh and interesting information was received. The evacuation of Norfolk and the destruction of the Merrimac were not looked upon as important, either in a commercial or political point of view. It was generally felt that these were necessary consequences of the naval superiority of the North, and of the prudent policy recently adopted by the Confederates of withdrawing from the seaboard, and the vicinity of navigable rivers, so as to meet the enemy on equal terms. The skilful and orderly retreat of the Southern army from Yorktown also excited attention, and

further information was obtained about the combats at Williamsburg and West Point, from which it appeared that the Confederates had inflicted severe blows on the advancing columns of McClellan. The tendency of this news was to dispel any illusions that had formerly prevailed, regarding the weakness and disorganized state of the Southern forces, and to impress the commercial community with their ability to offer a protracted and effectual resistance. Much importance was also attached to the news from New Orleans; the stubborn resistance of the inhabitants to the Federal authority, as shown by the refusal of the local press to publish General Butler's proclamation and of the city officers to take the oath of allegiance, afforded additional proofs of the inveterate disaffection of the Southern people. It was argued that with martial law ruling in the city, and the inhabitants in a state of passive revolt, it was utterly improbable that trade could be resumed, or cotton come down from the interior.

Public attention was also recalled to the question of destroying cotton and other produce by the publication of a letter from J. P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State. In it he replied to questions addressed to him, that it was the settled determination of the Government to destroy all cotton, sugar, or tobacco that was likely to fall into Federal hands, wherever the ownership might reside, and that a foreign flag would afford no protection. Further advices were also received of the extensive destruction of cotton at Memphis, and other points along the Mississippi. To this intelligence was added the news of a repulse of General Pope's column, near Corinth, with an uneasy feeling at New York regarding the result of the great battle impending in that quarter between Beauregard and Halleck.

The general result of all these advices was to give a strong bias to public feeling in favour of cotton, and holders generally advanced their quotations 3d. per lb.; but the demand scarcely answered their expectations, spinners still held back, and the sales only reached 5000 bales, establishing a full ½ advance on Surats, and scarcely so much on American cotton. On Tuesday, with sales of 4000 bales, the market was firm, and in Manchester the tone was rather better, but to-day the demand has become more active under the Etna's advices. By her little of consequence is announced, but in the present state of our market, the absence of news is in favour of holders, and the sales reach 8000 bales, at extreme prices for both, American and Surats closing on the basis of 12d. for Middling Uplands, 12½d. for Mobies, and 12½d. for Orleans. Fair Dhollerahs are worth 83d. and middling fair, 73d. to 74d.

In looking at the cotton question, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the prospects of future supply are becoming more and more gloomy; the struggle in America is daily becoming deadlier, and is drawing into its vortex all the fiercest passions of human nature. The evidence is multiplying fast that the Southern people will flinch from no extremity to dissolve the hated tie, and there seems no reasonable doubt that the great bulk of their cotton will be destroyed wherever the invaders approach. On the other hand, it is equally evident that a wild desire for conquest and revenge is fast hurrying away the Northern people from the conservative principles on which they commenced the war. There are ominous tokens that, as a last resort, they are preparing to try the fatal expedient of rousing the slaves and kindling the flames of a servile war. It is alleged that arrangements are being made for arming and equipping negro regiments to aid in the Federal occupation of the Southern ports, and to-day the astounding report seems to be confirmed that General Hunter has actually proclaimed the abolition of slavery in the Atlantic States. It is believed that his action (if truly stated) will be disavowed by the President; still it shows plainly the drift of Northern feelings, and the extreme danger that before long it will overleap all conservative barriers.

It need not be added to those acquainted with American affairs that if a servile insurrection is introduced into the arena of strife the consequences would be appalling; the whole framework of Southern society would be dislocated, and atrocities enacted at which humanity would shudder.

We must not, however, be understood to predict so disastrous an issue; still it would be wrong to conceal that the danger is hourly coming nearer, and it is one that is fraught with terrible consequences to the cotton trade of this country.

There is a rumour on 'Change to-day that Beauregard has gained another great victory, but it has not obtained much credence. News is also to hand from Bombay, reporting an important advance both in cotton and goods.

MANCHESTER, May 27th, 1862.

The day following my last report, the news per North American, reporting extensive burning of cotton in all parts of the Southern States, where Federal occupation had taken place, revived the drooping tendency of the Liverpool cotton market, and a great portion of the heavy decline in the raw material recovered on that day.

Our market here, however, had only been effected to a small extent by the quietness in Liverpool, and the influence in prices was only to create a little more firmness on the part of holders, who had on the previous day manifested a desire to sell; the aggregate business of the week is generally reported to be small. Shipowners were not able to obtain an advance in yarns equivalent to the rise in cotton, though they were able to improve their position a little by reducing stocks. The prices of yarns, such as are required by Blackburn manufacturers, and also of doubled yarns, were rather better, but the week closed with the same quiet, sluggish aspect as before. The chief business during the week for cloth has been in shirtings for India, but few sales have been made; in other descriptions of cloths sales have been very limited.

Our market to-day, owing to the firmness in Liverpool, has recovered slightly from the depression which prevailed on Saturday, and both spinners and manufacturers are very firm in price. Few transactions, however, have been entered into, as buyers still hold back from operating to any extent, and a quiet aspect consequently prevails. The exports of cloth to our Eastern markets are falling off rapidly, shipments for five months ending the 16th inst. to nine of our principal markets show a decrease of 163,161,822 yards, as compared with last year, and of 156,238,154 yards against 1859, the greatest falling off being to Bombay and Shanghai. The latter shows a deficiency of over 70 per cent., and the aggregate shipments exhibited a decrease of 40 per cent., as compared with 1861.

COTTON.—Cotton is the all-absorbing feature of the day. Everybody talks about it. It is associated with war, peace, and trade. Misery is referred to it; prosperity is hoped for it; and the price affects the operative speculators, merchants, and bankers. After all, the universal interest is their interest, and in the desire of peace is involved the universal interest. All must, therefore, hope for peace, and with it a plentiful supply of cotton, as an ultimate remedy to the present distress now unhappily increasing around us.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRICES CURRENT.

(From the latest received Confederate Papers.)

HEAVY SALE OF STOCKS, BONDS, &c.—The assets of the Freeman's Insurance Company were sold on April 17, at the Exchange, Charleston, by Mr. J. S. Riggs, with the following result:

58,000 dols. City of Charleston 6 per cent. Stock—par 100 dols.; sold at 90 dols. to 92 dols. 50 cents.
32,000 dols. City of Savannah 7 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 98 dols. to 98 dols. 25 cents.
12,000 dols. City of Columbia 6 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 96 dols. 50 cents to 98 cents.
5,000 dols. City of Memphis 6 per cent. Bonds, guaranteed by Railroads—par 100 dols.; sold at 90 dols. to 91 dols. 75 cents.
2,000 dols. City of Memphis 6 per cent. Bonds, not guaranteed—par 100 dols.; sold at 80 dols.
5,000 dols. State of South Carolina 6 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 100 dols. to 100 dols. 25 cents.
23,000 dols. Memphis and Charleston 7 per cent. first mortgage Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 103 dols. to 103 dols. 25 cents.

20,000 dols. Memphis and Ohio Railroad Company 10 per cent. Bonds, payable in Charleston—par 100 dols.; sold at 71 dols. to 72 dols. 50 cents.

8,000 dols. North-Eastern Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds, first mortgage—par 100 dols.; sold at 101 dols. 25 cents to 101 dols. 50 cents.

2,000 dols. North-Eastern Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds, guaranteed by State—par 100 dols.; sold at 102 dols. 25 cents.

2,500 South Carolina Railroad Company 6 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 100 dols. 25 cents.

500 dols. South Carolina Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 102 dols. 25 cents.

5,000 dols. Charleston and Savannah Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold at 46 dols.

2,500 Spartanburg and Union Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds, guaranteed by State—par 100 dols.; sold at 96 dols. 50 cents. to 97 dols.

2,000 Montgomery and West Point Railroad Company 8 per cent. Bonds, payable in Charleston—par 100 dols.; sold at 108 dols.

1,000 dols. Charleston and Liverpool Steamship Stock sold for par.

BANK STOCKS.

600 shares Farmers' and Exchange Bank Stock—par 25 dols.; sold at 23 dols. 37½ cents to 23 dols. 50 cents.

300 shares People's Bank Stock—par 25 dols.; sold for 25 dols. 75 cents.

217 shares Union Bank Stock—par 50 dols.; sold for 50 dols. 75 cents to 51 cents.

115 shares South Carolina Railroad and Bank Stock—par 125 dols.; sold for 112 dols. 75 cents to 113 dols. 50 cents.

118 shares Bank of Charleston Stock—par 100 dols.; sold for 102 dols.

34 half shares Bank of Charleston—par 50 dols.; sold for 52 dols.

92 shares Bank of South Carolina Stock—par 45 dols.; sold for 43 dols.

62 shares State Bank of South Carolina Stock—par 25 dols.; sold for par.

15 shares Bank of Chester (S. C.) Stock—par 25 dols.; sold for 32 dols.

ADDITIONAL SALES.

111 shares South Carolina Railroad and Bank Stock—par 125 dols.; sold for 112 dols. 62½ cents to 112 dols. 87½ cents.

111 half shares South Carolina Railroad Stock—par 50 dols.; sold for 42 dols.

42 shares State Bank Stock—par 25 dols.; sold for 24 dols. 75 cents.

2 Bonds of the City of Memphis, bearing 6 per cent. interest, sold for 80 dols. on the 100 dols.

27 first Mortgage North Eastern Railroad Company 7 per cent. Bonds, sold for par.

6500 dols. City of Savannah 7 per cent. Bonds—par 100 dols.; sold for 94 dols. 87½ cents to 95 dols.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

On the evening of the 10th April, at the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. J. Mood, Mr. W. F. Hatch to Miss Melissa Hatch, all of Charleston.

DIED.

Died, in Charleston, April 12th, 1862, Mrs. E. M. Hanahan, wife of the late John Hanahan, of Edisto Island, aged 55 years, 1 month, and 4 days.

On April 23, of consumption, at the dwelling of his mother, 199, Biddle-street, near Ross, Baltimore, Dr. Charles Walter, aged 28 years, nine months and two days.

On Tuesday morning, April 22nd, at Baltimore, George Watchman, aged 56 years.

On Friday, April 18th, at Fort Delaware, private Edward H. Hanks, of Company K, 23d Regiment Va. Volunteers.

On Saturday, April 19th, at Fort Delaware, private E. L. Horne, of Company F, 37th Regiment Va. Volunteers.

The deceased were both Virginians, and, at the time of their death, were prisoners of war, having been captured in the late battle at Winchester. The exposure incident to army life in the winter, had implanted in the physical constitutions of these young men the seeds of disease, which, in both cases, rapidly assumed symptoms of a typhoid nature, baffling the efforts of medical skill and attention.

On April 21st, at Baltimore, of typhoid fever, Caroline C. Bryer, aged 28 years.

On April 21st, at Baltimore, Mary Feudrich, aged 18 years and 5 months.

On April 21st, at Baltimore, Benjamin F. Stanton, in the 30th year of his age.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

LIVERPOOL, May 28th.

By an arrival from Nassau we have dates from Charleston to 27th ult., and we send you herewith some late newspapers.

We hand you for publication an extract from a letter written to us by W. H. Young, Esq., President of the Bank of Columbus, Ga., a gentleman of high standing and position, and in correspondence with a large portion of the cotton region. Without giving other extracts, we may say that the whole of our private letters breathe but one spirit of determined and uncompromising resistance. At Charleston an attack was expected and prepared for.

I would remark that our planting time is at hand, but the necessities of our Confederacy, and prudence for our wants, have determined our planters to put the land in corn for support of ourselves and our army. A very large majority of planters will not plant any cotton; a few will plant a few acres for fresh seed. My opinion (based on daily intercourse with planters, and letters from various sections) is, that not one-eighth of a planting will be made this year; and as the torch is ready to burn any that may probably fall in the hands of our detested enemies, you may safely say, our present stocks will not be materially added to by this planting. Our country is aroused and determined to be free.

The following is from a merchant of New York, dated:—

NEW YORK, May 16th.

Things look dark for the South, but the end is not yet. They will not, they cannot, be subdued, and as for another reunion, it is impossible; the Federalists were awfully defeated at Shiloh, though it is differently represented here; but in truth, the Government despatches and the newspapers are nothing but lies; there is no truth in official statements or newspaper reports. No one dares to tell the truth, nor express any adverse opinions; as odious a tyranny exists here as ever did in Naples. Loyalty has become servility, and my opinion is, the result of the contest will be utter confusion at the North, and, perhaps, destruction of the South. The report to-day is, that Richmond is occupied by the Federalists; this may be, for the Confederates will scarcely risk a battle. They will do all they can to save their army, will continue to retreat into the interior, and will ultimately, I believe, be successful. They acted wisely to leave Yorktown. Business is dead here, except with those connected with the Government: all thus favoured are getting rich, more by fraud than work.

The six extracts which follow are from the private and business correspondence of a prominent City firm, by whom they are courteously placed at our disposal. We invite special attention to those written from Tennessee and Kentucky, under the eyes, as it were, of the Federal soldiery that holds a temporary possession of those States.

NEW YORK, May 13th.

We believe that the destruction of cotton, tobacco, and sugar, at New Orleans, was enormous. We wish we could write to you more satisfactorily about business than we do. To us, everything looks black. There are wisacres who do give opinions as to the future, and, in most instances, it takes about a week to upset their theories; so we venture none.

BALTIMORE, May 5th.

We hear this morning that Yorktown has been evacuated by the Confederates. We might give you the reason, but you will hear in due time. We think Washington is now in more danger than Richmond. The South will not be in fighting condition till she has lost her entire seaboard.

CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE, April 29th.

Production in the Border States will be much less than usual. Virginia is now in a most deplorable and critical state. All her energies are devoted to her defence. She may be overrun, but carnage and destruction will mark her fall. The scenes of war are being removed farther and farther South of us. Much blood has already flowed, many thousand lives sacrificed, and tens of thousands maimed and disabled in battles near the Mississippi and Alabama lines lately, and I fear this is only the initiative of the horrible carnage that this cruel and most unnecessary war is causing. Ruin and destruction to every section is inevitable. Peace and reconstruction impossible; and when generations have passed away, the same embittered and relentless feeling will exist. Pecuniary and material losses, beggaring enumeration as they will, can only be as an atom in creation compared with the moral effects, when the foundations of society are broken up, and all social relations rent asunder, and the children taught, as they are and will be, to curse the authors of the terrible calamities of their ancestors.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, April 14th.

In my last I told you I received in January the dividends in your Virginia State Stock, and have deposited the amount in bank. You must endeavour to tell me what to do with this money, for if I don't hear from you when July comes round, I may think it best not to collect the interest, because the owners might think the State safer to be trusted than a bank.

The preparations to defend this city and vicinity are quite equal to anything that has existed during the war; the enemy seems to threaten us from the mouths of the rivers, rather than

from towards Washington, therefore Manassas has been evacuated, and the troops brought nearer. There are some 100,000 of as good soldiers as are to be found in America, and they will fight desperately before they will allow the city to be occupied. The tobacco warehouses are filled, and the destruction will be very great, rather than allow the people of the United States to get such a quantity of what they want so much. The tobacco would be very valuable to them, though not so necessary as cotton. Exchange has gone up regularly. Sterling realized 75 per cent. premium a few days ago.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, April 14th.

The last year's crop of tobacco is said to be very inferior, and but little over half a crop. None brought to market, nor will it be until the blockade is raised, or we have peace. All tobacco and cotton will be burnt if any apprehension is entertained that they may fall into the hands of the enemy. Richmond is the object of the enemy, and we will not consent for them to have it.

HENDERSON, KENTUCKY, April 16th.

The continuance of the war, the end of which no man can foresee; its presence in the immediate sections east and west in which tobacco is chiefly grown; the great amount of labour which is necessarily drawn off from its culture—the white men to do the fighting (and they do it in earnest, too), and the negroes to take care of their teams, build fortifications, &c., &c.; the determination of the people of the South being, as I know it is, to sacrifice their time, their labour, and their *all* in defence of their homes and their firesides, added to the fact that many are so much depressed by the weight of cares which these great and unparalleled troubles have thrown around them, they are indifferent to everything,—all these causes, it would seem to me, must affect trade of every kind, and, perhaps, none more than that of the two great staples of the South—cotton and tobacco. As to the burning of any portion of those crops, or, indeed, all within reach of which the Northern army may approach, or which may be in danger of being confiscated, I have very little doubt but that in such a case it would be done, for I believe I speak the feeling of ninety-nine of every hundred of the Southern people, when I say they would prefer to apply the torch with their own hands, and burn or destroy in any way every dollar's worth of property they own, rather than that any portion of it should go, directly or indirectly, towards adding to the means which the North has of waging this *unholy war* against them; but we are in no such danger. You are right in supposing that the conquest of the South proper is as far off as ever; and I here tell you that it never will be done. Our old friend —, of New York, though, I daresay has advised you that its end is near. The people of the North are being deceived themselves, and wishing to deceive others, they do not know what they are about. The taking of Fort Donelson, which they think was a great victory, was a very small affair; the surrender since of Nashville, which followed of course, amounted to nothing in comparison with what it cost them, and had only induced them to follow on, and give the Confederates a fair fight in open field, and if the reports which are reaching us now from every quarter, are but half true, the bloodiest fight upon record has recently taken place near Corinth, a small town in the extreme north-eastern part of Mississippi, in which the South has, indeed, achieved a victory, thrashed them soundly, killing and disabling many thousands; but of this I cannot speak with any confidence, except that, judging from the tone of the leading journals of the North in this quarter, they do not claim a victory. No, my dear sir, your people must not believe the one-half of what they hear. Sad, though, as our own people are, I do not despair, though the sound of the cannon reaches my ears so often; our best men have been arrested and thrown into prison for the mere expression of their opinions; our homes have been invaded, our wives and children insulted by their soldiery, our property taken and destroyed or appropriated to their use, and some good men even have died of broken hearts; but, thank God, I do not hang my head. I will not bow my neck, except in submission to His will; before that is bowed to the will of a tyrant, my head will be under ground. As I have already said, I do not despair of the ultimate and complete success of the South, nor will they give up one foot of territory south of the Ohio River, from the point at which the Virginia line first strikes it, to its mouth, except, perhaps, a very small strip of that State running north of the Northern boundary of Maryland. All the States which naturally belong to us must come in. We did not wish to separate; we sought every compromise to avoid it, but none would do, save unconditional surrender to their views, the giving up of all our interests into their unholy hands; and now the South will fight it out until their independence is acknowledged, or the last man of them will perish in their attempt.

No man's heart can fail to admire the spirit of cheerful self-devotion and noble courage which the following letter breathes, written from a devastated home—stead by a young Virginia lady to a near relative in Europe:—

WINCHESTER, May 5th, 1862.

MY DEAR —,

I wish I could give you favourable accounts of dear old Scotia; how often have I regretted that I had not taken the responsibility of applying a torch when I paid my last visit there, that it might have been preserved from desecration. The Yankees have injured your property as much as they could; all the woodwork has been pulled down, and portions sent North as trophies; Seward came

up to see the battle-field, and it is said he took away half of one of the Selma mantles; I do not know whether this is true. The fences are all down, but the trees are still uninjured.

I am in an *embarras des richesses* (if such a term can be applied to such tilings), to know what to tell you, what to leave untold I will make my letter alternate shadow and sunshine, and tell you now of our glorious little battle of Winchester, as an antidote to my sad accounts of Selma; we have all been taught the lesson, that private must be sacrificed to public good, and I am proud to say, how cheerfully we yield to the necessity. I sent a full account of the occupation of Winchester, and of the battle, to the *Inquirer*, but I do not know whether you see our papers. I will give you the numbers, and you can decide which side was victorious. Jackson had not a man over 3000; the Yankees had 12,000. Jackson's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was 415; the Yankees certainly over 2000. The battle was fought near Neal's Dam. Shields had been wounded the evening before the battle, in a skirmish with Ashby's cavalry; but he directed the battle by despatches.

Banks was in town; but he ordered a hasty cup of tea, and went to Harper's Ferry as soon as the fighting commenced. Jackson had been misinformed as to the numbers here, and expected to be able to drive the Yankees away — Burwell, Randolph Barton, and Walter Barton are among the prisoners; they are at Fort Delaware, near Philadelphia. Since the battle, the Yankees have been largely reinforced, and have about 30,000 men. Jackson has been gradually drawing them up the valley, and with not half the number of men, kept them in check till now, when we hear he has been reinforced, and is coming down nearer Winchester. Banks is in command, and it is said he will not fight. There is evidently some panic to-day; officers and couriers are dashing about, and we hear rumours that the commander here is to be sent away. We expect every day to hear of a battle in the valley. Turner Ashby has become a terror to the Yankees, and he has performed prodigies of valour. He has been made General.

You will ask how we have borne our captivity—bravely. We have not yielded an inch, and the Yankees say they have never been treated with such scorn and contempt as by the Winchester women; not one has been secured as a visitor in a single house except at —, whose husband is with McClellan; in consequence of her recognizing them not a lady has called on her. They have made various efforts to get in my house, but not one has crossed the threshold of the door. . . . They came to search the house, and when I told them to bring a superior officer, with his authority for such an act, a dashing young dandy, with all his finery, came to address me "as a gentleman" to give it up. I kept him standing on the porch steps, and talked to him through the window. He argued, but to no purpose, and it would have been difficult to say which of us was in the greatest rage. He at being foiled in his attempt, and treated like a menial, and I at having to tolerate his presence, even for a few moments. Captain — called to bring a message from friends in Western Virginia, but he was not received, and I have managed to keep them at bay up to the present time. I cannot tolerate their presence, and will starve sooner than take them in. Starving is not a figure of speech, it is becoming a stern reality. We have no market, the market-house is converted into a stable; almost every horse in the country has been stolen, and the country people do not come to town with supplies but at intervals. So you see starvation is at hand. Still, we are cheerful and hopeful, and work in the garden, and anticipate living on its products till Jackson comes to liberate us. I expect him on the 1st of June.

The fences have been destroyed for miles round in every direction, and all the way up the valley they have been burnt for firewood. I could write volumes were I to tell you all they have done. The Court-house, hotel, warehouses, and every empty house in town have been taken possession of. Dr. —'s house is headquarters. At first the Yankees tried to conciliate, and made very fair promises, but as only two or three of the gentlemen of the town would meet their advances, they are becoming every day more insolent and overbearing.

I know you will be glad to hear of the high stand your old friend, Dr. — has taken; he scorns the Yankees, and does not hesitate to avow it on all occasions; he refuses to prescribe for them, and was arrested for it, but — interceded, and he was released. Mr. — is also one of our warmest sympathisers; he has been unflinching in his resistance to the encroachments of the enemy; he told Banks that if a Yankee came on his premises he would shoot him. Messrs. — and some few others adopt the temporising policy, and say it is best to be polite and not to irritate them. But I find these wretches have more respect for the fearless Secessionists than for the temporisers.

A large number of Germans have been brought over to this country to fight our boys. Blenker's division has been in this neighbourhood, and our streets resound with a confusion of tongues; one regiment called the Garibaldi's Guard, is composed of Spaniards, Italians, and other foreigners. They have been most barbarous in their depredations. At Mr. —, they took every article of furniture, and even wearing apparel out of the house, and snatched the rings off Mr. —'s fingers. Their servants were faithful, and not one could be induced to leave them. The poor deluded creatures are cheated by promises of entire freedom, exemption from labour, &c. I have just heard from one of Bank's officers; he says that Banks will not fight; his only object is to run off the negroes.

You would feel sorry for us if you knew the thousand rumours

to which we are the prey; we only see the Northern papers and hear the stories that come through their army. Yorktown, according to their accounts, has been captured several times. They are all the time circulating reports of great victories, but I have become a perfect sceptic, believing nothing except the Bible. Yorktown and Corinth are the grand objects of interest now. If we defeat them at these two places, and the yellow fever raises its black flag at New Orleans, we may make our own terms. Why is England so slow? why did she not come boldly forward and take the initiative instead of waiting for France? Mercier has been to Richmond and got the ultimatum of our Government, about burning the cotton on hand and raising only a very limited supply for the future. We are to hear by the 15th. The English papers are rather more favourable than they have been — *le bon temps viendra*.

Our task-masters are grinding us down, but we are not a bit subjugated. When they led the prisoners past our door for the cars, *en route* to Fort Delaware, I cheered them and hurraed for Jefferson Davis, in the hearing of the officers guarding them. The Provost Marshal is very much enraged at the constant communication we keep up with the army, but he cannot detect our emissaries. He has some of the detective police here to find out our underground, but this threat of being arrested only adds to the pleasure of writing. We are dreadfully demoralized, and I fear we will never be refined, gentle, retiring women again. We have had too many dangers, to place ourselves in such unexpected positions, that I fear we are sadly deteriorated. Mild epithets are too feeble to express the feelings which are perpetually nursed, and we unconsciously adopt the Billingsgate style. For two weeks after the battle we went daily to the Yankee hospitals to nurse our own wounded men, and had to share our delicacies with the poor miserable Yankees, and to be civil to their surgeons and officials, to ensure their being kind to our men. The horrible sights, and sounds of that period will haunt me through life.

I have written you a gossiping letter, and still find that much remains unsaid. Grannie covered herself with honour and glory last winter, while she clothed the Confederates in homespun. I am sure this mantle will be far more durable than theirs, for it is composed of the heartfelt gratitude of a hundred of our soldiers. Miss Grannie was their guardian angel, and she well deserved the praises they bestowed; for she was indefatigable, in originating and helping into active operation several societies formed for their benefit. I worked under her, as a humble assistant, though my home duties and attendance at the hospitals engrossed a large share of my time.

You will be glad to hear that Winchester has come out bravely. There is far less Union feeling here now than before the Yankees came; and the two or three who venture to sympathize with our enemies are treated with the utmost scorn, even by those who, a few months since, were of the same opinion. It is delightful to see how the Yankees are working their new men; they have abandoned the false pretence of fighting for the "Glorious Union" the "Stars and Stripes," under which Washington did (not) fight, and have shown the cloven foot; "emancipation," is now their war cry, and they are arming the slaves in the South to keep down the rebellion during the summer, when they are afraid of disease. The consequence is, the breach is widening between the two parties, and the representatives, still in Congress, from the Border States, are threatening to withdraw. Everything is working for us. Georgia and South Carolina are pouring their troops into Virginia. They say Savannah and Charleston may be taken, but that Richmond *must be defended* Virginia *must be free*. I never felt so hopeful as at this very moment. I was out this evening and found they are excited and eager, all feeling the great struggle was at hand. Those who were discouraged yesterday at the rumour of the evacuation of Yorktown, knew to-day that if true, it was a great strategic movement to get out of the way of the gunboats, and to draw McClellan beyond the fortifications on which such an amount of money and labour has been bestowed. Davis, Johnson, and Lee, were on the spot, and decided it was best and I do not doubt it. I believe Yorktown, or its vicinity, will be the scene of another triumph, far surpassing that which made the spot memorable in our first revolution. I never regretted, till now, that I am a woman; but it is hard to sit quiet and do nothing for my country when my nerves thrill with excitement at the remembrance of our gallant little armies—small, compared with the hordes of hirelings brought to oppose them.

I am charged with innumerable messages from every member of my family. They all unite in words of love and tenderness to dear —. — says, I must tell you she is the best kind of a rebel, and that she is not a whit subjugated. The Yankees are very much insulted because we never call them by any other name, while we are proud of being called rebels and Secessionists. They consider the term Yankee one of reproach, and the veriest down-Easter resents the epithet. The officers also complain about the dress of the ladies, who have laid aside all but their oldest and shabbiest dresses, and go out in old fashioned sun-bonnets, such as children wear to protect their complexion: the double veils also aggravate them. The Reverend Mr. Meredith, our former pastor, is captain of —'s company; — has married a rich wife, and retired from the army, being disabled for life by the wound he received at Manassas.

We have glorious news this evening of Jackson; he has received reinforcements which makes his army number 40,000. We shall soon be free. Good bye, God bless you dear —.

The intelligence contained in the subjoined letter, if correct, is of peculiar significance. Who is to be threatened by the wholesale conversion of an immense merchant marine into fleets of privateers? The Confederates, who have not a ship on the ocean, or England, whose sails whiten every sea, and whom it is the darling hope of every thorough-bred Federalist to humble when the great rebellion shall be crushed and quenched out?

BALTIMORE, April 22nd, 1862.

DEAR MR. —.

I wrote a very long letter to my old and valued friend, Colonel —, and sent it by private hand from Washington early last December, giving much information it imported him to know, and *truths* he could not get from other sources in this age and region of lies. I asked him to point out how I could write frequently and safely; wishing to make myself useful by photographing from day to day the marvellous events that are hourly transpiring in our *free* and *happy* country; but no answer has been received yet by me. I wrote another very long letter to the Colonel after I got here, which I have tried in vain to get sent to Europe. Mrs. — attempted to send it and failed also. It is still in her hands. Another lady here says she will make an effort to send a line to you from me, if I will write briefly, and not put too much *treason* in it. It is impossible for me to write in any other dialect, if I write at all.

You will see how abolition, which has been for thirty years undermining our poor country, is now rapidly destroying itself and all who sustained or connived at it. It has already justified and vindicated the South, and a terrible retribution is nigh. The "Young Napoleon" is in a trap. Before this reaches you (if it ever does), you will hear he and the grand army are cut to pieces, or have passed "under the Caudine forks" of Old Virginia. Another such victory as that of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, and the Mississippi will be clear, and Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee free; and the time will come when poor Maryland also will be liberated from the galling despotism which now tramples her down. It is mockery to talk of Union feeling at the South. What little existed at the beginning of the war has long since utterly disappeared. Certain reverses have been a blessing to the South, which is now at last *in earnest*. There will be no mistakes in future!

I have much to tell you, if I only had a safe channel through which to send it. As it is, I can only say, "Be of good cheer. Let not your heart be troubled."

This is Sunday, the day when, generally, rumours fly about like bats in twilight. I give you a specimen:—"That the Yankees are about to abandon, as hopeless, the attack on Yorktown, to make one elsewhere, and that the Confederates are evacuating their works to counteract the movement menacing Fredericksburg." Again,—"*That* an important movement has been made by the Yankee gunboats on York River." Again,—"*That* the Southern Confederacy is to be acknowledged at once, and that Baltimore will be to-morrow placed under strictest martial law, to stifle any attempt to break the Northern claims and unite with successful rebellion, &c., &c." A circular has just emanated from a Congress Committee to all newspapers, requesting earnestly a publication and commendating notices. It proposes to convert all sea-going merchant vessels into a war marine, with commissioned officers on board, and guns, to be paid for by Congress, thus creating a gigantic privateer navy for Government. The circular bears date of M. Mercier's late visit to Richmond, which has been discussed; threaded in and out of the public journals. It forms a sort of political puzzle for grown-up children.

A few years since, eighty millions of dollars of national debt was looked on as a national calamity. If "honest old Abe" runs his four years, we shall have, at least, four thousand millions of indebtedness. This is a trifle, now money can be coined from rags. Chase has found Aladdin's Lamp, and discovered Monte Christo's Cave. Salmon P. beats Llewellyn of Mississippi Bubble memory, all hollow. *Assignats* and Continental cash revive. Shin bangles are ballion. Great is Allah, and Ahs Lincoln is his prophet!

The proceedings of the Yankee Congress, I take it, must be looked on by Englishmen of sense in very much the same light as their progenitors regarded the doings and sayings of the National Convention of France, in the worst paroxysms of their Revolution. What would De Tocqueville say of Yankee democracy now? What would Burke's "Reflections" be on our "Revolution?" The Puritans will soon *abolish* the Almighty. They combine the malignities of Thucydide's pestilence of Athens, and Boccaccio's and De Foe's plagues of Florence and London—the yellow fever and the cholera.

I hope you have seen W. B. Reed's critique on Seward's diplomatic correspondence; it is caustic, but not half as much as it might have been made.

FRANKFORT-ON-MAINE, May 25th, 1862.

MR. EDITOR,—Being in receipt of letters and papers from Texas up to the 19th March, I herewith do myself the pleasure of sending such as I think may be of service to the good cause in this country, and will assure the few Texans scattered over Europe, that the "Lone Star" State is true to her antecedents, and worthy of those men who, at the Alamo, at Goliad, and at San Jacinto, shed their blood in defence of liberty, and the sacred right of self-government. The *Telegraph* is edited by a gentleman from New England, and you may judge, by the copy

which I send, of the amount of "Union sentiment" entertained by the Southern citizens of Northern birth in Texas. The Captain McGregor alluded to as the inventor of a new bayonet, is a native of Scotland, but has lived in Texas many years, and was the first to hoist a "Secession Flag"—which flag was nothing else than the old Texas flag—in Houston.

You will see that Southerners, at least, do not look upon the Battle of Pea Ridge as unimportant, or of doubtful result, as the first report in the *Herald* had it.

The enclosed letter has been too long on the way to contain news; but it contains what is better, evidences of the feeling which animates our people, not in Texas alone, but in every State of the Confederacy.

Perhaps my father's letter may be better appreciated when I tell you that he is an old man, not given to "new-fangled notions" of any kind, and a man peculiarly unbiased by the opinions of other people. Heart and soul a democrat, as we in the Confederacy understand democracy, a devoted partizan of liberty, when consistent with, and accompanied by, order and law; the man who, when all was chaos and speculation in Mississippi, in 1837 or 1839 introduced into the House of Representatives of that State, the law making a woman's property her own, and not liable to seizure for her husband's debts,—the enthusiasm of such a man for our cause, his hopefulness of its result, and determination never to yield till our cause is won, must have its weight.

I received, Saturday last, the fourth number of THE INDEX. Wishing you every success in your new enterprise, and thanking you for the words of good cheer, which are, indeed, balm to a lonely woman whose very heart bleeds for her country in her dark-bour,

I remain, Z.

HOUSTON, TEXAS, March 17, 1862.

MY DEAR CHILDREN,—I wrote to you a few days since, giving you some account of our reverses, and we all wrote about home, and I sent you four copies of the *Telegraph*. I hope you got them. Your last received was from the 20th December. I enclose you the *Telegraph Extra*, which gives an account of a glorious naval victory on the Potomac, and a hard-earned victory in Arkansas. We have an account by land of the latter victory. Poor Ben McCulloch is killed, and is universally mourned. Our reports say we killed and wounded from 10,000 to 12,000, and, as they were retreating, a large number of prisoners, &c., were taken. Before that fight we had cut off and taken 250 waggons, teams, provisions, &c. The clouds are breaking, and behind them is the face of a smiling Providence. The Southern Confederacy has become a praying people, and tens of thousands of prayers are daily ascending to the ruler and governor of nations for His favour. And the country is all in a blaze of excitement and enthusiasm. None will be left in Texas but the women, children, and old and infirm men, to defend her soil. We have about 20,000 in the field, and 20,000 more are preparing to go.

Our reverses have had a magic effect in arousing the people, but we are to have a dreadful war. Our enemy are now fighting to make us pay their immense debt of one thousand million of dollars. Their existence as a people depends upon the result. So does ours. We trust in God and the justice of our cause. The defeat at Fort Donnellson was owing to our generals. If Pillow had telegraphed Johnson for reinforcements, we would have got the victory. As it was, we killed between 6000 and 8000; our own loss was heavy, without counting the 6000 with whom Buckner had to surrender when all further defence became hopeless. If we can defend the Mississippi valley, all will be right. Beauregard and Bragg are in that region. The Federals took Nashville without resistance, another *faux pas* of Johnson, I think; but the citizens are with us, and we are raising an army sufficient to retake it. The people have lost confidence in Johnson. But the most glorious of all is our naval victory on the Potomac. I think all will end well, but as Jacob's prayer was heard, and his sins nevertheless punished by the withering of his thigh, so I expect we will be punished for our sins as a people; that our pride and idolatry may be subdued. So S — and D — are gone to Missouri, also Major H — R —, F — and J — are at the Island now. I expect F — will be ordered off in a few days. So the old trunk will be stripped of its branches, for awhile at least. Captain K — is General of the militia. Everything but negro hire is at war prices. Lubbock, as I told you, has declined to send the State bonds abroad. We have not been attacked. Property is still very high. Coffee is 65 cents. per lb., flour 7 dollars and 50 cents per hundred, bacon 20 cents. per lb., salt from 5 to 9 cents. New buildings are going up. Skin plasters in abundance.

T. W. House is our Mayor; George Erving and J. Massie, tax collectors; Matthews, Marshall, N. Taylor, H. Fisher, S. Thomas Loyd, Flock, Anders, and Fleish, our aldermen.

Houston, owing to the number of soldiers camped near, has been a brisk place all winter. I have not seen T, though he has been once or twice. We have had one of the mildest and pleasantest winters I ever saw. Be of good cheer. God will, in his own time, give us peace, and I trust we will all meet again at our old home. If not, let us endeavour to meet where there is no wars, no sin, and no parting. I write in haste, and send by Vera Cruz. We have ceased to look to Foreign Powers for recognition. Very little cotton will be planted, as we have nowhere to sell it, and must depend on ourselves for food and raiment.

May God bless you both affectionately. Your father,
T. B. J. H. —.

Foreign Correspondence.

Paris, May 27, 1862.

The extraordinary warmth with which the Mexican question is now being discussed by the Paris organs of the press goes a great way to confirm the floating rumours of last week. The *Moniteur* has kept silent upon the subject; but while the opposition journals, such as the *Opinion Nationale*, the *Temps*, and the *Journal des Débats* violently attack the course pursued by the French officers and Minister in Mexico, the Imperial organs unanimously approve their policy, as being the only one in accordance with the true spirit of the agreement entered into by the three allied Powers.

The reasons which have prompted England and Spain to stand by the Soledad convention, and to abandon France at the critical moment, are considered here as very unsatisfactory. Evidently the expedition had been combined with the sole view of exacting from the unscrupulous Government of Mexico the performance of its often violated pledges, to redress the wrongs inflicted upon inoffensive citizens of England, Spain, and France, and certainly not for the mere purpose of obtaining other sham promises, as soon to be broken as the last French soldier would have left Mexico.

Be this as it may, the war declaration of Juarez, and the murder perpetrated upon several of the French soldiers, have excited a strong sentiment of indignation, and roused the national pride to its acme. It was reported yesterday, that the Emperor had been informed of the existence of a secret treaty lately entered into by Mexico and the United States, by virtue of which Lincoln is to provide Juarez with 20,000 men, and 50,000,000 francs, upon a pledge to the United States of all the Government lands of Mexico. It was further asserted that this information had decided the Emperor to send at once a reinforcement corps of 30,000 men to Vera Cruz.

The anti-national clamours of the opposition journals above named against this measure will prove vain and powerless, for the simple reason that their peculiar positions, and motives for combating it, are fully known to the public.

Ever since the outbreak of the American war, the *Opinion Nationale* is considered by all the persons connected with the Parisian press as the regular organ of the United States' Government. It is said to draw all its information from the United States' Minister to France. And, indeed, this assertion needs no great demonstration, for anyone who will take the trouble to read it will easily recognize in its columns the same mischievous influence which has transformed the Washington Cabinet into a wholesale fabric of impostures, and its agents, both home and abroad, into imbecile servants of a mendacious despotism.

Now to the subject-matter. The *Temps* is nothing more than a branch of the *Journal des Débats*. It works in the same cause and fights the same battles.

This general outline suffices, I believe, to show how little these newspapers can bear upon the policy of the Imperial Government, especially when they are detected so wantonly sacrificing the safety of their own countrymen and the national honour of France to their own interests and selfish political purposes.

One thing is certain, however, they will nobly continue to clamour against the Mexican expedition, with the hope of paralyzing the action of the Government, and of checking the progress of the military preparations which are reported as being made to reinforce the French army of Mexico. They feel conscious, as everyone else does here, that it is almost an impossibility for France to avoid a collision with the United States on the Mexican ground; they know that one of the first moves of the Emperor will probably be to recognize the Confederate States of America, so as to make them a bulwark against the everlasting grasping ambition of the North for political and geographical aggrandizement. They know that France is never stronger, more powerful, and better able to carry out her purposes, as when disenthralled from the slow and unreliable movements of unsteady allies; they are aware that the recognition of the Southern States by France would, in dealing a mortal blow to the North, crush the aspirations of its royal lieutenants: *Inde Ite*.

The American and Mexican questions are clearly linked together in the mind of the Emperor, for at the same time that some of the semi-official sheets urgently appeal to the Government to protect the property, the life and honour of the French citizens actually residing in Mexico, others, among which figure the *Constitutionnel*, are engaged in a staunch editorial campaign in favour of the Southern States. A few days more will, undoubtedly bring to light the final determination of the Emperor.

For one, I shall be very much astonished if its character does not realize the worst apprehensions of the North.

The ferocious and wilful destruction of property all along the banks of the Mississippi has done more to advance the cause of the South in Europe than twenty victories gained. The glare of the bonfires lighted by undaunted patriotism has thrown a vivid light upon the unanimous resolution of the South to die or maintain the independence bequeathed to them by their fathers.

The whole American question now resolves itself into such narrow limits, that its solution can hardly be delayed much longer.

Can France and England, the two great leading nations of civilization, permit this wholesale destruction of property, which forms an important part of the common wealth of Europe, to proceed without making an effort to check it?

Will France and England continue to remain cool and indifferent spectators of the wholesale murder of millions of their own grandsons, without attempting to arrest the evil at its source?

I honestly think not.

The seizure of the English steamer *Bermuda*, sailing under English colours, in English waters, and the impudent declaration of Captain Stilwage, to the effect that the English port of Nassau was actually blockaded by the Federal navy, produced but little or no excitement in Paris. This new feature of the American war is looked upon as the natural consequence of the *magnanimous* forbearance with which the British Cabinet has so heroically sacrificed, up to this time, the most interesting portion of their own population, both to their aristocratic India cotton schemes, and to the hollow rules of an imaginary neutrality. Nevertheless, French curiosity watches closely the movements of the English Foreign Secretary; but I am sorry to say that, though the French people does the English nation the justice to believe it disposed, willing, and anxious to avenge the already too many insults of Uncle Sam—cost what it may—they hesitate not to assert that Lord John Russell will protest against this new outrage offered to the English flag, and then declare himself satisfied with another of Seward's Trent crank-sided apologies. As for myself, I love England, that bright gem of the ocean so dearly, that I cannot help fostering the fond hope that her national sentiment will, in this instance, overrule the timorous policy of her Government, respond to the urgent appeals of the Emperor Napoleon, and sail together to bridle these modern barbarians, who, regardless of all laws, human and divine, seem determined to set the whole civilized world at defiance.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have seen a letter from the War Department, dated as far back as the 26th of March last, to an officer of the Confederate States' Army, in Europe, stating that the whole plan of the campaign was based upon the hypothesis that all the water-courses and navigable streams would have to be abandoned, and all the coast and ports would have to fall into the hands of the enemy, with the possible exceptions of Savannah and Charleston, and that then only would the troops be concentrated in the interior, and the war brought on its proper and true basis.

It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the American war, far from being near its end, as assumed by the Northern press, is just about commencing.

From another Correspondent.

Paris, May 27, 1862.

The Emperor has opened the week with the nomination of three new senators. The first one elevated to this high dignity is the Commander-in-Chief of the French occupation corps d'armée, of Rome. "The General De Goyon," says the Imperial decree, "deserves this testimonial of our high satisfaction."

The second on the list is the Comte Chasseloup Laubat, the ephemeral Minister of Algeria and now Minister of the Navy. Inasmuch as your readers will be no doubt puzzled to discover the reasons which have induced the Emperor to confer upon him this mark of distinction, I may as well, to avoid them the trouble of a fruitless research, say that he was made a senator because his Excellency was the only one of the Emperor's Ministers who had, so far, been kept out of this honour.

The last one is Mr. Ingres, the celebrated painter. Born at Montauban on the 15th day of September, 1781, he began his pictorial studies at the age of fifteen years; at nineteen the second first prize, and at twenty the first prize, at the General Painting Concourse of Rome. This illustrious artist, now in his eighty-first year, has just produced a masterpiece of painting, representing *Jesus before the Doctors*, which draws the admiration of all artistic Paris. This beautiful painting is exposed at the private gallery of the Boulevard des Italiens.

Last Friday, the presence of the carriage of M. Thiers

in the courtyard of the Tuileries, created quite a sensation among the politicians. Commentaries of all sorts rapidly spread over the good city of Paris, which was about getting into a fit, when it was found that the old Minister of King Louis Philippe, the national and illustrious historian, as he was publicly designated by the Emperor himself, on a certain occasion, had simply gone to the Chateau to return to the Vice-King Said-Pacha the visit which his Egyptian Majesty had honoured the historian with at his Hotel, Rue St. George.

Said-Pacha continues to be a great subject of astonishment for all those who approach him. He is said to be a profound statesman, a learned scholar, and a man of wit. He speaks very fluently the French language, and possesses all its *finesses*. Being asked by M. Thiers whether he had made a pleasant trip, "So-so," replied the Pacha; "we coaled at Naples and at Civita-Vecchia; the consequence was that our progress was much retarded; for these two combustibles, Italian and Roman, could not be made to burn together, notwithstanding all the coaxing of the firemen."

After the Japanese Ambassadors, after the Vice-King of Egypt, and before the Bey of Tunis, whose visit to England and France is now considered certain, here come other travellers, whose presence in Paris will, by no means, be the least curiosity of the season. These strangers are the Cheik Othman and two other Marabouts of the Saharian tribe of Touaregs, which extends, as you know, all over the Desert as far as the Tropics. This tribe commands the road to Sudan, and it protects, or plunders, as the case may be, the caravans going to or returning from the country of the Blacks. These dark personages have arrived at Marseilles; they wear over their faces a black veil, to keep off their eyes the powerful rays of the torrid sun.

The space overrun by the Touaregs forms about one-half the distance which separates the Equator from the Pole. This fact sufficiently explains their suffering from cold at this season of the year, and asking for thick overcoats, such as we use in full winter season. The Touaregs have, however, evident signs of great intelligence. It is said they have been particularly struck with the agglomeration of the European populations, and more especially so with the great care with which every parcel of land is cultivated. The sight of Paris, where they are daily expected, will, no doubt, considerably amaze our new guests, and make upon their minds such an impression as will excite their desire of facilitating the French trade with the dark regions of Equatorial Africa.

En attendant, other commercial treaties are now negotiating with England, Belgium, and the Zollverein. These new treaties, which are destined to give an additional development to French industry, will soon be perfected. This is not all; France seems determined to complete the commercial reform she has undertaken. She is now engaged in the study of her maritime laws. On the 2nd day of June next, the committee upon whom is devolved the duty to inquire into the actual condition of the French merchant marine, is to meet before the superior Commercial Council, under the presidency of his Excellency the Minister of Commerce. The questions of salvage and of flag surcharge are to be minutely examined and discussed, and such modifications as will be considered desirable suggested to the Emperor. M. Rouker's intelligent administration, his unremitting and yet unsuccessful efforts to place the French commercial and shipping interests on a par with those of the most favoured nations, have already finally linked his name to the glorious reign of Napoleon III. Indeed, he is one of its strongest pillars, for better than any of the friends of the Emperor he knows that the power of a nation progresses directly in the same proportion with its commercial extension. M. Rouker's name belongs now to French posterity, for it has become synonymous with commercial liberty. The importance which French commerce would derive from free trade is so well known to him, that he has, from the early stage of the American events, been a warm friend to the South.

The Empress, whose health has never been so good as it is now, has given up the idea of visiting the springs this year. She intends to take her abode at Fontainebleau during the Emperor's stay at Vichy. No general invitations are to be issued by the Empress, who has decided, it is said, to spend her time *en petit comité*. The Prince and Princess of Montenucci are mentioned as being among the very few guests who are to partake of the Imperial hospitality.

Letters from Italy state that the Italian Senate is about being constituted into a High Court of Justice to try the parties concerned at Lombard and Brescia. It is such the case, what is to become of Garibaldi? It will hardly be possible for the Government to make an exception in his favour, for he only persists in assuming the whole responsibility of this political movement.

From all that transpires about the visit of Prince Napoleon to his Royal father-in-law, it seems that, far from having been sent to Italy for the purpose of favouring the hopes of the people, his mission was, on the contrary, to check the too ardent demonstrations of the Italian Government with regard to Rome. The Prince's return to Paris is soon expected, and the early departure of General de Goyon for Rome has been announced to him by the Marechal Randon at a dinner party given in his honour. The Pope will, therefore, remain at the Vatican for some time to come. Thus end all the numberless rumours which the Prince Napoleon's trip had originated.

The last steamer from America has brought apparently unfavourable news for the South; but the items are so numerous, so apparently exaggerated, and so ingeniously contrived to carry the combined idea that the conquest of the South is a *fait accompli*, and the ports actually opened to European commerce, that the general impression prevails here that they were issued by the Washington Cabinet, in the form it comes to us, with the avowed purpose of checking the friendly feelings of France to the South.

P. B.

THE COTTON TRADE.

CIRCULAR OF MESSRS. NEILL BROTHERS.

MANCHESTER, May 23.

GENTLEMEN.—The real gravity of the American civil war has come at last to be generally understood, and we had hoped that we should not find it necessary to enter again into the political aspects of the cotton question.

For the first ten months of the war the prevailing ideas, against which we contended in order to awaken our friends to a true estimate of the critical position of the cotton trade, and the necessity of procuring supplies elsewhere than from America—were, as regards one party, that the Northern people were not in earnest, that they had no military strength, that their system of finance would speedily break down, and that they would then cry out for peace; and, as regards the other party, that the resources of the North were so enormous, when compared with those of the South, that the war could not last more than a very few months. Differing on every other point, the partisans of both sides in the contest agreed in this—that the war would be speedily over. Thirty to sixty days were generally assigned to its termination, and the longest term granted was ninety days. Especially was it demonstrated to be entirely impossible that the North could support an expenditure of two, three, or four million of dollars per day for a longer term, or make paper currency a legal tender, without driving gold to a fabulous premium, and the Government bonds to a proportionate discount; and "practical men," who combated these views, relying upon the vast material resources, ingenuity, and force of will of twenty millions of Anglo-Saxons, were commiserated for their ignorance of the true principles of finance.

But a great deal has been learned during the past three months. It has at last been discovered that the North is really in earnest. That the nation is staking its all upon the issue of this contest, and that "its all" means larger resources than have ever before been actively employed in war by any Power. It has also been found that there was room in the country for the increase of paper circulation authorized, and that the perfect unanimity and confidence of the people defeated those who speculated on a financial crisis, and even carried United States' stocks to a premium. Considerable as was our own faith in the national resources, we confess that, if we may judge by present appearances, we under-estimated them.

At the same time, it must be said for the Southerners, that, considering the enormous force brought against them, they have maintained their ground better than could have been anticipated. Had it been believed at the beginning of this struggle that they would have to contend against a force of 700,000 men, and an expenditure on the part of their enemies of two hundred millions sterling per annum, it could not have been supposed that thirteen months after the commencement of the war they would still be encamped within eighty miles of the Federal capital.

Those who at the beginning of this struggle looked for a long contest, relied not upon a presumed equality of the combatants in men, money, ships, or war material—not upon any presumption that the Southern leaders would be able to make a protracted stand at any point upon which the attacking power of the North might be concentrated, but solely upon the physical difficulties in the way of overrunning, subduing, and governing when subdued, a country of 800,000 square miles, occupied by a determined, bitterly hostile, and scattered population. Large as the Federal army is, it would not give an average of one man per square mile of the country which it is proposed to occupy. This fact is well known to the Confederate leaders; and upon this, doubtless, is their ultimate reliance based. Their half-dozen ports therefore may, and very probably will, be occupied, including Richmond itself; and some 300,000 of their people, chiefly consisting of women, children, and old men, be thus transferred from a condition of active to one of passive resistance to Federal authority, and their ability to keep large armies supplied with munitions of war may be restricted within narrower limits than heretofore.

All this may happen without affording the slightest prospect of the people laying down their arms, and either returning into a partnership they detest, or placing their country in the position of a conquered province.

We fear that the Federal occupation of the ports, though it may lead to a petty trade in the import of articles wanted in those markets, and possibly to the export of some small quantity of cotton held in the towns, or in the immediate neighbourhood thereof, will only the more hermetically seal the mass of the nation from intercourse with the outer world, and the more effectually tend to that disorganization of trade in the interior which has already decided the planters to reduce to a bagatelle their production of cotton. It is not probable that the men who have ordered the burning of the cotton already at New Orleans will allow further supplies to be sent there; that the men who have destroyed their steamers to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies will send down others loaded with cotton, trusting to the tender mercies of the sea enemies. Nor, on the other hand, that the Federals will so have sufficient

faith in the friendly and pacific tendencies of the inhabitants of the interior towns, villages, and river landings, to trust trading steamers sailing under the Stars and Stripes to their hospitable protection when seeking cargoes of cotton. Until the Federal Government not only holds the ports by military force, but converts the people to a contented acquiescence in that arrangement, and in the payment of duties according to the Morrill Tariff, for the benefit of the Northern exchequer, it is not very easy to see how a healthy exchange of commodities can spring up. Should steamers be found to carry their cotton, who will ensure it against war risks on the rivers? What factor will receive the cotton and compromise himself with the Confederate Government by entering into what they stigmatize as a traitorous trade? What articles or commodities will the Federal authorities allow to be sent into the interior to pay for cotton, while clothing and provisions of all kinds would probably be carried immediately to the rebel armies in the field? If the Federal authorities enable the "rebels" to exchange their cotton, which they do not want, for those articles so essential to the support of their armies, they may protract the war indefinitely. On every side the question is beset with unattractive difficulties, and it is to be hoped that those who are engaged in procuring cotton from other countries will not relax their efforts in consequence of recent events in America.

The downward progress of the stocks of American cotton since the highest point of last year is illustrated roughly by the following quarterly table, to which we append the Liverpool quotation for middling New Orleans cotton at the respective dates:—

	Mar. 1861.	June.	Sept.	Dec.	Mar. 1862.	May.
In American Ports . . .	750,000	100,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	20,000
Afloat and at Liverpool	915,000	971,000	487,000	210,000	160,000	103,000
	1,665,000	1,071,000	537,000	270,000	190,000	123,000
Price of Middling 74d.	sd.	9d.	11d.	12½d.	12d.	

There is, moreover, as large a decrease proportionately in the stocks held in the Continental ports and by spinners everywhere. The vacuum caused by the non-receipt of the last crop is thus at last showing itself seriously, in spite of the great reduction in consumption which has occurred here and elsewhere. At Have the present stock is 42,000 bales, against 290,000 last year.

For so far it is to be regretted that the high scale of prices which has prevailed this season has failed to attract an increase of supplies from other quarters. India seems to have been cleared out by the large shipments of last year, and the shipments to Europe from the 1st of January till latest dates show a decrease of 100,000 bales, the figures being 251,000 bales against 351,000 last year. Hence, and from the large proportionate consumption of Surat cotton, the stock at Liverpool of this description, which on the 1st of January last stood at 295,000 bales against 120,000 last year, is now reduced to 170,000 against 133,000 last year, while in the quantity afloat the figures are still more unfavourable, viz., 184,000 bales against 258,000.

From Egypt, Brazil, &c., there is a large percentage of increase in the import for so far this year; but the positive increase is not sufficient to be seriously felt in the trade. The figures are 159,000 bales against 97,000 last year.

In looking to the future, it would be in vain to attempt predictions of the course of prices. In the present state of stocks, any considerable demand, such as the indications from the Indian and other markets would seem to point to, might seriously force up prices. On the other hand, further Federal successes, such as there is every reason to anticipate, or the arrival of even a very few bales of cotton from the South, would, with equal certainty, at least temporarily depress them. Upon a broad view, however, of the enormous difficulties which stand in the way of any satisfactory reopening of the American sources of supply, and the long delays which must occur before the complicated machinery of the trade is again readjusted, even if the terms of peace were already agreed upon, the present price of cotton cannot be considered unreasonably high.

We are very respectfully yours,
NEILL BROTHERS.

[The following article is reprinted from the
New York Herald.]

THE SECRET POLICY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES DEFEATED.

On the 8th of November last, the traitors, Mason and Slidell, were taken from on board the British mail steamer Trent by Captain Wilkes. From that time until the 28th of January, when they were surrendered to Great Britain, the chances of war between this country and England were imminent, and were averted only by the prudence of the President and his Cabinet.

The settlement of the Trent affair did not, however, tranquilize the mind of our public in regard to the danger of foreign intervention. Though we never at any time doubted our power to put down the rebellion, we had met with too many evidences of hostility on the part of both England and France, from the outbreak of the war, not to feel conscious that it would require but a slight pretext to induce them, separately or conjointly, to pick another quarrel with us, so as to afford them a pretext for breaking the blockade. There was but one certain way of avoiding this contingency, and that was to hurry on the operations of the campaign as fast as possible. Under the influence of this conviction, General McClellan's plans were pressed into execution at all points. From the 19th of January, when the Battle of Mill Spring, or Somerset was fought, we won successively by land and water, the following important victories:—Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Columbus, Bowling Green, Runoke, Newbern, Port Royal, Fernandina, Beaufort, Cedar Keys, Apalachicola, Jacksonville, New Madrid, Island No. 10, Pittsburg Landing, Hunt'sville, Bridgeport, New Orleans, Fort Macon, Farmington, Fort St. Philip, and Fort Jackson—all in a period of little more than three months. As the result of this series of extraordinary efforts, unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern warfare, the President is now about to issue a proclamation, opening the principal ports of the South to the commerce of the world.

We can imagine the feelings of chagrin, mortification, and disappointment with which this news will be received by the two Governments, whose clandestine intrigues and schemes to break

up the great American Republic imposed this tremendous strain upon the energies of our people. Whatever may be now asserted to the contrary, there can be no doubt of the truth of the averments that both Governments were eagerly desirous to witness the complete alienation of the Northern and Southern States, and with this view lent all the assistance that was possible, without violating their own code of international law, to the rebels. Even before the proclamations recognizing the belligerent rights of the latter were issued, the leading men in both countries, with but few exceptions, did not hesitate to express openly their belief that it would be to their interest that a final separation should take place between them, seeing the rapid pace at which the United States were outgrowing the European nations in commercial and political importance. It is very well known that the Trent affair was regarded in England and France as a most fortunate occurrence, in the expectation that it would afford the two Governments a pretext for a violent interference with the blockade. Their hopes in this respect were, as we have said, defeated by the caution and moderation of the President and his Cabinet. The settlement of the difficulty, however, had no effect upon English and French policy in our regard; for, as is now known, our Cabinet had secret intelligence from London and Paris to the effect that, if by the 1st of May, we did not show that it was in our power to put down the rebellion, the two Governments intended to make a case for themselves, by which, without infringing their own principles of international law, they would be justified in breaking the blockade. To this determination they were no doubt led by the long inaction of our army after the Battle of Manassas; and the Mexican expedition was undertaken in the same conviction of our being powerless to prevent or avenge it. It was not the intention of General McClellan to open the campaign in Virginia until the beginning of April; but in consequence of the information to which we refer, he hurried up his plans, and began early in March the brilliant series of operations which are now rapidly approaching the consummation of their object—the close of the war; which may be confidently looked for by the 1st of June next. In the meanwhile, the proclamation of the President, opening the principal cotton ports, will at once put an extinguisher upon the policy of the two Governments which are engaged in this, the most nefarious conspiracy that has ever entered into against the constitutional rights and power of a friendly nation. No parallel can, in fact, be found for it in history, with the exception of the coalition of the monarchs and despots of Europe against France under the Convention. [Nor can any other example be recalled of a voluntary uprising of a whole people to defend their Government, such as has been witnessed here, save that furnished by France at the same period, when a million of her sons rushed to arms to resist the invader.

In a few days, as we have already stated, the proclamation of the President, opening the cotton ports, will relieve us from any further apprehensions of foreign interference. No excuse, legal or otherwise, will then be left for it. Though we may open these ports to foreigners, however, we cannot promise them that they will get cotton and tobacco. The rebels may continue to keep them back from them, and there is no law to compel us to aid them in obtaining them. Like us, they must wait until the termination of the war restores trade to its usual channels; and when that comes they will, perhaps, find that the events out of which they hoped to gain so much have only weakened them, whilst they have contributed to render us greater and more powerful than ever. From our troubles have resulted discoveries that have revolutionized the whole system of naval warfare, demonstrated the worthlessness of coast fortifications, and equalized the strength of maritime nations. They will leave us with an army of nearly a million of men—the finest and best equipped soldiers in the world. In this altered condition of things, England may well shrink from risking her North American and West Indian possessions, and Spain, her rich colony of Cuba, by provoking a quarrel with us. Louis Napoleon, from the recent accounts that reach us, seems to be pursuing an ambitious course in Mexico.

ASTOUNDING DEVELOPMENTS—WHOLESALE LARCENY OF GOVERNMENT STORES.

(From the Cincinnati Inquirer.)

The Government authorities of this city, on yesterday, received the developments of a wholesale larceny operation, the parallel of which surpasses in atrocity and villainy any other that has come to light for many months, exhibiting, as they do, that an organized gang of plunderers are at work within the Federal lines, disgracefully appropriating supplies and Government stores sent by willing and benevolent hands to comfort and aid the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals, and the volunteer who, on the battle-field, is exposed to privations and suffering and fighting for his country, the Union, and the Constitution. The particulars of this latest villainy are in substance as follows:—For many weeks detectives and police have been advised that an unusual number of packages of different kinds have passed through this city en route for sundry towns in the North, and, taken in connection with other information, that supplies sent forward had never reached their destination, the utmost vigilance was at once instituted, and the co-operation of officers in various parts of the State was solicited in unravelling the apparent mystery.

Within a day or two the officers have succeeded in unravelling a series of most outrageous frauds. Their suspicions were aroused at Toledo, on Wednesday last, by a large quantity coming through the Express office from Lebanon, Ky., which was believed to be property unlawfully obtained. The person to whom the boxes, trunks, and parcels were directed, and who had previously received large consignments, was permitted to take one of these boxes from the Express office to his store-house in another portion of the city. There the police seized this box and other packages,

and found them to contain clothing, hospital stores, provisions, &c., plainly indicated to have been obtained in the hospitals of the army. At the Express office the remaining boxes and packages were opened, and found to contain blankets, drawers, stockings, &c. Upon pursuing the investigation further, four boxes and two trunks, directed to certain parties in Toledo, were found in the Dayton and Michigan freight depot.

A man named Alfred W. Hinds, who went from Toledo to Lebanon, as a nurse and hospital steward, and soon after returned with a largely accumulated quantity of "extras," has been arrested. Hinds alleges that he purchased his property of Dr. Daniels, Surgeon of the 14th Ohio Regiment, and on this statement and other evidence, a despatch has been forwarded, and Daniels was arrested at Pittsburg yesterday. Hinds is in jail in Toledo, in default of 2000 dollars bail. He will have an examination before the Mayor of Toledo on Monday.

At Lima, about sixty-five miles from Toledo, the officers have secured ten tons of a similar kind of property, upon which there are railroad charges of 500 dollars. The authorities in this city are also in possession of similar packages, but as the arrests, based upon the discoveries here, have not yet transpired, we forbear going into particulars, except to say that the evidence is positive that a grand (stealing) combination has been in successful operation for many months, and it is very evident that the country and the soldiers have been defrauded out of a vast amount, and that a large portion of the contributions of the benevolent societies throughout the country have served no other purpose than to fill the pockets of certain individuals, without ever reaching the soldiers for whom they were intended.

The officers of the Government will take immediate cognizance of the matter, and warrants will be issued for the arrest of any person having any and every connection with the affair.

DEMOCRATIC MERCIES TOWARDS BLACKS.

From the John Bull.

We know at this moment few modes of employing literary abilities in England more deserving of reprobation than the attempt of certain writers to get up sympathy or friendly feelings on the part of the English nation towards that armed Democratic mob who are now carrying war and desolation into the peaceful plantations of the Southern States of America. If words have a meaning, and history be true, the United States was a union of Sovereign States only, and their constitution, in its origin, expressly repudiated the notion of coercing a State. The right of nullification and secession has been asserted frequently both in the North and the South, and has been practically admitted by the Central Government, from the Peace of Ghent, in 1814, which was caused by the Secession Resolution of Massachusetts, down to the Tariff of 1832, which was occasioned by the nullification resolutions of South Carolina. But of all the ignorant and wicked delusions which the English sympathizers with the Northern Democrats desire to palm off upon Englishmen for truths—the greatest is certainly that which pretends that the Northerners now sympathize with the poor blacks and are fighting on the side of liberty.

Let us follow these Northern Democrats home, and examine what laws they have there established, where the will of the Northern mob is absolute and unquestioned. By the laws of most of the Northern States all negroes and coloured persons are forbidden to settle in the State, and may be imprisoned if they do not depart when ordered by the authorities. "All their contracts are declared void;" and "any person giving them employment may be fined and imprisoned." This is the law in the great States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, containing nearly five millions of inhabitants. Even in the sordid and intellectual New England States, in Massachusetts herself, the nurse of the simpering Pharisees, who, reclining in the peaceful security of their homes, declare that they "welcome emancipation by war," the marriage of any white with any coloured person is by law absolutely void, and any person celebrating such a marriage may be fined and imprisoned, and persons so married may not only be fined and imprisoned, but whipped into the bargain, by the laws of these democratic sympathizers with the coloured race. And not only are the contracts of all coloured persons settling in most of the Northern States absolutely void, but in many of the largest and most populous States, such as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, no negro, mulatto, or person whose grandfather or grand father was a negro, can be sworn in any court or be a witness in any cause, no matter in which a white is interested. Let us cite the very words of the statute of 1841 in the great State of Ohio, containing now two millions and a half of people:—"No black or mulatto person shall be sworn or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere in this State in any cause or matter where either party is a white person, or in any prosecution against any white person." Such are the tender mercies of these Democratic tyrants in those States of the North where their power is absolute for good or evil towards their black and coloured fellow-beings.

The truth is, if the North could succeed in this war, they would drive every coloured person back to Africa from Democratic jealousy of black workmen underselling themselves, and the real or probable object of this Northern crusade is the desire to appropriate the fertile lands of the Southern States, and to expel their present owners, and to divide their plantations among the so-called soldiers of Lincoln, Seward, and Company. The laws of nature forbid, we trust, the possible success of such a scheme just as strongly as the laws of God forbid the murderous invasion of our peaceful neighbour's territory. But atrocious as are the laws enacted by these Northern worshippers of equality against the coloured race, the social tyranny of the North is far greater and more atrocious even than their legal tyranny. Of course in most of the Northern States blacks have no political rights whatever, and in the few where the law does not forbid a black to vote, Judge Lynch effectually interposes his veto. But the remarkable fact deserves notice that in the South, where black slavery exists, no such antipathy between the white and black races is to be found. Mr. Olmsted, in his "Cotton Kingdom," written to prove the stationary and unprogressive and powerless condition of the South, rendering it, as Lincoln and Seward thought, an easy prey to their greedy North soldiery,—this very Mr. Olmsted, with severely concealed disgust, himself records the fact. He tells us that within a few miles of Washington, going South by rail, he was greatly astonished to find in the same car with himself a family of first-class white children affectionately playing and sharing their games and sweets with their little black servants, on terms of perfect childish equality and love, mutually fondling and being fondled, without a thought of the curse of black slavery to interfere with the most kindly Christian feelings and sentiments.

In fact, the success of the North means not only death and ruin to the white planter, but a fate a thousand times worse than the existing slavery to all the blacks, who would be forced then to emigrate to Africa, or might probably be sold to Cuba or

Brazil, until it might please this reckless white Democracy to try a new irruption upon the settlements of their neighbours. But in spite of their present success, we believe and trust that the final success of the North is utterly impossible. And we think that every Englishman who loves justice and liberty should call upon the Government of his nation forthwith to interpose her power to prevent and put a stop to the horrors which the progress of the Northern arms is inflicting on humanity itself.

A SOUND ENGLISH VIEW OF THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

We quote the following sensible observations from a leader published in the Standard of yesterday:—

While the war is waged in this fashion, and with these pretensions—of its objects neither we nor those who wage it are competent to speak—it is quite clear that it must be protracted until the North is wearied out, which is not likely to happen soon—or until the South is conquered, which is not likely to happen at all, or until France and England grow tired of starving for the gratification of American malignity, and determine to interfere peremptorily, and put an end to the struggle, by which they suffer nearly as severely as the invaded country. Of the right to intervene there can be no doubt whatever; of the policy of so doing not much doubt, except in the minds of those who value the passions of the Northerners more than the interests of Europe, and had rather see the people of England starved than the rabble of New York and Boston thwarted or humbled. We cannot do without the Southern States. We allowed war to be waged for their restoration to the Union; we would have allowed it to be waged within reasonable limits, for a frontier suitable to Northern interests; we cannot allow a war of destruction and devastation against a country on whose produce depends the subsistence of hundreds of thousands of English families. The war cannot be ended by a decisive blow until next spring, if it could ever be so ended; for the invasion of the planting states in June by a Northern army would be simply impossible. If the war continues for six months longer we shall have little or no cotton from America—that is to say, we shall have starvation in Lancashire—till the end of 1864; for in that case the greater part of the existing stock will be destroyed, and there will be little or no planting in the coming autumn. Our mill-owners will be ruined, our manufacturing districts almost annihilated, our national prosperity seriously and permanently damaged, in order that a Government which has shown itself hostile to us, regardless of law, and unworthy of respect, may have the opportunity of injuring to the utmost of its power, a gallant and kindred people, fighting for everything that brave men hold dear. This is more than England should, or can, endure, and it is time to announce that the limit of her endurance has been reached.

THE BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

The following, in reference to the engagement near Williamsburgh, is taken from the Richmond Inquirer of May 8:—

Among the killed on our side in this engagement, we regret to learn, were Colonel Ward, of Florida, and Major Wm. H. Palmer, of the First Regiment Virginia Volunteers; Captain A. J. Humphreys, Seventeenth Virginia Regiment. Among the wounded were Colonel Carland, of Lynchburg; Colonel Kemper, of the Seventh Virginia (Speaker of the House of Delegates); Colonel Corse, Seventeenth Virginia Regiment.

The following additional are reported to us as among the sad casualties of the late engagements:—

In the cavalry engagement on Sunday, Major W. H. Payne, Fourth Virginia Regiment, it is found, was mortally wounded—shot through the neck.

In Monday's fight, Colonel L. E. Williams, First Virginia Regiment, mortally wounded.

KILLED.—Lieutenant John G. Addison, Alexandria; Lieutenant Winston Carter, Prince William; private Jos. H. McVeigh, Jr., Alexandria; private Eugene Fairfax, private Frank Ballenger, Alexandria.

WOUNDED.—Lieutenant John A. Addison; private Henry Bradley; private Willie McKnight, Alexandria.

The Richmond Examiner says the report of Colonel Ward's death is contradicted.

DEFENCE OF THE WEST BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

From the Richmond Dispatch, April 10th.

The Mobile Register of the 30th ult., has the following important intelligence:—As Curtis has displayed no further stomach for the fray since the battle of Elkhorn, the indefatigable Van Dorn has pushed forward to the Mississippi with all rapidity. His army is in good condition, much reinforced, and is concentrating at Jacksonport and Pochontas. General Jeff. Thompson is operating closely in connection with Van Dorn's army, and it is thought that some Federals in the neighbourhood of New Madrid may be hurt before long. Thus both sides are concentrating all their power for the great and desperate struggle for the mastership of the Mississippi River and Valley.

This movement of Van Dorn was executed with great celerity and secrecy. He was doubtless enabled to accomplish it by the facilities of water transportation. Jacksonport is on White River, and Pochontas about fifty miles north of it, on the Big Black fork of White River. It is to be presumed that the gallant General Van Dorn withdrew his forces to the Arkansas river after the battle of Elkhorn, dropped down the river, and ascended the White in steamers. What force is still with Price and Pike is not known; but doubtless enough to keep Curtis uneasy. Pochontas is about sixty or seventy miles from New Madrid, in a direction a little south of west, and Jacksonport about the same distance west of Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi. Both of these places are about two hundred miles eastward of the late battle-field of Elkhorn, in an air-line. It is gratifying to know that vigorous operations for the defence of the west bank of the Mississippi are thus initiated.

GENERAL LEE CONFIDENT.—The Richmond correspondent of the Charleston Courier mentions the following conversation between our Commander-in-Chief and himself:—"I said, 'General, are you hopeful?' 'No, sir,' he replied, 'I am confident.' 'That is cheering,' I observed. 'In the face of our disasters and defeats.' 'These,' he said, 'have been the Bunker Hill victories of our enemy, and the providential mystery is how they have been so few. But the day of terrible retribution is nigh; he will be ruined; the North will be beggared and bankrupt, and the South will press out of the ordeal respected by the nations of the world, and with an imperishable name in history.'"

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, MAY 29, 1862.

What does Union mean?

It cannot be denied that the North, in the later stages of the war, has displayed a Herculean strength and a tenacity of purpose, contrasting marvellously with the apparent want of real earnestness at an earlier period. The world has witnessed with amazement an army, greater than any employed in modern warfare, spring up in a country where heretofore skirmishes were considered battles, and the manœuvres of large masses of troops unknown. The same country, with vast natural resources, it is true, but with little or no accumulated wealth, has rushed into expenditure, on a scale beyond the capacity of the richest nation of the Old World, without any present perceptible loss of credit or derangement of its finances. Every prediction deduced from past experience, every calculation founded upon the laws of finance and political economy, has been falsified by the current history of this people, which boasts of being above human and Divine laws, and measurable by no standard except its own. Are these the evidences of a solid, massive power? We believe not. A madman, in his delirious ravings, defies the strength of many strong men. He heeds not the self-inflicted wounds. The ordinary laws of the human organism apply not to him for the time, and the fiercer the paroxysm of his frenzy, the higher rises his preternatural might. When the fury has spent itself, he sinks back an inert mass, over which death and life hold along and doubtful contest.

So it is with the North. Setting aside its own laws, as well as those of humanity and justice, it rushed into an enterprise, of which its self-conceit prevented it from seeing the true dimensions. Stung to madness by repeated disgrace and failure, it sold itself to the demons of avarice and ambition, and by these it is now possessed. To the poor hireling, whose wages are cut off by the war, the monthly pay is a god-send; the South to him is the El Dorado, the land of gold and milk and honey out of whose fertile fields he is to carve his promised bounty. Not a counter-jumper adorned with a pair of epaulets but dreams of vast plantations, stately family mansions, horses, and hounds. The capitalist finds in the millions daily lavished among greedy contractors, gigantic fortunes ready-made. The merchant and the manufacturer look to closed markets and prohibitive tariffs for the reimbursement of their losses, and upon their present outlays as an investment to secure to them a monopoly over an inexhaustible India at their very doors. Each tax-payer, small or large, expects, in the conquest of the South, the relief from the impending burden, and the more fearfully the national debt swells, the more imperious becomes the necessity that others than those by whom it is created should pay it.

This is what is meant by the word "Union," which is the war-cry of the invaders of the South. To the farmer and "farm-hand" of the North, the hungry emigrant from Germany and Ireland, the military adventurers from every clime who officer these armies, it means what the empire of the Incas and the Caziques meant to the followers of Cortez and Pizarro—what Gaul meant to the Helvetians,

when, as a nation, they left their rugged mountains to seek more genial homes. The word "Union" means not only the conquest, but the colonization of the South. Wholesale confiscations, wholesale banishments—the despair of the lawful owners—would make lands cheap. The bounty land-warrants to the value of £20 each, to which each of the 750,000 Northern soldiers is entitled by law at the expiration of the war, would be "located"—to borrow the American phrase—not in the Western wilderness, but in the rich bottoms of the Mississippi and Alabama, the blooming savannahs of Georgia, or the virgin prairies of Texas. Nor would these new settlers till that soil which it is death to the white man to till. The poor negroes might, indeed, be "emancipated" in name; but on the pretext of a necessary tutelage or apprenticeship to freedom, their labour for life, or for a long term of years, would be let out by law to the highest bidder, and thus the helpless wretches would be transferred from the indulgent care of their natural protectors, in whose households they were born, between whom and them exists an innate mutual attachment and a life-long acquaintance of each other's virtues and failings, to the harsh rule of mercenary strangers who hate them from instinct, and whose sole interest in them would be estimated in dollars and cents. The name of slavery might thus indeed disappear; but those horrible enormities associated with the name, which now exist only in the imagination of slanderous novelists, would then have their beginning without any possible end. And these outrages would be committed in the name and with the forms of law. The talent and intelligence of the country once excited, the mass of its native citizens excluded from the polls by an oath of allegiance which they would deem it a sacrilege to take, the callous, calculating mind of Mr. Seward already foresees, in the future, Northern Legislatures seated in the halls of the State capitals of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, obsequiously carrying out his edicts in the name of these once sovereign States.

This is what "Union" means to the Northerner; and this, also, is what it means to the Southerner. He knows that it means to him, not only such utter political annihilation as few conquests have ever brought with them, but a personal serfdom more galling than ever a proud nation endured. He fights, not only for national independence, but for his personal political rights, nay, for his civil rights as a citizen; for his homestead, that it may not pass into the hands of the stranger; for his wife and his children, that the former should not bear slaves, and that the latter may grow up freemen. Nor has the North, in its assumed success, the choice between clemency and severity. There is no possible compromise, no possible machinery that political engineers can devise, by which the two nations can co-exist under the same governmental organization. That they have co-existed for the last thirty years preceding the war, is due to their division into distinct State organizations, each of which exercised the essential rights of sovereignty over its own citizens, and which States, in their federative concerns, have for thirty years past stood solidly arrayed into two contending camps—the North and the South. The whole of American statecraft consisted in, and depended on, preserving a balance, and keeping the peace between these two great rival Powers. The internal, and even the foreign, politics of the United States had no other motive spring. When quarrels were sought with other nations, it was to divert the attention of both peoples from their own strife. The chief recommendation of, at least, one prominent Presidential candidate was, that "he will get us into a good hearty war with somebody, and so prevent civil war at home." Was a President to be elected, the question was not, "Is he a man to do equal justice to all sections of the Republic?" but "is he for the North or the South?" Was a new State to be admitted into this ill-named "sisterhood," fierce feuds were waged to drag its weight into one or the other scale of the balance. Was a railway to be built to the Pacific, admitted to be a "national" work of unquestionable necessity, it was not as to where

would be its most judicious location, but through whose territory it should go, and which of the two would derive the most advantage from its construction. The Council Chamber at Washington has long been nothing more than an arena whither North and South sent their champions to contend in violent diatribes and often with more vulgar weapons. The Northern representative would denounce, in open Senate, the entire people of the South as a people whose men had no courage, and whose women no virtue. If the representative of the insulted section condescended to a reply other than that of the fist, he would describe the bulk of the Northern population as "the mudsills of society." And these disgraceful exhibitions were not the exception, but the rule, of any and every Session of Congress. If there was often little to choose between the combatants on the score of dignity or decorum, any volume of Congressional "debates," so-called, will prove the fact that the North was always the aggressor. Nor were these the forensic foils of barristers, who drown their disputes in a good bottle of wine when the case is argued. The broil of the Senate Chamber was carried into the street and the drawing-room. The representative man of the South held no social intercourse with him of the North, nor did their wives or daughters. A catalogue of political sins might be forgotten and forgiven by the constituents of either, but not the capital offence of sitting at each other's dinner table. What of hatred and abuse could not be condensed into Congressional speeches, the press of both countries took care to distil into inflammable gas evaporating from ponderous volumes or dainty magazines, or ephemeral news-sheets. And there again the North was the aggressor, and the South, as dependent upon the North for literature, or rather reading matter, as it was for shoe-pegs and sewing-machines, made much worse show of defence than on the floor of Congress. Northern literature delighted in caricatures of Southern life. Northern newspapers paraded in flaming capitals Arrowsmith horrors perpetrated in the South. At the very moment when the delegates of the seceding States were assembling at the seat of Government of the State of Alabama, to take measures for making the secession more perfect and irrevocable, the *New York Illustrated Weekly*, of the largest circulation, selected for its principal subject the tarring and feathering of a beautiful young white girl (of course, Northern) by a crowd of white and black ruffians, and the locality selected for this pictorial lie, for which, we need not add, there was not even the shadow of a foundation, was in the immediate vicinity of the place where the Southern delegates were then deliberating. The abusive letter-press which accompanied this choice drawing was further adorned with a vignette scene of the banks of the Alabama river, representing men suffering a horrible death by being stuck headforemost into tar barrels, and then rolled over the banks into the stream. Any Northern vagabond, eluding the ends of justice in some Southern State, would earn both money and notoriety, if he had the invention of writing or dictating some story of martyrdom, which was greedily swallowed by credulous audiences and unscrupulous sensation newspapers. For a series of years has the Northern press teemed with such things, and even Europe has believed them.

The marvel is not that the two people have separated at last, but that the tie which bound them did not snap years ago. Both Northern and Southern writers long since compared it to the chain which fetters two galley slaves into unwilling companionship. But once snapped, who shall rivet it again? The North may wade in blood until its foot is on the neck of the prostrate South, but it must keep it there. The North knows this, and the South knows it. Hence the stern resolve, that if Providence has decreed its annihilation, it will die by its own hands rather than by those of the self-appointed hangman. If such be God's decree, the South will not repent the step of separation; but she will bitterly repent the supineness which caused her to delay so long the inevitable hour, which caused her to wait until the enemy had grown too strong; that supineness by which she has lost her individuality in the eyes of

foreign nations, until they had almost forgotten her existence, and looked upon her as a mere appendage to the North, much like the tail of the comet, which, indeed, gives the erratic star all its splendour, but which must follow whithersoever the head directs its eccentric career.

This, then, is the "Union feeling" which can be read in the sullen faces of the populations of Nashville, of New Orleans, of Norfolk, and it may be, ere long, of Richmond, of Mobile, and of Savannah. Is it not a striking fact, that in those cities which have already heard the tread of Northern soldiery, not a man has been yet found to sell his conscience for his purse, and do homage to the invader—not in Nashville, which had never been regarded as an ultra-Southern town, having interests and affinities equally with the West and South—not in New Orleans, that great market-place whither seekers of gain were wont to congregate from all the civilized world—not in Norfolk, which lived by its proximity to the magnificent docks and navy-yards just blown into the air, or reduced, to ashes: that not a bale of cotton could be bought in Nashville; that not a printer could be found in New Orleans to set up Butler's barbarous proclamation; not a cheer for Jefferson Davis could be stifled in Norfolk, even by the presence of Northern bayonets?

With such a population in their rear wherever they advance, what becomes of a Northern army defeated? The chances of war are uncertain. The North has staked its fortune on a single die. Whether the Confederates evacuate Richmond or defend it, we may be assured that they will make their stand at the point most advantageous to themselves. They have heretofore defeated their enemy in every pitched battle when his naval force could not turn the odds against them. They have now drawn him far from his base of operations. He has drained his own country of men and military stores. He has dragged his heavy material into the interior of an invaded territory. His gunboats and mortar-boats are in distant waters, in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Western rivers, along the Atlantic seaboard. Suppose that the same fortune which has so far attended the land contests of the Confederates has not deserted them; suppose McClellan or Halleck beaten;—what can then prevent the South from assuming the offensive? What shall arrest its armies from entering in their turn upon a career of invasion, and dictating a treaty of peace at Washington itself? This is no wild fancy. A single victory on the part of the Confederates may suffice, in the present crisis of the war, to change its whole character. A dozen defeats of the Confederates will not change it in favour of the North.

The Supply of American Cotton.

ENGLISHMEN are usually quick in appreciating the practical bearings of any question that touches their material interests, or the political prestige on which these interests, to so great an extent, depend. It is strange, therefore, but not the less true, that there should have been manifested in this country an apparently irremediable incompetency of appreciating the real character of the American war, and more especially the intentions and determination of the people of the Southern States. There are many ways of accounting for this anomaly. We content ourselves with one. Cotton, ever since it became one of the staples of the world's commerce, has continued to pour in so steadily and regularly, the supply increasing as the demand increased, and sometimes a little in advance of the demand, that what might at first have been surrounded with doubts has grown into a conviction that the cotton supply would continue thus for ever. Cotton famines were threatened before, but something always "turned up" to avert them. The cry of wolf has been often heard, but somehow the wolf never came. Immense fortunes have been built upon the sides of a volcano, and a countless population has learnt to draw its sustenance from those fortunes. But the volcano has been so long quiescent, and the

dwellers on it lulled into such security that even when the mountain totters in the violence of the eruption, they cannot bring themselves to believe that the lava streams are about to engulf them, their fortunes, and all. As well convince a veteran spinner that the Chinese rebellion will shortly deprive him of his favourite beverage at breakfast, as that the American rebellion will make his mills a rusting mass of old machinery.

And yet the wolf has come to the door; the lava streams are lighting the heavens with conflagration of the great staple. A whole year's crop is waiting for the torch, which will surely be applied if the world continues to look on with listless scepticism. And what the fortune of war may save from the flames must supply the necessities of two full twelve-months, for the next year's crop is destroyed in advance. Wait for Federal victories, and you wait for smoking piles of ashes; wait for Confederate successes, and you wait for what the soil cannot produce until revolving seasons fertilize it again. Come what may, the alternative is no longer between abundance and scantiness, but between scantiness and utter want.

Few men in England appear to have understood the real condition of the cotton question, few appear to understand it now. Among the few are Messrs. Neill Brothers, of Manchester, whose admirably written and well reasoned circular we print elsewhere. These gentlemen have a right to speak on this subject, and a right to be heard and pondered. None better than they understand the issues involved in this disastrous war. They have had, and still have, interests in both the North and the South, and withal are impartial witnesses to the truth. Branches of their house are established in New York, as well as in Mobile and New Orleans, but the parent stock is firmly rooted in British soil. They, moreover, deserve to be heard, because, among so many falsified predictions, theirs alone have thus far come true. Their arguments were not less sound, nor less clearly worded in former instances. But if they are heeded more now than they were then, it will be because the bonfires along the Mississippi and its tributaries are stronger arguments than words. We shall not attempt to repeat what these gentlemen have so well said, but we may add a few practical suggestions in supplement to their unanswerable logic. Whatever of the crop of 1861 can be preserved from wholesale burnings must be by the triumph of the Confederate cause, or by the interference of foreign Powers, which is probably the only possible termination of the war. Whatever is thus saved must answer the purposes of two consecutive years, for the produce of 1862 will scarcely compensate for the destruction which has already taken place and must further ensue under all contingencies. India has already disappointed expectations. Even if she could supply the precise quality required, railways must be improvised, capital, skilled labour, the experience of many years, provided, before she can be relied upon for the needed quantity. Admit the task to be feasible, which is not free from grave doubts, it is the task of years, nay, decades of years. Suppose, on the other hand, that the Stars and Stripes wave triumphantly over the cotton-fields of the South. The South's monopoly, both as to quality and to quantity of the staple, is owing not merely to the peculiar adaptation of climate and soil, but still more to the perfect organization of her system of labour. The supposed conquerors are not likely to free the slaves, for we see that Hunter's somewhat premature decree of emancipation in States of which his armies have not even possession of the threshold, has already received the disapprobation of his superiors.

The four and a half millions of blacks turned adrift as nominal freemen, the most sanguine philanthropist cannot doubt that the South, for a generation at least, would become a Jamaica on a larger scale. No cotton, therefore, any more than there is sugar from Jamaica. If, what is more likely and more in consistence with antecedents, the slaves, under the supposed Northern conquest, only change masters for the worse, what of the supply of cotton then? The North needs not Morrill's tariff only, and the monopoly of the

Southern market, to pay its enormous debt; it must compel Europe, as well as the South, to bear a large portion of the burden. So sure as Yankees shall take the place of Southerners in the cultivation of cotton, so sure will an export duty be levied on every pound that is shipped to European spinners, and not a nominal export duty for revenue purposes merely, but an export duty that shall enable the American manufacturer to undersell all competitors in every market of the world. Short-sighted policy of Lancashire! short-sighted policy of Lombard-street! taking a paltry bribe for digging its own grave. The cause of the South is the cause of British industry and British commerce; the success of the North, the success of England's most dangerous rival and bitterest foe.

The Seizure of the Bermuda.

THE blockade of the coasts of the Confederate States is likely, effective or non-effective, to give plenty of employment to diplomatic as well as legal authorities; and, as England has by far the largest share in the commerce that floats on those seas, upon her devolves the duty of making the law of nations respected, as regards the property of neutrals. We have recently had the case of the schooner, *Jane Campbell*, which was taken by the United States' war steamer *State of Georgia*, and sent into Brooklyn, with the English flag flying below the American. Lord Lyons promptly demanded an explanation, and Mr. Seward as promptly apologized. The judge who tried that case, and referred it to assessors to award damages to the owner for the illegal capture, and other misconduct of the officers of the United States navy, made so able an exposition of the law applicable to such cases, that in considering what is likely to be the point raised in that of the *Bermuda*, we shall do well to quote them. Judge Betts said—"Prize Law, as administered in English, American, and French tribunals, exhibits, under the disallowance of the right of prize to captors, and the positive infliction of punishment by penalties and costs adjudged against them, any irregularities against the property seized, especially as regards neutrals (*Wheatston*, R. App. pp. 5, 6, 7) and by mutual acquiescence of maritime nations, they supply the restraints which accompany the exercise of belligerent rights under the improved administration of prize laws; and again, "a prior question to the design of a vessel to violate the blockade, and whether the blockade at the time was an effective one, arises whether the conduct of the captors was of a character to destroy the legality of the arrest, and subject them to punishment for the infringement of the laws of maritime warfare." And on that ground the Court adjudged the *Jane Campbell* free from arrest. Now, taking this judgment as a true statement of the law as affecting neutral vessels captured off the coasts of belligerents, what has been the conduct of the captain of the *Mercedita* towards the captain and cargo of the *Bermuda*? War is an awful evil, but it is indispensable that all acts be done in strict conformity to the rules of maritime law; if not, that all the amenities of which they are susceptible should be scrupulously attended to, and all offence avoided. At present, we have only the statement of Captain Westendorf to guide us. He says that on his taking his papers on board the ship which had just sent a shot whistling between the mainmast and smokestack, and these being found regular, the mere fact of his loading at Liverpool, was deemed sufficient to warrant a search. The *Bermuda* was taken possession of by three boats filled with armed men, and her course altered by the captors.

Now, this mode of proceeding is strictly illegal, according to the authorities, and would, if the ruling of Judge Betts be correct (and there is not a shadow of a doubt of its being so), subject the *Mercedita's* captain to pay damages for the illegal arrest. But it is not worth while to argue this minor point, when there is behind the one real and serious issue—whether England can allow the blockade to extend to her colonies, whose harbours are now besieged by

armed steamers. The Bermuda was, undoubtedly, an English vessel, bound on her course for an English colony, with her papers regular. She was boarded and captured on that course, and in the waters of the colony where also four other United States' men-of-war were guarding the approaches to Nassau!—to Nassau, not the coast of America.

Probably Lord Lyons may again demand an explanation, and Mr. Seward again apologize. But how long is this to last? There seems, after all, to be but one thing certain—that Lord Russell is determined to treat the Northerners as *Cœur de Lion* is reported to have said to his brother—“I wonder which of us will be tired first—you of treason against me, or I of forgiving you;” and the crescendo of the United States navy insolence is likely to solve the problem.

The State of Europe.

THERE are many and sufficient reasons for the absorbing attention with which Europe watches the great drama being enacted on the continent of America. The War of Independence in the New World has paralyzed the manufacturing industry and seriously interfered with the commerce of the Old World. The long continuance or speedy termination of the conflict will exercise an immense influence upon the material prosperity of Europe. If the war is protracted England and France will have to solve the difficult problem of providing for communities of paupers, and with diminished resources. We have, too, a vast stake in the successful issue of the contest. When the South establishes its independence there will be a free and important market for our manufactures, and our merchants will have a fair share of Southern wealth, which, before Secession, was monopolized by the North. On Monday, *The Times*, in its American leader, remarked that the South is not only contending against the United States, but against the whole world. This proposition is indisputable; and it is not less true that the unaided South, in fighting for its independence is contending for that which will largely benefit every manufacturing and commercial nation. And there is another point that gives rise to anxious speculation. When the war is over, what will become of the United States' army? Will the war-spirit be laid as readily as it was invoked? Is it not probable Yankee arrogance may force us to accept the challenge we have so often and so forbearingly and, perhaps, unwisely declined? Will the Government of the United States dare to disband its army when, owing to the prostration of trade, the discharged soldiers will not find any means of peacefully earning a livelihood?

But whilst these grave considerations are naturally uppermost in our minds, we cannot disregard the current history of Europe, which presents some remarkable features, and is well worthy of our meditation. We propose to notice, rather than discuss, some of the leading questions that now engage the attention of European statesmen.

The extent and supremacy of French influence must startle those who have not heeded its rapid and uninterrupted growth since the foundation of the Empire. Whether it be for good or evil, whether it is due to the supineness of the English Government, or is the result of uncontrollable circumstances, are matters that do not affect our survey of the state of affairs. We have to deal with a fact of which the existence is proved by superabundant evidence. By boldly undertaking to put an end to the anarchical Government of Juarez, France has become the arbiter of Mexico. Both at Washington and at Richmond the diplomacy of France is watched with more anxiety than the diplomacy of England, though England has the greater interest in the contest. The prompt action of France in putting a stop to the massacre of the Christians, and restoring order, has given her a marked predominance in Syria. Rome is openly, and the kingdom of Italy virtually, under French protection. The attitude of France is very imposing, and we may expect

the further development of her preponderating influence.

What is the aspect of Italy? Rome and Venetia are still open questions, and we do not see any indication of the Emperor Napoleon permitting the occupation of the one, or the conquest and annexation of the other. If the kingdom of Italy be thoroughly established, there is a prospect of her ultimately obtaining possession of the Papal territory, and of that which is now under the dominion of Austria. We are not very much impressed with the boasted stability of Victor Emmanuel's throne. He received Lombardy as a gift from France, and Naples as a present from Garibaldi. Without foreign intervention, Victor Emmanuel's Neapolitan possessions would be lost even more rapidly than they were acquired, if Garibaldi raised the standard of revolt. But putting aside the possibility of the darling of the Italian Democracy preferring Republicanism to the rule of the House of Savoy, there is another and potent reason for our doubts as to the permanence of the kingdom of Italy. We yield to no one in a hearty desire to see Italy free and prosperous. We are not enamoured of brigandage, and although we cannot excuse, we can somewhat palliate, the severity of the Government measures for its suppression. Nevertheless, we should remember that this brigandage is not an affair of plunder, and that it is sanctioned by distinguished Neapolitans. We have been taught to regard the Italians as one people; whereas, the Southerners are totally different to the Northerners, and they mutually dislike each other. A thorough, cordial union between the two peoples is, in our opinion, impossible; and though the inherent disunion may not precipitate the breaking up of the kingdom of Italy, it is a source of weakness and danger. With Victor Emmanuel dependent on the friendship of France for the moral strength of his Government; with Garibaldi—whose bravery and political inconsistency are equal—the absolute master of the Italian Democracy; with the chronic agitation for Rome and Venetia, which cannot be gratified without fresh offence to France, or repressed without engendering internal discord; and with the mutual distrust of the North and South, and the bitterness with which many Neapolitans view the kingdom reduced to a province, we cannot, we say, looking to such a state of affairs, have much faith in the durability of the present pacification and settlement of Italy.

What Austria lost in prestige during the campaign which was concluded at Villafranca she has gained in the strength that arises from her being relieved of the costly guardianship of Lombardy. There are no grounds for supposing that Hungary is ripe for revolt, but we do know that the further dismantling of the Austrian empire would be regretted by Europe. England is the natural ally of Austria. Napoleon has no wish to see the German rival of Prussia further shorn of her importance and influence. It has been the fashion to laugh at Mr. Roebuck for saying a good word for Austria. His sneering critics may be forced to acknowledge that the hon. member for Sheffield was right, and they were utterly wrong.

The dispute between the King of Prussia and his Chambers will end in a compromise, that is, the King will promise a little, and the people will get nothing. The rumoured ambition of King William to make himself the absolute monarch of Prussia, and for Prussia to rule the Federation, may be true, and if true is pretty sure to prove troublesome. Any political crime is sanctioned by Federalism, which is, indeed, a system of the strong preying upon the weak. Or a kind of scramble, in which it is lawful for one State to deprive another of its rights and property, if it can invent an excuse—no matter how flimsy for so doing. Prussia wants a navy, and a navy necessitates seaboard and a port. There is a wistful glance to the North. The absorption of the Danish Duchies would just supply the requirements. Unfortunately for Scandinavia, German Federalism has managed to get in the thin end of the wedge. The most peculiar case has been made out against Denmark. She has discouraged the cultivation of the German language in Schleswig and

Holstein, and so she ought to lose these places. The German element in Schleswig and Holstein is so strong, as proved by the prevalence of the language, that they ought to belong to Germany and not to Denmark. That “wherever the German language is spoken is the German Fatherland” is a pretty sentiment, but not a fact. All Europe pronounced against the pretensions of the German Diet, or rather of Prussia, and Denmark made a gallant and successful stand for her coveted territories. Yet Federal agitation and Federal plotting is as active as ever in the Duchies, and will eventuate in an outbreak. The Hesse difficulty has been settled, but the settlement may serve as a precedent to unsettle any of the German Federal States. Whether the Elector was right or wrong, or whether Prussia was so resolute from a dread of the example of a revolution in Hesse, it is quite certain that the Elector has been compelled to openly abdicate his Electoral independence, by submitting to the dictation of his subjects, at the instigation of Prussia. There is a bushel of apples of discord in Federal Germany; and so it is far from impossible that King William may have an opportunity of fleshing his maiden sword.

Russia is busy at home. Poland is again stirring, but Europe will not go to war for the sake of resuscitating Polish nationality. The emancipation of the serfs is a very uncertain experiment. If it leads to any serious complications, it may become necessary for the Emperor to divert the attention of his subjects to foreign affairs, by returning to the aggressive policy of Catharine.

The political horizon of Europe is studded with clouds, some no bigger than a man's hand, but the least of them may suddenly assume direful proportions and darken the prospect. Whilst it is desirable that the nations of Europe should sedulously cultivate the arts of Peace, it is evident that the art of War cannot be neglected. We are not seeking to justify an extravagant military and naval expenditure on the part of England; on the contrary, we hold that defences on a war footing in time of peace, weaken a nation; and that the best preparation for future wars is to husband present resources.

WHAT a frightful set of barbarians those Confederates must be! They not only systematically abandon their wounded and slain—to believe the truthful accounts of certain disinterested parties—and leave the body of one of their chief commanders on a battle-field of which they are the victorious possessors; but they delight in all sorts of cannibalistic orgies over the corpses of their enemies. Their manufacturing ingenuity in this respect is something marvellous; as we can state upon the authority of a respectable London daily. Let it not be supposed that what follows is a caricature of editorial credulity, or that the facts themselves are the offspring of a diseased imagination. We know, personally, that the story is an old one, often repeated, often laughed at, and never seriously believed. Its reappearance, therefore, at this late day is sufficient guarantee of its truth.

It is necessary to speak plainly, here and now, glad as we should be to avoid the duty. It is necessary to inform society of the results of inquiries—inquiries careful, ample, and trustworthy—into the truth of certain impressions which existed as to the way in which the Confederate soldiery made war. To put the matter in the briefest way, it is proved, in course of traversing the ground hitherto held by the Confederate army in Virginia, that the ruffian soldiery of the South have been in the habit of boning the bodies of the Northern slain. The statement is made by Southern citizens and their wives; and it is confirmed by the state of the remains which have been dug up, for the purpose of an authorized inquiry. “Yankee skulls” have been a common article of sale for drinking cups, at ten dollars each; jawbones are found serving as spurs; leg and arm bones as whip-handles; and vertebrae as castanets, or as toys for children, or tent or hut ornaments in camp.

It is to be regretted that the writer who is so conversant with the minutest details did not favour the lovers of the horrible with some further particulars. We are informed, from sources as reliable and authentic as those he can cite, that the carcasses of Northern soldiers are made into jelly for the Confederate hospitals. The deficiency of shoe-leather

is supplied by human skins; and it is also stated, though there is some doubt overhauling the assertion, that the Confederate knapsacks and cartridge-boxes are made of the same material. The next time this exploded story is revamped, we trust these particulars will be added, for the sake of historical accuracy.

DURING the memorable engagement of the Virginia with the Federal squadron in Hampton Roads, a white flag was hoisted at the Federal frigate Congress in token of surrender, on beholding the fate of her companion, the Cumberland. On the Confederates coming on board of the surrendered frigate, a deadly fire was poured in upon them from the batteries on shore. The same barbarous abuse of the white flag is generally believed in the South to have been practised at the battle of Bull's Run, and in other engagements. It appears now that it has become a recognized *ruse de guerre* among the Federal invaders, for in a recent account of the Federal defeat at Williamsburg, we find the following, the accuracy of which we have no reason to doubt. We give it without comment:—

During the battle of Williamsburg, a small party of the enemy approached bearing a white flag. By this means they were permitted to come within a few paces of her lines. Suddenly they, and some of their comrades concealed in the woods, poured a murderous fire into our ranks.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

TAKING THE OATH.

Lynchburg, Virginia, May 2, 1861.

From this day we are, not in theory only, but in sober fact, common soldiers—"enlisted men" for the term of twelve months, under the Rules and Articles of War of the Confederate States, which are identical, bating the change of an adjective, with those for the regular army of the United States. This morning a Confederate officer arrived at Lynchburg, authorized to muster us into the service and administer the oath. The ceremony was an imposing one, and there was not, I truly believe, a man in all the ten companies that did not feel the solemnity of the occasion, and of the obligations he was assuming. Had any one regretted, or even hesitated, it was yet time to withdraw before taking the final step, for up to that moment the authority of our officers rested solely upon our own voluntary consent, and we were private gentlemen in military clothes, subject to no law, beyond our own wills, which did not apply to all other citizens alike. Now, in the discharge of the highest duty of citizenship, that of defending our country, we have abjured all its rights and privileges, nay, even the slightest claim to personal freedom of thought or action. Surely it is a hard sacrifice for gentlemen to make, but it has been cheerfully and unreservedly made.

It had often occurred to me how harsh are the military regulations of the United States' standing army; how much more like a transcript from mediæval days than like the military code of a modern nation. The death penalty occurs in them more frequently than in either the French or English regulations, and corporeal punishment, once abolished, has been reinstituted within the last few years by an Act of Congress. The gulf between officer and private is wider than in any other army, excepting, perhaps, the Austrian; and instead of aiming to elevate the self-respect of the man, these regulations systematically and intentionally tend to degrade him in his own estimation. There is a strange anomaly in this, when it is considered that these are the military institutions of a country whose political institutions are based upon universal equality, universal suffrage, and an assumed universal capacity for collective and individual self-government. But the reason was plain, and, perhaps, sufficient. In other countries the regular army, in whatsoever manner raised, whether by voluntary enlistment, or by conscription,

consists of the natives of the country. Not so with the small regular army of the United States, which is composed, without exception, of foreign mercenaries, principally Irish and Germans, the only native element in it being the commissioned officers. Between these, educated at one of the best military schools in the world, and representing, as a class, the most genuine social respectability of the land, and the wretched soldiers, there does not even exist the tie of a common country, nor, in a majority of instances, a common language. This little army, moreover, at no period exceeding 13,000 men, was designed for the protection of a remote and illimitable frontier, scattered into little posts and detachments, far from the region of civilized life, amid the Red Indians, and white men scarcely less savage. No wonder, then, that a stern, and even cruel, code should be devised for such an army, so composed and so circumstanced.

But it would be difficult to imagine a system of legislation less adapted to our necessities, and more directly opposed to all common sense deductions from existing facts. Instead of being the scum of every foreign clime, idle vagabonds unable to obtain the wages of labour in a country where labour is wealth, we are the representatives of the best families in the land, many of our number men of vast wealth, all possessed of some means, and none devoid of the essentials of a superior education. Instead of seeking a miserable livelihood, we all are sacrificing private interests to what we cherish as a sacred cause and a bounden duty. While among the "regulars" of the United States' services, not an instance is on record of a man having risen from the ranks to a commission, the right of election, which, with such strange inconsistency, is thrust upon us, may convert the private soldier of to-day into the commander of a regiment to-morrow. Instead of being broken up into small frontier posts, thousands of miles away from civilization, we are about being massed into huge armies, and our battles will, for the most part, no doubt, be on our own soil and under the eyes of those whose approbation and praise we value.

This is not grumbling. I write it to one of the leading journals of the South, in the hope that it may direct the eyes of the authorities to the absurdities and glaring inconsistencies of a system which, in the progress of the war now commencing, might work serious mischief. The habit of command is acquired by the Southerner from his earliest childhood; the habit of obedience to lawful authority is the correlative of the habit of command. I believe there is no people more easily ruled than ours, no people that has, to the same extent, the instinct of discipline. But the rule must be one which their reason approves, and its discipline must be free from arbitrary and useless annoyances. No troops will bear hardships and privations more cheerfully than ours, and they will not even inquire the cause, so long as they believe that there is a good cause for them; but no troops, also, will sooner rebel indignantly against wanton exactions or imbecile commands. Now, these army regulations, no doubt admirably adapted to the purposes for which they were devised, are so strangely unsuited to the volunteer system that if they are enforced they will be felt as a cruel and wanton injustice; if they are not enforced, then it will leave us without any systematic discipline whatever. Thus we shall combine the worst features of a regular army with those of loosely-organized volunteer troops.

Among other things we have lost this day are our high-sounding company names. Henceforth the Mobile Cadets will simply be "Co. A 3rd Reg. Ala. Vol." The more usual style will be to call each company by the name of its captain. When Company A was mustered in this morning, it was found to contain three men more than the military laws of the Confederate States allow. Each company is entitled to four company officers, viz: captain, one first and two second lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, and 160 privates; a total of 109, or an aggregate of 113. While the company retained its right of balloting for members, several urgent applicants, who had overtaken us on our

way, had been added without a very close inspection of the muster roll. Some awkward disputes might have arisen from its redundancy, which, however, was wisely obviated by our captain, who at once ordered three of the oldest members to the rear, whereupon the remainder mustered in without them. The three rejected ones will not, however, return home. They are to follow us as supernumeraries, without pay or rations, but subject to all the duties and penalties of privates, and will take their places in the ranks again, so soon as vacancies occur either by death or promotion. This is not exactly regular; in fact, it is decidedly irregular. But the mustering officer knows nothing of it, and we shall take good care not to obtrude our excess of numbers on the knowledge of the Confederate authorities. A less difficulty is presented by our fifth sergeant. He will still be respected and obeyed as a non-commissioned officer, but reported on the books as a private, and draw pay as such; that is, if any of us ever draw pay at all.

THE FIRST CAMP.

Lynchburg, Virginia, May 3, 1861.

Our first quarters at Lynchburg were on the Fair Grounds, and the stalls used for the annual cattle show served us as barracks. On the evening of the 1st, however, we pitched our tents in a beautiful oak forest, wholly free from undergrowth, on the brow of a lofty hill, in full view of the majestic Blue Ridge. To many in the regiment the sight of a vast range of mountains is a novel one, and as interesting as would be our boundless plains and low swamps to the inhabitants of a mountainous region.

The rapidity with which this lively canvas town rose seemed the work of magic. It would have done credit to the oldest veterans of any European army. Within little more than an hour from the word of command every tent was pitched, and not carelessly or slovenly, but with geometrical accuracy of lines, and according to the minutest requirements of the books. Two-thirds of the companies are old-established volunteer companies, and the other third have seen some service in the occupation of Pensacola before the war broke out. A fair majority of the members of each are, therefore, not altogether novices in camp life, and have now an opportunity of practising in earnest the lessons learned, more for amusement than instruction, in the gay annual encampments of the happy days of peace.

To me it is a strangely new experience. Being unskilled in the art and science of pitching tents, I, with others equally in the way, have been set to a task more ignoble, but not less useful. A layer of dead leaves, several inches thick, covers the ground, and this we set resolutely to work to remove. In default of proper instruments, we raked it together with our hands and feet, and then swept the earth with branches of trees. The next day the work was resumed on a grander scale, to clean up our company parade ground, and our share of the regimental parade. On that occasion we managed to procure some garden tools, but hands and feet still remained the only substitutes most of us had for them. The absurdity of our respective postures, and the novelty of the occupation, in a measure compensated for the fatigue, but there are several concomitants of this sort of work which are decidedly disagreeable. The dirt is the slightest of them, for water and soap can remove that. But this layer of dead leaves is inhabited by millions of little creatures, familiarly called the "red bug"—I do not know its scientific name—a small insect, almost invisible to the naked eye, which buries itself in the skin and causes painful inflammations, and sometimes serious sores. The ingenuity of our volunteers has already discovered a specific against these vicious vermin, viz:—bathing the afflicted limbs in whiskey, but this precious beverage is too scarce to be thus wasted, as it has to be smuggled into camp surreptitiously, and experiments are now on foot, on an extensive scale, to discover whether its internal application might not prove equally efficacious.

Yesterday a large lot of lumber arrived, which we had sent to the city to purchase at our individual

expense. This we are still busily converting into tables, benches, and gun-racks, and already the camp begins to wear an aspect of comparative comfort. It is wonderful how quickly all of us are adapting ourselves to the requirements of this *al fresco* existence; the city companies apparently more quickly than those from the rural districts, but their readiness of invention serves as example to the others. A number of coarse cheap carpets have been bought to spread on our tent floors, to protect us from the moisture and cold which we, accustomed to a milder climate, feel severely.

On the day after we took the oath, we had our first regimental parade, with half the female population of Lynchburg as admiring spectators. The impression we produced must have been highly favourable, for ever since our camp has been thronged with lady visitors every evening. At first they scarcely ventured a glimpse into the interior of the tents, but they have already become so far familiar with our soldiers' ways that they now accept our gallant invitations to partake of our fare, admire our "carpets," and rest as comfortably upon the unplanned benches of our own rude construction as upon their own sofas. Hams and tongues, hot rolls and buckwheat cakes, roast turkeys, loaves of fresh bread, and similar welcome donations pour in upon us with delightful profusion; and some of the messes have had whole breakfasts sent out to them served on fine china and plate. Invitations to dinner are not wanting either, only the officers are less liberal of furlongs than they were in Montgomery.

This is the great centre of the tobacco region, and the chief emporium of that great staple. So bountifully has the generosity of the citizens supplied us with the choicest brands of the narcotic weed, that, a fair division among the whole regiment, would give every man at least ten pounds of tobacco, which a prince need not disdain to smoke.

Lynchburg, May 4, 1861.

Just as we are becoming quite comfortable at Lynchburg, and making acquaintance both with the picturesque town and its hospitable inhabitants, we are ordered off again. To-morrow, at daylight, we are to strike our tents, and proceed by special train to Norfolk. The navy-yard has been precipitately abandoned by Prendergast, after a vain attempt to blow up the dry-dock. The Merrimac has been partly burnt and sunk, the old States, and Pennsylvania, of glorious memory, destroyed. The Yankees are expected to return in force, as they can never abandon without a desperate struggle a place so important to them and to us. So we are to have a brush with them as soon as we expected, though in a different quarter. We are proud of being selected for the post of honour, as Norfolk, unquestionably, will be the scene of the first great battle.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

THE YANKEE CAPTAIN AND HIS DOLLARS.

WE soon found the calm belt; let the steam go down, uncoupled the screw, made sail, and commenced cruising in the track of vessels bound from the Brazils and Pacific to the United States. We cruised in this way more than two weeks, without seeing a single sail. We encountered here, every day, those remarkable tidal waves that navigators mention. The sea would be perfectly calm; when, in the distance, a few white caps could be seen approaching the ship, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole surface of the ocean would be lashed into the wildest fury, tossing the ship about as if she was a mere cockleshell upon the water, her sails and rudder useless, owing to the absence of wind. The water would remain in this disturbed state for half an hour or more, and then, almost as suddenly as it rose, the sea would resume its mirror-like appearance. The white waves in the distance dashing on to the eastward with fearful rapidity.

At daylight, on the morning of the 5th of October, discovered the first sail since leaving Maranhau,

gave chase, and at nine o'clock came up with her. Hoisted United States' colours, and fired a gun to bring her to. She, also, showed the United States' flag. Sent an officer on board to take charge of the vessel, and bring the captain of her to our ship. The officer who boarded the stranger (which proved to be the Joseph Park, of Boston) asked the captain if he had cargo? Answer, No. "Have you any specie?" "No, not a dollar." "Then, Captain, you must get into the boat, and go with me on board the Sumter." "What are you going to do with me when I go on board?" The officer told him it would depend entirely upon circumstances, that if he behaved himself, and did not try to conceal anything, he would receive kind treatment; but it all depended upon himself. "Well," says he, "Captain (he called the officer who boarded him Captain) I have got a thousand dollars down below, and, I guess, I had better give it to you." So he went below, and from out of some little hole took the bag containing the gold. The officer asked him why he had hid his money, seeing we had United States' colours up? He said he thought it was the Sumter, and wanted to be on the safe side. The whole scene between the officer and the captain of the Joseph Park was ludicrous in the extreme. The answers to questions with that Yankee nasal twang and Yankee cunning, the officer seeing through it and enjoying it all the while, made many jokes in our mess afterwards. The vessel had no cargo, and was returning from Pernambuco to Boston. In order to have a wider range of vision across the track we were cruising along, an officer and crew were sent on board of her, with orders to keep in sight of us, and make signal if a sail hove in sight. The Joseph Park's crew were transferred to our ship. We cruised in this way for a number of days, but there appeared to be no vessels on the ocean, or, at least, we could not find them. At length we made signal to the Joseph Park to come near us, took our men from her, practiced upon her a short time with shell, set her on fire, and stood to the westward. We kept in the usual track of vessels, seeing only two or three in as many weeks, and they all proved to be not vessels of the United States.

LIVING IN CLOVER.

On the 25th of October, on Sunday morning, about sunrise, made a sail to the westward, gave chase; at once the sail suspected us and kept off before the wind, putting on all sail; she was very fast, and the chase was a long one; however, about two o'clock we got within shooting distance, and brought her to. She proved to be the United States' schooner, Daniel Trowbridge, from New York bound to Demerara, with just such a cargo as we wished to get hold of. She had a large number of sheep, pigs, geese, chickens, ducks, &c., on deck; and below, all kinds of salt provisions that we wished, cheese, tongues, hams, beef, pork, and, in fact, everything that the most delicate palate would fancy. She was a prize indeed, to men who had been at sea nearly fifty days living on salt provisions. The transition from salt to fresh was so unexpected and so sudden, that we could hardly realize it.

A corps of butchers was at once organized, and sent on board to kill some sheep and geese, for the officers and crew of our vessel. The crew of the Trowbridge was transferred to us, and a prize crew put on board of her. She was the most tangible prize we had taken since leaving the Confederate States. All the rest had no cargoes, or such as would have to be destroyed; but, on board of her, was everything most wanted by hungry hunters. We laid by her for a number of days, receiving fresh supplies every morning, and, during the day, transporting her cargo to our vessel—that is, her beef, pork, potatoes, &c. Of course there was a large portion of it of which we could make no use. After living in clover about a week, took the live stock to the Sumter, brought our men from the prize, and set fire to her. The captain of the Joseph Park seemed very much pleased that we had taken another prize, as he said he did not wish to be the only one we would take into port.

We left the Trowbridge, and continued our cru-

ing, speaking and boarding a number of vessels, but could find no more Yankees. Once we stood down on a steamer, supposing her to be a man-of-war on the look-out for us, but she proved to be a British man-of-war. We approached the islands, but our luck was no better. All the Yankee vessels had been driven by us from the West Indies. Our exploits on the coast of Cuba frightened them all away; we could catch none. We even went among the islands, where we were almost certain of finding men-of-war double our size; but, still, we could take no prizes.

By this time our supply of water was exhausted, and we were compelled to go into port; so, on the 9th of November, we steamed into the harbour of Fort de France, Island of Martinique, after being fifty-seven days at sea.

Reviews.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL. *

No. II.

TYRANTS are never without an excuse for their tyranny. Kings and Governments do wrong in the name of right, virtue, or religion; and we may be sure that if the wrong-doing is particularly unjustifiable and atrocious, religion will be the favourite pretence. The Inquisition was the immediate cause of the revolt in the Netherlands; but we cannot agree with Mr. Motley that "it is almost puerile to look further or deeper, when such a source of convulsion lies at the very outset of any investigation." To call Philip the Second a relentless, savage fanatic, is to flatter the memory of a monster, who cared no more for the honour of God, or the welfare of the Church, than he did for the ruthless slaughter of his subjects. He was the constitutional ruler of the Netherlands, and if the country had been poor he might have been contented with his limited sovereignty. But the Netherlands teemed with riches, and therefore Philip determined to rule despotically, so that he might, without let or hindrance, tax the resources of the country. He plundered and killed under the plea of hereditary right and of religious duty. Insatiable cupidity impelled him to attempt the conquest of the freedom of the Netherlands, just as the ravenous greed of the Northern States of America has incited them to attempt the subjugation of the independence of the Southern States. If the Confederate States had been poor instead of a mine of wealth, Secession would have been treated by the North as a thoroughly constitutional proceeding.

At the outset of the revolt, William the Silent was a sincere Catholic, as well as a sincere Royalist. He was not the champion of Calvinism or Lutheranism, but of the civil and municipal rights of the Netherlands. He opposed the introduction of the Inquisition because it was an invasion of constitutional freedom, and for no other reason. His Catholicism was as unquestionable as that of Count Horn or Count Egmont; but he was too far-seeing to be imposed upon by the hypocrisy of Philip. When, in 1566, he resolved to employ force to prevent the conquest and desolation of his country, he was bent upon the defence of ancient rights, and did not contemplate a revolution or favouring the cause of Protestantism.

He despatched a private envoy to Egmont, representing the grave suspicions manifested by the Duchess in sending Duke Eric into Holland, and proposing that means should be taken into consideration for obviating the dangers with which the country was menaced. Catholics as well as Protestants, he intimated, were to be crushed in one universal conquest as soon as Philip had completed the formidable preparations which he was making for invading the provinces. For himself, he said, he would not remain in the land to witness the utter dereliction of the people, nor to fall an unresisting victim to the vengeance which he foresaw. If, however, he might rely upon the co-operation of Egmont and Horn, he was willing, with the advice of the States-General, to risk preparations against the armed invasion of Spaniards by which the country was to be reduced to slavery. It was incumbent, however, upon men placed as they were, "not to let the grass grow under their feet;" and the moment for action was fast approaching.

This was the scheme which Orange was willing to attempt. To make use of his own influence and that of his friends, to interpose between a sovereign insane with bigotry, and a people in a state of religious frenzy, to resist brutal violence if need should be by force, and to compel the sovereign to respect the charters which he had sworn to maintain, and which were far more ancient than his sovereignty; so much of treason did William of Orange already contemplate, for in no other way could he be loyal to his country and his own honour.

William could not inspire his friends with resolution, or convince them of the treachery of Philip. Egmont and Horn confided in the professions of the King, who having

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

formally decreed their deaths, wrote them with the same pen friendly and cordial letters. The people were awed by force. The leaders of the Confederacy were divided and won over by duplicity that might have deceived the astute William, had he not kept such a watch upon the arch-hypocrite that even the secret despatches kept under lock and key in the royal cabinet were read by the agent of the Prince, and their contents communicated to him. The Duchess might well protest, when she knew of the advent of the Duke of Alva, that under her administration the provinces had been pacified. Agitation was succeeded by calm. Egmont had used his influence in Flanders and Artois to introduce a sufficient force to maintain the royal authority. Tournay had been unresistently garrisoned. The brave Thoulouse and his little army had been defeated and slain by De Beauvoir. Antwerp had with difficulty been saved from intestine warfare and destruction, by the prudence and courage of William. After a heroic defence, Valenciennes was surrendered to Noircarmes by the citizens who, seeing their hopes of succour destroyed, were suddenly panic-stricken; and it is hardly necessary to add that the stipulation "that the city should not be sacked, and that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared," was practically disregarded by the conquerors, and that the blood of the citizens was shed remorselessly, and their property confiscated upon the most flimsy pretexts, or often without any pretext.

Upon the fate of Valenciennes had depended, as if by common agreement, the whole destiny of the anti-Catholic party. "People had learned at last," says another Walloon, "that the King had long arms, and that he had not been enlisting soldiers to string beads. So they drew in their horns and their evil tempers, meaning to put them forth again, should the Government not succeed at the siege of Valenciennes." The Government had succeeded, however, and the consternation was extreme, the general submission immediate and even abject. "The capture of Valenciennes," wrote Noircarmes to Granvelle, "has worked a miracle. The other cities all come forth to meet me, putting the rope around their own necks." No opposition was offered anywhere. Tournay had been crushed; Valenciennes, Bois le Duc, and all other important places, accepted their garrisons without a murmur. Even Antwerp had made its last struggle, and as soon as the back of Orange was turned, knelt down in the dust to receive its bridle. The Prince had been able, by his courage and wisdom, to avert a sanguinary conflict within its walls, but his personal presence alone could guarantee anything like religious liberty for the inhabitants, now that the rest of the country was subdued. On the 26th April, sixteen companies of infantry, under Count Mansfield, entered the gates. On the 28th, the Duchess made a visit to the city, where she was received with respect, but where her eyes were shocked by that which she termed the "abominable, sad, and hideous spectacle of the desolated churches."

To the eyes of all who loved their fatherland and their race, the sight of a desolate country, with its ancient charters superseded by brute force, its industrious population swarming from the land in droves, as if the pestilence were raging, with gibbets and scaffolds erected in every village, and with a sickening and universal apprehension of still darker disasters to follow, was a spectacle still more sad, hideous, and abominable.

At length, William, who was largely endowed with that firmness of mind which rises superior to reverses, and is more valuable in statesmanship than any other quality, saw that nothing could, for awhile, be done to rescue the Netherlands. Happily for the cause of freedom and civilization, he retired to Germany, and so escaped the doom of his former associates, who trusted to the royal word, and were recompensed for their credulity and services by mock trials and shameful deaths.

With the departure of Orange, a total eclipse seemed to come over the Netherlands. The country was absolutely helpless, the popular heart cold with apprehension. All persons at all implicated in the late troubles, or suspected of heresy, fled from their homes. Fugitive soldiers were hunted into rivers, cut to pieces in the fields, hanged, burned, or drowned, like dogs, without quarter, and without remorse. The most industrious and valuable part of the population left the land in droves. The tide swept onwards with such rapidity that the Netherlands seemed fast becoming the desolate waste which they had been before the Christian era. Throughout the country, those Reformers who were unable to effect their escape betook themselves to their old lurking-places. The new religion was banished from all the cities, every conventicle was broken up by armed men, the preachers and leading members were hanged, their disciples beaten with rods, reduced to beggary, or imprisoned, even if they sometimes escaped the scaffold. An incredible number, however, were executed for religious causes. Hardly a village so small, says the Antwerp chronicler, but that it could furnish one, two, or three hundred victims to the executioner. The new churches were levelled to the ground, and out of their timber galleys were constructed. It was thought an ingenious ploy to hang the Reformers upon the beams under which they had hoped to worship God. The property of the fugitives was confiscated. The beggars in name became beggars in reality. Many who felt obliged to remain, and who loved their possessions better than their creed, were suddenly converted into the most zealous of Catholics. Persons who had for years not gone to mass never omitted now their daily and nightly visits to the churches. Persons who had never spoken to an ecclesiastic but with contumely, now could not eat their dinners without one at their table. Many who were suspected of having participated in Calvinistic rites were foremost and loudest in puffing down and denouncing all forms and shows of the Reformation. "The country was as completely 'pacified,' to use the conqueror's expression, as Gaul had been by Cæsar."

And now, if Philip had been prudent, he might have exercised despotic sway over the Netherlands. If he had

been contented with moderate extortion and moderate slaughter, it is probable that scarcely any effort to excite the people to revolt would have been unsuccessful. He might, after a few years, have made the Inquisition an established institution of the country. But he was not satisfied with his triumph. He determined that not a vestige of liberty should remain. It was not enough that the nation was prostrate. He must make his absolute power apparent to the world. Besides, his work was not complete until the best blood of the citizens had been spilt, and all the wealth of the country was at his disposal. So he entered upon such a course that made resistance to his authority imperative. He trod upon the worm until it turned.

The ready subjugation of the Netherlands by the measures of the Regent Duchess is curious and instructive. How was it a people so brave and so determined—who afterwards for two generations waged a terribly unequal war against tyranny—should at the commencement have submitted to the loss of independence? In 1566, the power of Philip in the Netherlands was so comparatively moderate, that if the people had rallied round William it might have been kept in check. It was an extraordinary blunder not to resist until the means of resistance had been crippled and the Spanish troops were in possession of the cities and strongholds. The impolicy, though startling, is not unaccountable. Owing to the differences of race, the Netherlands were not, and never could be, thoroughly united. Every national league was weakened by distrust, jealousy, and faction. Moreover, the people fell into the too common error of believing in the possibility of a compromise of rights. They thought that by conceding much they might preserve a few of their privileges and some of their property. They did not know that there is no resting-place for a nation between absolute independence and absolute dependence. It was not so well understood in the sixteenth century as it is at present, that the only valid security for the rights and riches of a nation is national independence.

Notwithstanding the indignant and pathetic remonstrances of the Duchess, the Duke of Alva was despatched by Philip to trample on the people—to grind the bruised reed of revolt into dust; and to quench the smoking flax of liberty, if all thought of independence was not already extinguished. Philip selected a very fitting instrument to carry out his cruel edicts. The Duke of Alva was, perhaps, the first general of his day, and placed at the head of a well-equipped army, he would have been a formidable foe under any circumstances; to the depressed Netherlands, he seemed a crushing and irresistible fate. Next to Philip, he was the most heartless hypocrite then living. He could fuddle the man warily, affectionately, whom he determined to kill at the earliest opportunity. His usefulness as the agent of the morose Spanish despot was not curtailed by any pity for his victims. To order the torture and execution of one or a score of innocent persons produced no other excitement than a little pleasant hilarity.

Alva came to a conquered country, took possession, and deliberately set to work to squeeze out the revenue he had promised his master, and to which promise he probably owed his appointment. His method, certainly, had the merit of simplicity. He did not trouble himself with the complex machinery of taxation. He made wealth a crime, slaughtered rich citizens by wholesale, and confiscated their property. The Council of Blood did not take the trouble to inquire whether the accused persons were guilty or not of being rich. If a poor person was despatched, so much the better, for there was one Netherlander the less; and if the unfortunate wretch was rich, it was well to have got rid of him by a summary and facile process.

Thus the whole country became a charnel-house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village; not a family but was called to mourn for its dearest relatives, while the survivors stalked listlessly about, the ghosts of their former selves, among the wrecks of their former homes. The spirit of the nation, within a few months after the arrival of Alva, seemed hopelessly broken. The blood of its best and bravest had already stained the scaffold; the men to whom it had been accustomed to look for guidance and protection were dead, in prison, or in exile. Submission had ceased to be of any avail, flight was impossible, and the spirit of vengeance had alighted at every fireside. The mourners went daily about the streets, for there was hardly a house which had not been made desolate. The scaffolds, the gallows, the funeral piles, which had been sufficient in ordinary times, furnished now an entirely inadequate machinery for the incessant executions. Columns and stakes in every street, the door-posts of private houses, the fences in the fields, were laden with human carcasses, strangled, burned, beheaded. The orchards in this country bore on many a tree the hideous fruit of human bodies.

Thus the Netherlands were crushed, and but for the stringency of the tyranny which had now closed their gates, would have been depopulated. The grass began to grow in the streets of those cities which had recently nourished so many artisans. In all these great manufacturing and industrial marts, where the tide of human life had thrashed so vigorously, there now reigned the silence and darkness of midnight.

The Prince of Orange, though abroad, was not unmindful of the wrongs of his country. Philip seemed

determined to do what he could to spur the illustrious exile into active resistance to his tyranny, in case patriotism should prove too weak an incentive. He was outlawed, despoiled of his property, and his eldest son was taken from him. At the darkest hour, he resolved to wage war against Philip. The Duke of Alva might well regret he had not secured William. Cardinal Granvelle asked if the Taciturn had been taken? "Receiving a negative reply, he expressed extreme disappointment, adding, that if Orange had escaped, they had taken nobody, and that his capture would have been more valuable than that of any man in the Netherlands." The Cardinal was a shrewd man, and for once, perhaps for the only time in his life, he spoke the truth.

Yet William's prospects were not encouraging. Strange to say, when he applied for foreign assistance, he obtained little more than promises. It was the interest of Europe that the power of Spain should not be increased. It was the interest of commerce that the Netherlands should remain independent. It was the interest of Protestantism that the reformed religion should not be rooted out of the Netherlands by fire and sword. If these motives were not sufficient to call into existence an avowed international league against Philip, one would have supposed that in secret William would have been warmly supported; but, on the contrary, his undertaking was hindered and crippled by want of money.

In 1568, the Prince began to enlist troops, and on the 6th of April granted a commission to the dashing Louis of Nassau. The indispensable funds were raised by subscription, William contributing 50,000 florins, being enabled to do so by the sale of his plate, jewels, and other personal effects. These preparations must have seemed ludicrously inadequate to the friends of the cause, and, doubtless, amused the arrogant Spaniards. In order to further discourage the insurgents, their first efforts were signally defeated. A force, under de Cocqueville, was cut to pieces by the Governor of Picardy. A force under Seigneur de Villas was completely routed. We are not then surprised at the Spaniards feeling supreme contempt for the army led by Louis of Nassau; though this contempt cost them dearly.

Louis selected an admirable battle field. The Spanish troops were impatient for the onslaught, and Aremberg, their commander, unable to resist the impetuosity of his officers, gave battle, even without waiting for a reinforcement on its way to his camp, which was daily, almost hourly, expected, and which would have turned the scale. His imprudence met with its meet reward; his troops being completely defeated.

The victory of Louis was followed by a season of inactivity, during which Alva prepared to revenge the defeat of his lieutenant. The opposing forces met at Groningen, and the patriots were panic stricken and routed. Louis took refuge at Jemmingen, a small town on the Ems. Completely hemmed in by the Spaniards on one side and the river on the other, he had only one chance of arresting the progress of the enemy.

Meantime, a work which had been too long neglected, was then, if possible, to be performed. In that watery territory, the sea was only held in check by artificial means. In a very short time, by the demolition of a few dykes, and the opening of a few sluices, the whole country through which the Spaniards had to pass could be laid under water. Believing it yet possible to enlist the ocean in his defence, Louis, having partially reduced his soldiers to obedience, ordered a strong detachment upon this important service. Seizing a spade, he commenced the work himself, and then returned to set his army in battle array. Two or three tide-gates had been opened, two or three bridges had been demolished, when Alva, riding in advance of his army, appeared within a mile or two of Jemmingen. It was then eight o'clock in the morning. The patriots redoubled their efforts. By ten o'clock the waters were already knee high, and in some places as deep as to the waist. At that hour, the advanced guard of the Spaniards arrived. Fifteen hundred musketeers were immediately ordered forward by the Duke. They were preceded by a company of mounted carabineers, attended by a small band of volunteers of distinction. This little band threw themselves at once upon the troops engaged in destroying the dykes. The rebels fled at the first onset, and the Spaniards closed the gates. Feeling the full importance of the moment, Count Louis ordered a large force of musketeers to recover the position, and to complete the work of inundation. It was too late. The little band of Spaniards held the post with consummate tenacity. Charge after charge, volley after volley, from the overwhelming force brought against them, failed to loosen the fierce grip with which they held this key to the whole situation. Before they could be driven from the dykes, their comrades arrived, when all their antagonists at once made a hurried retreat to their camp.

A little more promptness, and an impassable swamp would have separated Louis from his antagonist. As it was, his followers were butchered, literally butchered. "It was not a battle, but a massacre. Those who escaped the sword were hurled into the river. Seven Spaniards were killed, and seven thousand rebels." It is worthy of notice how those who were warring against constitutional rights persistently designated the defenders of those rights as rebels. In this respect also the Federals have closely followed the example of the Spanish tyrant.

Louis escaped the carnage by swimming across the Ems, and took refuge in Germany.

The Spanish army, two days afterwards, marched back to Groningeo. The page which records their victorious campaign is foul with outrage and red with blood. None of the horrors which accompany the passage of hostile troops through a defenceless country were omitted. Maids and matrons were ravished in multitudes; old men butchered in cold blood. As Alva returned, with the rear-guard of his army, the whole sky was red with a constant conflagration; the very earth seemed changed to ashes. Every peasant's hovel, every farm-house, every village upon the road, had been burned to the ground. So gross and so extensive had been the outrage, that the commander-in-chief felt it due to his dignity to hang some of his own soldiers who had most distinguished themselves in this work. Thus ended the campaign of Count Louis in Friesland. Thus signally and terribly had the Duke of Alva vindicated the supremacy of Spanish discipline and of his own military skill.

There was everywhere hopeless consternation. William only kept a stout heart, and refusing to despair of the liberty of his country, prepared to strike another blow for the sacred cause. In vain his friends advised him to remain quiet; he had a duty to fulfil, and he was not daunted by the dangers and the sacrifices. On the eve of his departure he wrote to Anna of Savoy:—"I see well enough that I am destined to pass this life in misery and labour, with which I am well content, since it thus pleases the Omnipotent, for I know that I have merited still greater chastisement. I only implore Him, graciously, to send me strength to endure with patience." A man so resolute, and full of such noble sentiments was altogether superior to the smiles and frowns of fickle fortune, and was eminently suited to fight the battle of national independence.

(To be continued.)

Abel Drake's Wife. A Novel. By JOHN SAUNDERS: London: Lockwood & Co.

THE proprietor of a cheap serial for the million, which the million ungratefully refused to purchase, confessed his ill-luck to the proprietor of the most successful story-telling journal ever published. The latter, commiserating the misfortune of his would-be rival, very magnanimously enlightened him as to the cause of his failure. "What you want, sir, is more blood. I have looked over some of your numbers, and find in them only one murder. Now, I never allow a number of my journal to appear without, at least, three violent deaths. What the public require is, plenty of blood for their pence." There is a great deal of shrewdness in the advice, but it is a mistake to suppose, that the taste for horrors is confined to the lower ten millions. The authoress of "Adam Bede," with her undoubted literary power, would not have become so rapidly popular, if she had not treated her readers to sensation horrors. Mr. Charles Dickens, who was formerly so pleasant and genial, never indulges in his later novels in a cheerful passage or a cheerful character, unless to intensify the terrors of the tale by contrast. Sir E. B. Lytton has, by the publication of "A Strange Story," eclipsed the already great reputation he enjoyed as a literary terrorist, by the authorship of "Lucretia." Passing by the legion of novelists who devote their energies to piling up horrors, we must, from a sense of justice, make special mention of Mr. Wilkie Collins, whose imagination seems to be affected with morbid melancholy. We happened to read a few chapters of "No Name." At first we thought it impossible that Mr. Wilkie Collins could have written anything so free from gloom. The idea of the author of "The Woman in White" writing so that a young lady could read without exclaiming, "Oh, how beautifully shocking!" was extremely funny. But a few pages convinced us that Mr. Wilkie Collins had not been unmindful of his duty as literary terrorist. The happiness of the Vanstone family was only set up to be incontinently knocked down. The kind father is killed by a railway accident, the distracted wife forthwith deceases, and the daughters are orphans, and find themselves bastards. The orphanage and bastardy are necessary ingredients of the story, but it would have been far more artistic to have introduced the chief personages of the fiction without bringing father and mother on the scene to kill them off in half a dozen chapters. But we must remember that if Mr. Wilkie Collins had been artistic he would have missed a fine opportunity of being "beautifully shocking."

Lately the public taste has slightly altered. There is still a craving for horrors, but, however tragic the story, it must end well. Mr. Saunders has hit the fashion of the hour in the novel before us; and, therefore, we are not surprised that it has gone into a second edition.

Abel Drake is an ambitious artizan, who marries a young damsel of rather aspiring views, but without education or fortune. Abel becomes a ringleader of a strike, is reduced to poverty, reproached by his wife, and suddenly leaves home to seek his fortune. His in-

fant child dies from want. The bereaved mother vows never to forgive her husband:—

"Abel Drake! if ever you come back to me—come ye rich, or come ye poor, sick or in health—I tell thee now, o'er th' dead body of our child, and in God's own presence, I'll never own thee as my husband! Never!"

Long after the terrible sound of her voice had done ringing through the chamber of death, she knelt there, with her clasped hands extended over the body of her babe, and her stroog resolute face raised to Heaven.

The above passage is very dramatic, and very unreal; but not more unreal than the rest of the story. Barbara enters into the service of a Mrs. Wolcombe, as nurse-maid, blossoms into a governess, and is asked to marry the gallant Captain Wolcombe, upon the supposition that her first husband has been drowned in Canada. After a great deal of diplomatic coying, rather extraordinary in an ex-nursemaid, Barbara consents to wed the love-sick soldier. We might observe, if we were inclined to be fault-finding, that it is not usual for rich manufacturers to consent to their sons marrying the widows of factory hands; or for English officers to form such alliances. However, just in time to prevent Barbara from committing bigamy, up turns Abel Drake, in the character of a wonderful inventor. Barbara is not mollified by absence, and being, perhaps, a trifle disappointed at not being able to marry the captain, treats her husband after the manner of a domestic Lady Macbeth. There are several scenes, and at last, a meeting in the churchyard, at the grave of their child, a reconciliation, an arrest for desertion (a palpable anti-climax), and finally, all differences are made up at the death-bed of Isaac the schoolmaster. Mr. Wolcombe offers to take Abel into partnership, and so, in nursery language, "they lived together happily for ever afterwards."

We think those who read "Abel Drake" will agree with us that it is a very bad story, though very well told.

SOUTHERN PROSPECTS.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The same good fortune which attended the first renewal of the invasion of the South seems uninterruptedly to smile on the Federal arms, and the exultation of the New York journals has known no bounds. And yet, on the other hand, I have seen no symptoms of despondency in the retiring forces of the Confederates, and certainly no diminution of the sympathy with their cause which pervades the educated classes in England. The Radical journals, it is true, are incessantly urging that the success of the Northern arms is a proof of the triumph of democracy, and throwing out warnings of their coming fate on what they are pleased to call the aristocracy of England. But these are matters which are beyond my scope, though fraught with some moment to politicians in this country. The evacuation of the Navy-yard at Norfolk Harbour was necessarily part of the scheme embraced by the council of war which decided on the retreat from Yorktown lines; and the destruction of the world-renowned Merrimac, or Virginia, inevitably followed. The resignation of his appointment to command her by Commodore Tatnall, the motives and cause of which were confidently asserted by the New York papers, we know now to have been occasioned by the extensive injuries inflicted on her by the bursting of her 200-pound gun, which rendered her unequal to the repetition of her former exploits. One thing is certain, as the *Saturday Review* properly points out, that the most thorough going calumniator of the Confederate States can scarcely dispute the loyal devotion which they have shown to the cause and the Government which they had chosen. And it is this devotion which has insured them the respect of all who are not blinded by self-interest against the monstrous proceedings which have characterized the efforts of the autocracy of Washington to impose the Morrill Tariff on their neighbours. Whether the strictures which the successive retreats have called forth on the naval imbecility of the Confederate States are well founded, we are not yet in a position to decide; but the attitude of their military commanders is not open to the same condemnation. And while the Cabinet of Richmond is in accord with the united support of a free and energetic people, it is not in the mouth of a constitutional lawyer to despise it. So long as the population continue loyal and faithful, the chiefs self-denying and courageous, and their armies unconquered as well as undismayed by the superior forces of an insulting and despotic invader, there is hope and promise. It cannot be too often repeated that inside the positions which navigable rivers would put into the possession of the Federals, by reason of their overwhelming naval superiority, there exists more than 800,000 square miles of territory which the Federals must hold as well as conquer by force of arms. Into that country they must penetrate, with all the chances of fever, of the necessity of transporting all their supplies through

a hostile population, superadded to the difficulty of beating an opposing army on their own native soil. These forces, it must be remembered, are commanded by generals who have won the devotion of their own soldiers, and the admiration of foreigners, by strategic movements characterized by secrecy in counsel, rapidity of action, and, above all, by success in effect. Sympathy in England I have long looked to as confined to words by the very nature of our position; that of France may be more effectual, but it must be bought at a sacrifice. The true strength of the Confederate cause now, as ever, lies in the inextinguishable tenacity with which men, educated in the love of freedom handed down to them from their forefathers, cling to the defence of their homes against a hated and arrogant foe. And to doubt their ultimate success in so sacred a cause, is to despair at once of the honour of human nature and the providence of a chastening but merciful God.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

THE CONFEDERATE GUNBOATS AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—Is it not our interest (not to say duty) to help the *Times* and the bewildered public of this country out of the dilemma into which they have been thrown by the strange contradiction apparent in the issue of the conflict at New Orleans, as compared with that in Hampton Roads? Now, I happen to be in possession of facts, the knowledge of which might have saved the *Times* the two lengthy "speculations" in which it has indulged on this subject,—and they are briefly these:—First, that the *Manassas* presented an oval surface almost identical in appearance to her hull, and was simply plated with $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ in. bar iron, which was the flat rail once used on the track of the Mexican Gulf railroad. You will readily perceive that her shape did not secure perfectly the advantage of sloping lines, and her armour-plate was known to be indifferent unless she was kept bows on, so as to very materially increase the angle at which a ball would strike; and as she was only intended as a ram, it was thought practicable to keep her vulnerable part from being exposed. Besides this, she sat so low in the water, that balls from the deck of an ordinary frigate would strike her from such an elevation as to nullify all the advantage she may have had from oval sides.

Regarding the reputed iron-clad gunboats, I presume they were all of the model I saw before leaving New Orleans; and the result, as stated by —, but corroborates the superiority of sloping sides. He says that his balls had no effect until he found the vulnerable points. Now this I can explain in a moment. Only the machinery of these boats was intended to be protected—and the one I saw had the sloping sides covered with iron immediately around, or rather in front and rear, of the engines, and nowhere else, leaving the remainder of the boat as unprotected as any other wooden craft. Evidently the balls that struck the armour around the engines flew off, while those that were aimed at and struck her hull had the same effect they would have on any other wooden sides. I give you these items in haste.

J. J. M.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL HERESIES.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

THE disruption of the American Union will certainly be one of the most extraordinary historical features of the present century. The extreme facility with which these hordes of Northern shopkeepers have left their mercantile pursuits to engage in all the hardships and cruelties of warfare, astounding as it may appear, is nothing when compared with all the political heresies which this fratricidal war, so wantonly waged upon the South by the North, has resuscitated in Europe. In fact, all the clearest principles of modern international law seem to be intentionally ignored by the Councils of Europe; and its statesmen yielding, as it were, to some whimsical and supernatural power, might well exclaim with *Medea*, "*Viduo meliora sed deteriora sequor.*"

France and England, two great nations whose very commercial life are at stake in this great struggle, apparently behold the direful events of the American drama, with the utmost insensibility and indifference. The press of these two nations discuss the different phases of the war as though the American continent might disappear from the surface of the globe, without affecting, in the slightest degree, the social organization of Europe.

It can scarcely be conceived that both the Governments and the press of these two countries should have

permitted the American war to take its present proportions, if its inherent consequences had been foreseen; especially when the early application of the general principles of international law to the Southern States should have certainly impeded the progress of Northern vandalism and overbearing ambition.

As it is never too late to do good, it may not be amiss to bring back to the vacillating memory of leading men the theories which now govern the political world.

We understand the rules as applicable to nations, to be, that the right of sovereignty, which natural and social law confer equally upon them, gives to each one the *absolute right* to constitute its own Government; at its will to change or modify its constitution to suit its own political, national, and social purposes; to decide for itself on the best mode of securing its own happiness and prosperity. This right is nothing more than the offspring of reason itself, and the respect which it commands should be sufficiently powerful to apply equally to all nations, small or large, weak or strong. Why? Because, in our opinion, it is common to all, because its disregard would inevitably jeopardize national and social life, because brutal force would overrule legality, because disorder would usurp the place of order, and finally, because no nation could ever rely upon its morrow.

The laws of equity urgently require that existing Governments should treat with friendship a new-born Government, and greet her as a sister entering into the great society of nations. Before truth and justice, all Governments stand on an equal footing. In the great association of humanity each people has a co-equal right to the respect and consideration of the others; or, as Governments are but the representatives of the people, none have the right to treat a neighbour with contumely or disdain.

We apprehend no contradiction of these principles from the European statesmen, far less from those of the United States, for they were the very first to advocate their universal adoption.

In the message of President Monroe, delivered to Congress on the 2nd day of December, 1823, we read the following passage:—"The policy of the American Government towards Europe has been, and shall always be, to consider the Governments *de facto* as the legitimate Governments, because we respect the right of all nations to claim their independence."

When, therefore, taking in its hands this sovereign power, the people of the Confederate States have chosen to modify their constitution, to adopt a Government of their own, to elect a President, and to trust him with their future destinies, a refusal of recognition on the part of the European Governments can hardly be construed in any other light than that of a paramount negation of the universally admitted principle of the *sovereignty of the people*.

Is it not by virtue of these very principles that the provinces of the Papal States have been permitted to abandon their legitimate sovereign—that the people of Naples have overthrown their own king, to join the crown of Italy? And, if found to apply in these two particular instances, how much more forcibly are the Confederate States entitled to their most extended application, especially at the hands of England, who can but with ill grace plead ignorance of the fact.

Are the people of the Confederate States to be indefinitely denied the right which belongs to all the nations of Christendom? Is the Confederate Government the only one to be debarré from the benefit of indismissible truth and justice? or are the United States such a formidable Power, and so much to be dreaded as a foe, that her audacious will and arrogant aspirations should be permitted boldly to defy truth and justice?

Patience is undoubtedly a great virtue, but when pushed to the extreme it often becomes a deplorable weakness.

P.B.

PARIS, May 1862.

BALTIMORE, MAY 2.—ARREST OF MR. JOHN SWANN AND OTHERS.—As the Confederate prisoners were coming through Liberty-street on their way from the cars to the jail, on Thursday evening, they were accosted by Mr. John Swann, with the remark—"Well, boys, you're welcome," or some expression of the kind. This being heard by the Deputy-Marshal, he immediately advanced, and placing his hand upon Mr. Swann's shoulder, called him by name, and said that this kind of thing must be put a stop to. Whereupon he gave Mr. Swann into the custody of a policeman, who took him to the station-house, where he was confined during the whole of the night. Yesterday morning General Dix was applied to by the friends of Mr. Swann, to know the cause of his arrest and detention, when they were informed that Marshal McPhail had acted under orders, and that it was absolutely necessary that open expression of sympathy for prisoners should be suppressed. General Dix considered it proper that Mr. Swann should be made an example of, and accordingly he was ordered to Fort McHenry. We also hear of the arrest of Messrs. John Tormey, Henry Smith, and one or two others.

The American Question.

THE subjoined appeared first in a French journal of recent date. It is from the pen of M. Bellot des Minières, a gentleman thoroughly conversant, both from painstaking study, and personal acquaintance with the resources and character of the Southern people. It forms a suitable pendant to the circular of Messrs. Neill Brothers, which we publish elsewhere.

Is the South conquered, the North conqueror, lord, and master? Take a map, and reflect.

What is called the taking, the surrender, of New Orleans and of Yorktown, I would call evacuation of these places. These matters, if they are not concerted between the South and other Governments, are not as clear as I might desire. But what I should reproach the Confederates for, would not be to have abandoned the city without sustaining a bombardment, which must have reduced it to ashes, without the slightest possibility of resistance, but not to have foreseen the case of a few steamers running the gauntlet of the forts, and to have provided against this by other forts in the rear. As for Yorktown, who can believe those journalists, who copy and repeat what others say, that the fortunes of the South would be staked on that isolated position, or that the position itself was of a military importance to warrant a permanent occupation? The Confederates only aimed at checking McClellan's army, and to gain time for the erection of their defences in the interior, nearer Richmond, so as to allure the enemy further and further from his base of operation and his depôts of stores, while they themselves would be nearer their own.

Other considerations suggest themselves to the thinking mind. To sustain a regular siege, no position could have been selected more unfavourable than Yorktown, situated, as it is, at the extreme point of a peninsula, bounded by two mighty streams, which enabled McClellan to bring up as many large siege pieces and mortars as he needed, without counting on the assistance of the Federal fleet, whose huge batteries might combine with the land forces in the attack. That fleet could shell the Confederate lines and defences along the shores of the James and York Rivers with guns of infinitely greater range than they can use at thirty miles further up the peninsula. First, because it is impossible to carry by land siege pieces of fifteen, eighteen, and twenty tons, readily transported on board ships, but which it would be folly to drag with horses over bad roads, in pursuit of a hostile army marching on its own soil. The slightest fall of rain would paralyze the pursuers. Secondly, because the Confederate army falling back, and the peninsula enlarging, this army, at a distance of twenty-five miles from Yorktown, finds itself, on each of its flanks, some twenty miles removed from the cannon of the Federal fleets. It is not necessary to be much of a strategist to understand, that, if it is required to check an army of a hundred thousand men advancing upon a certain point, it would be madness to await that army where there are a thousand pieces of siege and naval artillery to contend against, when this artillery can be wholly avoided elsewhere.

In the battle at Williamsburg the South gained the victory. It is within my personal knowledge, holding it from indisputable authority, that the Confederates have almost always in the open field, and always when the disparity of numbers was not overwhelmingly against them, beaten their opponents. This morning I have received a letter from a former consul of the United States, at Liverpool. I extract the following:—

It now turns out, as usual, that the Yankees have lied, and that they have been severely beaten near Williamsburg. I have seen two letters from the North, entitled to perfect confidence, one from New York, and the other from Philadelphia, both testifying to the same fact.

As regards New Orleans, what has taken place there differs widely from what has been reported in Europe. 25,000 shells were thrown into the two forts, they were not taken by assault, and from the North's own confession, they destroyed several ships of war. General Lovell, with his command of 40,000 men, and the Confederate fleet were more needed by Beauregard further up the Mississippi, than they could be needed in New Orleans, the military occupation of which city is impossible to the North for any length of time.

At present there are the strongest reasons to believe that Beauregard has won a second victory at Corinth. It has been published in the Northern papers that events of high importance had taken place there, but that the Federal Government had kept the information which it had received, perfectly secret. Then we find in English correspondence and English papers, that Beauregard had defeated the Federals and taken 9000 prisoners.

And if we come to the financial condition of the North, we can see no improvement there. They altogether rely on the hope that the South is giving way under those pretended reverses, so grossly exaggerated. The Tax Bill has not been voted. The slightest defeat of the Federals, which should be allowed to become known, will at once break down the credit of Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury.

The retreat of the Confederate troops from New Orleans is unquestionably an advantage to the South, and a loss only to the North. That question of Secession, in the eyes of Europe, of America, and especially of the North, is more one of moral order than of brutal force. Mr. Lincoln can only rely on his supporters in the North just as long as he succeeds in making them believe that the South is, at heart, in favour of the Union, and only momentarily deluded by ambitious leaders. It is well known in the North that the conquest of the South would be of no practical result, if the South has a firm

will not to re-enter the Union. The occupation of Richmond itself would be a matter of no importance. The Government and the army would retire further back. We can see, from McClellan's official despatches, that it is but with the utmost difficulty that he can provide for his troops; and yet the season is not far advanced, and McClellan is still within gunshot of his ships.

The South cannot make its soldiers invulnerable when these, having no ships of war to support them, are exposed to a disproportionate fire from the enemy's artillery; but the Southerners know very well that gunboats cannot travel inland, and still less in the mountains, and that if the Northern hosts, in proximity to their capital, and with their fleet close at hand, can hardly feed themselves, their victualling will become an utter impossibility when they shall have advanced a few hundred miles in the interior of the country.

Had McClellan been beaten at Yorktown, the result indeed would have proved very unimportant; he could have promptly rallied his troops, and fallen back on his basis of operations. But suppose that he should meet with defeat in the interior, any disadvantage in a fight there becomes at once a disaster. An army beaten under such conditions is an army annihilated. And the case is the same with Buell. Let him be beaten by Beauregard, and his retreat is irretrievably cut off by the people of Tennessee and Kentucky.

The passing of the Abolition Bill for the district of Columbia has done more harm to Mr. Lincoln than any good he may derive from the occupation of New Orleans and Yorktown. The members of Congress for the Border States have withdrawn their support from Lincoln, and have denounced his Administration on the floor of the House. It shows that the whole of Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, and Maryland, have given up every idea of the Union being restored, regarding it as an utter impossibility. There lies, in my opinion, the capital fact that not only are these States in favour of the South with their whole heart, but the majority of the Democratic party are opposed to Mr. Lincoln. That party has been wounded in its most vital feelings; that is to say, its political principles—besides, it complains of having been trifled with. The bearing of these Senators and Deputies has for its sole object to be in keeping with the most positively expressed opinions of their constituents. Even at Wheeling, the capital of the new state of Kanawha, formed of the disaffected portion of Virginia, at both the State and county elections the returns have shown a large Secessionist majority. For anyone acquainted with American affairs, this is the order of facts, which has quite another significance than the "Te Deums" chanted by the North.

When the Northern people have seen that the occupation of New Orleans does not affect the South, and that the South, instead of being crushed down, seems, on the contrary, to redouble its energies, to gather its strength anew, to clothe itself more firmly with the indomitable resolution of resisting to the last, then the Northern people will recognize how deeply they have been misled.

Should even Europe join the North, never can the South be conquered by military force. All and every thing depends on one point: Is the South demoralized, or does it will its independence? Why! its spirit has not flinched yet, and its strong will is to resist to the very end. The whole of the people fly to arms. Their Congress has decreed a general levy of all able-bodied men above eighteen years of age; they enlist without awaiting the decree. I am, also, a believer in an alliance between the South and France, relating to Mexico; which France, from all appearances, intends to make one of her dependencies. The South would gladly furnish her 100,000 men. If the South has only her ports open to supply herself with arms, her cause is gained—desperate as it is absurdly supposed by some to be.

THE PUBLIC DEBT 1200,000,000 DOLLARS IN JUNE.—Caleb Cushing, in a speech before the Massachusetts Legislature, this week, upon the subject of Taxes, said:—"Providing the war is brought to a speedy close, his estimate—founded on the detailed figures and the opinions of men in the Government service—of the debt at the close of the Federal fiscal year, June 30, 1862, is at least 1200,000,000. In arriving at this estimate he calculated the expenses to average 1000 dollars to each man in the 633 regiments now in service, and although illness might lessen the number, it would not in the least lessen the expenses. Add to this 634,000,000 dollars the enormous cost of the naval branch, and the above estimate is not overstated. There are two subjects of large consumption which are lightly taxed by Government, which are in great demand abroad—spirited and intoxicating liquors, and tobacco."

BALTIMORE, May 22.—DEATH OF MR. JAMES WILCOX JENKINS.—Information has been received from Richmond that James Wilcox Jenkins, son of Edward Jenkins, Esq., of this city, was killed about the 10th day of April, in a skirmish near Yorktown. According to the brief obituary in the *Catholic Mirror*, the captain of his company reported that "he died gloriously, fighting bravely at his post." At the time of his death, Mr. Jenkins was a subordinate officer in a Louisiana regiment. His body now lies buried at Williamsburg, the ancient capital of colonial Virginia. Mr. Jenkins had filled several positions of honour and trust in the United States' navy, and in the performance of the duties which were thus devolved upon him, he was held in the highest esteem by superior officers under whom he served. Whilst with Commander Lynch, now of the Confederate navy, in a cruise of three years on the South American coast, Mr. Jenkins held the responsible post of purser, not then being of age. He subsequently filled other offices in a manner which won for himself the highest encomiums from those best qualified to judge of his merits. At the breaking out of the war, Mr. Jenkins was engaged in business in New Orleans, but immediately joined the Confederate army, and served with his company for a long time under General Bragg, at Pensacola. He was afterwards ordered to Yorktown, and was present at the memorable skirmish in which Colonel Drenth fell, whose body he assisted in bearing from the field. Mr. Jenkins was a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Maryland, and was only twenty-six years of age at the time of his death.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

**REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.**
Represented by Andrew Stewart, J. Rutherford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS.
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rilled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BEEZLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Bryon-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders for the Index, and
send it by mail, or by express, and
will also attend to all orders for the Index,
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES:
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: Houghton, New Lamb-eth.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classical, and liberal system of advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, till will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mightily lever "the
Press," and disperse the influence which by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:

1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.

2nd. To advertise Southern business, properly,
&c., in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of our
enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask you
to send us duplicate copies of your paper, accom-
panied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors.

WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissence, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.

A series of Soirees will be given during the period
of the Meeting, and it is intended that the Com-
mittee will visit to places and institutions illustrative of
the objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
tailing to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and the Soirees, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.

For every 45 subscribers to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Bouvier,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-street, Mansel House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.

A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.

G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO AND BRITISH

COLUMBIA, via Panama—Steamers from
Southampton on the 2nd and 17th of each month.
THROUGH BILLS OF LADING for goods, &c., are
issued by the ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY, in connection with Messrs. Wells, Fargo,
and Co., of San Francisco. Goods should be sent to
Southampton, addressed to the care of a shipping
agent there. Jewellers received in London.

For further particulars apply to Captain Vincent,
Superintendent; or to R. T. KEMP, Sec.,
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, E.C.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN

PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY, living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysees, offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching for TWO
or THREE CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.

Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Langerie,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

"The Human Face Divine." Eyes, Nose,
Lips, Mouth, Teeth, Chin, Neck, Head, Hair,
Hand, Feet, Temperament, Complexion, Re-
cumbent, Capabilities, &c., in the

NEW ILLUSTRATED SILEN-

CE-STRATOR IN PHYSIOLOGY, PHONO-
LOGY, and PHRENOLOGY, with 1000 Portraits.
Two bound vols. Price 1s. 6d. and 1s. 11d.
Strand, W.C.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL

17, R. T. KEMP, Sec., Royal Mail Steam Packet Company,
55, Moorgate-street, E.C.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bolu.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 435,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,896 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT. after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.

Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.

Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 699,523 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 865,420 08

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.

Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 29, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day, it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Pontx.
C. Homold.
G. Milteneberger.

A. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. E. Voochich.
B. D. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 257,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,142,939 95

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:

Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, 23 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PATERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of Freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Does not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, any goods, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship who refuses to take on board
any package that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to V. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a blot to
the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havana. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the lenders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "Index" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and

Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY E. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—May 29, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 6.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 5, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	81
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	82
Liverpool Letter	82
Manchester Letter	82
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
List of killed, wounded, and missing at the Battle of Shiloh	83
Private Letters and Extracts	84
Letter from the Confederate States	85
Letters from Washington	85
" Paris	85
" Havannah	86
LEADERS—	
The War	88
Who commenced the War?	88
The South as a Literary Market	89
Federal Treatment of Foreign Consuls	90
REVIEWS OF BOOKS—	
A Historical Parallel, No. III.	91
An Embassy to the Court of St. James's in 1840.. .. .	92
CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS—	
Two Messages of President Davis concerning the Diplomatic negotiations with the Washington Government, and enclosing Correspondence of Judge Campbell, of the United States' Supreme Court, with Mr. Seward	93, 94, 95
ADVERTISEMENTS	96

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

IF Europe had one eye and one ear, and the former could be plucked out, and the latter hermetically sealed, what a nice, what a much more pleasant, world it would be for the Yankees. At present, in spite of the most unremitting efforts on the part of the Lincoln Government, it has been found impossible to perfectly deceive us as to the actual state of affairs. Not only are Mr. Stanton's paper victories short-lived, but no amount of manœuvring can conceal the reverses of the Federals.

Last week the Yankees were exulting over the destruction of the Virginia, and we were assured that now the end was coming. The Monitor, the Galena, and the rest of the Federal fleet, hitherto kept by the Virginia under the protection of batteries, were to sally forth and co-operate with the army of the Potomac. The Confederates were to be "smashed up" in so many days, hours, minutes, and seconds. Having been assured that the dreadful Virginia was no more, a fleet of iron-clad boats—the Monitor, Galena, Naugatuck, Port Royal, and Aristook—proceeded towards Richmond, but it was not destined to get a sight of the Confederate capital. At Fort Darling, seven or eight miles below Richmond, the fleet found the river closed to navigation by sunken vessels, piles, and chains. At this point the Federals were roughly used. A heavy battery on Ward's Bluff did tremendous execution. The "impregnable" Galena (even according to Federal accounts) was pierced in sixteen places. The Monitor could not elevate her guns to touch the batteries, and so withdrew from close quarters, but not until she had been hit. The Federal commander says:—

The fire of the enemy was remarkably well directed, but vainly, towards this vessel. She was struck three times—one solid eight-inch shot square on the turret, and two solid shot on the side armour, forward of the pilot-house. Neither caused any damage beyond bending the plates. I am happy to report no casualties.

It is rumoured that not only did the plates bend, but started, and that the Monitor was hurt as well as scratched.

The Naugatuck was disabled at the outset by the bursting of her 100-pounder gun. The Aristook and Port Royal were severely damaged. Meantime, the banks of the river being lined with rifle pits, the loss of life was unusually heavy. The Federals admitted 1100 killed and wounded; but we need not observe that the Federals never confess the full extent of their losses. Such large casualties must have been caused by an attempt to land the troops with which the gunboats were freighted, and which were intended to be thrown on Richmond. After four hours the fleet succeeded in getting away. The Northern telegram described the affair as "a repulse," which, considering the above facts, must, we presume, be a polite equivalent for "a defeat."

Further accounts confirm the view we took of the naval engagement above Fort Pillow. The Confederate gunboats were not injured, while two of the Federal iron-clad boats, the Monro City and the Cincinnati, were sunk.

The Confederates have taken possession of Port Royal, a town near Fredericksburg, in Virginia. We have no details at present, but in the course of a few mails we shall know more about it, and then the "driving out the Federal Colonel Bentley's command" will turn out to be an important victory. The Stanton edition of this news is very ominous.

General Banks officially reports that the Confederates have driven the Federal Colonel Bentley's command from Port Royal, with considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Confederates now probably occupy Port Royal.

When, besides a long list of killed and wounded, there is a considerable loss of prisoners admitted, it is virtually a confession of defeat. It is worthy of notice that General Banks is not quite certain whether or not the Confederates had occupied Port Royal, showing that not only were his forces driven out, but that he had to retire to a respectful distance.

We have no news of the movements of General McClellan, except that two divisions of the army had crossed the Chickahominy, and there is a rumour that the Federal advance was about five miles from Richmond.

So far from the war being nearly over, so far from the "rebellion" being crushed, Mr. Lincoln is obliged to call for another levy of volunteers. The new levy will amount to 50,000 men. Those who were foolish enough to swallow the Federal boasts about the subjugation of the South, in consequence of the evacuation of New Orleans and Yorktown, will find this call for more men a rather indigestible morsel. Let the Federals paint this ugly fact as they will, it still remains incontestible evidence that the North has not conquered the South and it is conscious the conquest cannot be effected with present resources. Even the fettered Federal press is allowed to hint the end is not near:—

The *New York Journal of Commerce* thinks there is no reason to believe that the war will be ended this summer, unless there be a revolution in the Southern States.

A revolution in the Southern States! From what cause is it to arise? The sham of Union feeling can

no longer be paraded; for not a vestige of this feeling can be found. All that General Butler can do at New Orleans is to reduce the defenceless inhabitants to a state of "sullen submission." As at New Orleans, so at Norfolk, the mayor and councilmen have refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government. General Wool has been obliged to declare martial law, in consequence of the generally rebellious spirit, and to threaten the people with cutting off their trade, unless they consent to national apostasy. We do not think the declaration of martial law unnecessary. Not a foot of the more than 800,000 square miles of Confederate territory can be held by the Yankees except by brute force.

Is a revolution in the North impossible? Last week we had to report a riot in New York because the soldiers had not been paid, and, consequently, could not remit to their wives; and now we have to chronicle a collision in Washington between the military and civil authorities, on the Fugitive Slave question. Perhaps Mr. Lincoln is about to declare martial law in New York and Washington, and the new levy is needed to enforce its observance.

As was anticipated, Mr. Lincoln has nullified General Hunter's proclamation. European nations wonder that, after such a reproof, the General does not resign, or, if he is mean-spirited enough to pocket the affront, is not recalled.

This General Hunter is engaged in a cowardly and diabolical work. He is said to be organizing a regiment of negroes. The poor creatures are fleeing from his impressment. We can conceive nothing more atrocious than such conduct. If General Hunter and his comrades wish to pillage, but are afraid of Confederate bullets and bayonets, let them, rather than gratify their lust by the carnage of the unoffending negroes, see if they cannot get their women to fight for them. For the honour of human nature, we rejoice to add that the dastardly conduct of General Hunter has so incensed Federal officers that many of them are resigning their commissions.

The Confederates have evacuated Pensacola, after destroying the navy-yard and forts. The public property was removed.

The accounts that have been forwarded to Europe, in reference to the sacrifice of Southern staples, have not only been unexaggerated, but fell short of the truth. So determined are the Confederates that their cotton shall not fall into Federal hands, that they do not wait for the last minute before commencing the work of destruction. We have files of Southern papers to the 3rd of May. Cotton burning has commenced in the interior, and large quantities have been already consumed. A letter from Nashville says: "I am informed that 10,000 bales of cotton have been burned in the counties of Williamstown, Maury, and Rutherford alone. General Pillow's overseer burned 600 bales of cotton before leaving his Maury plantation."

Upon the fate of Richmond depends more than a third of the tobacco crop in the Confederate States.

According to the *Memphis Appeal*, of May 15, General Butler has outraged the Consulates of France, Spain, and Holland:—

General Butler, yesterday, took forcible possession of the office of the consul of the Netherlands, searched the person of the consul, and took from him the key of a bank vault, in which were \$800,000 dollars, transferred by the Citizen's bank to Hope's bank, of Amsterdam, intended for the payment of the interest on the Confederate bonds. General Butler also took possession of the offices of the French and Spanish Consulates, in the old Canal bank, and placed a squad there. He also seized the Canal bank and Smith bank, and has issued an inflammatory proclamation to incite the poor against the rich, promising to distribute to the poor 1000 barrels of beef and sugar captured in New Orleans.

We have discussed this affair in a leader.

Insults to foreigners are the order of the day in the North. In another page will be found a leader, copied from a New York paper, insolently defying the Emperor of the French. The commander of the Tuscarora has written a letter to the *New York Herald*, declaring that Captain Patty, of the Royal Navy, had not held good faith towards him in the case of the Nashville, and declaring that British justice is measured by false weights, and that neutral obligations have never been allowed to interfere with British interests. He concludes with an assertion, that the British Government has coquetted with the Confederates from the beginning.

For an officer of the Federal service to accuse an officer of a friendly Power of dishonourable dealing, is more objectionable than the general denunciation of British justice. It is a very ungentlemanly presumption upon the forbearance of the British Lion. We refer our readers to the letter of our Havannah correspondent, which gives an account of further outrages on the British and French flags.

The Federal fleet has captured the British steamer *Circassian*, near Key West. The United States' District Court has ordered the restitution of the British steamer *Labnan*, the seizure being declared illegal.

Our latest advices from Mexico are to the 12th May, and come to us *via* New York. Juarez and his Cabinet were reported to have fled from Mexico, but Washington despatches declare the report to be false, and add that the Mexicans are preparing to defend the city. It is also stated that Mr. Corwin has negotiated a treaty for the Federal Government to lend Mexico 10,000,000 dollars. We are not informed whether the loan is to be in paper or specie.

The Mexican Government has ratified the Wyke-Yamouza treaty. Vera Cruz has formally declared in favour of Almonte. The Mexicans had occupied Solidad and Cordova, and were cutting off the French communications with the coast.

From Canada we learn the Government was defeated on the Militia Bill, and a new Cabinet has been formed.

The Duke Constantine has been appointed to the Governorship of Poland. It is supposed this arrangement will have a pacific tendency.

Yesterday was the Derby Day, and the Downs, as usual, were crowded with a motley throng—a little more motley than usual, by reason of the travellers of all nations attracted to London on account of the Exhibition.

A Washington correspondent of the *Times* observes:—"The Merrimac has returned to Norfolk, and it is said she has a leak. However, that may be a false report, and the dread of the Merrimac is a great impediment to all the operations of General McClellan. This poor General confesses now that the works of the enemy are three times stronger than he suspected. Poor man! Everything was placed at his disposition, and he had not the good sense to procure perfect knowledge of the place he was going to. Even persons who were formerly McClellan's best friends are doubting him now, or at least, his talent. The President once said, 'That fellow is always speaking about his great plans; but I'll be— if I believe he has any at all.' Mr. Stanton, I hear, is of the same opinion. The papers bring long accounts about the things going on before Yorktown, but I assure you they are not worth repeating. I think McClellan has got there in a horrible fix, and will wish in vain 'to be in Dixie.' General Johnson said that he would die of old age before McClellan came to Richmond. Poor fellow! why had he not some experienced men about him to point out to him a much better way? Major Leconte, of the Swiss army, who was on his staff, has been recalled; but it is said that he has had enough of the generalship of Napoleon IV., and is utterly disgusted, though he has written a complimentary letter to the general. I wonder that McClellan does not profit more by the advice of General Porter, who must be a very able commander. Once, at a review held by his patron, this General made his troops fire without calling in the skirmishers, probably thinking them shot-proof from behind. McClellan was very near losing this great general. When he ascended in a balloon to reconnoitre, the rope broke, and poor Porter was floating over the camp of the Secessionists. However, the general profited by another current of air, and descended safe and sound in the camp of the Federals."

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 4, 1862.

The past week has been one of great activity in our cotton market, with a considerable advance in prices. Our last report closed upon Middling Orleans at 12½d; on Thursday the market was strong, with sales of 10,000 bales at ½d advance, partly in consequence of stimulating news from India; the price of cotton in Bombay had advanced considerably, owing to a falling off in the supplies, while goods and yarns were in good demand at rising prices. On Friday our market received an additional stimulus from the Nova Scotian's news, through Cape Race, to the 20th ultimo; the repulse of the Federal squadron up the James River was reported, and the general aspect of affairs was favourable to the Confederates. Our market, in consequence, continued buoyant with sales of 10,000 bales at hardening prices. On Saturday an equal amount of business was done at extreme prices, the Australasian news being before us, and containing no new feature of interest. On Monday there was a large attendance of spinners, and the sales reached 12,000 bales—half to the trade—prices still stiffening at the rate of 1-16d. to ¼d. per day. Yesterday the Juras' news was to hand, with dates from New York, via Quebec, to the 24th ult., and, though they comprised few items of striking interest, their tenor was in favour of holders. The cotton market in New York was tending upwards, Middling Uplands 28 to 29½ cents—a good proof that little hope is entertained there of early supplies from the South. Attention was chiefly directed to Lincoln's requisition for a new levy of 50,000 men, from which it was inferred that the Northern forces were rapidly dwindling in effective strength, and were unable to show that superiority to the enemy which was needful to assure them of victory. The general scope of the news was entirely in favour of a prolonged and indecisive contest. Our market, in consequence, kept tightening, with sales of 10,000 bales. In Manchester there was a corresponding improvement, and to-day spinners have attended largely, keeping up the animation in our market; the business is again estimated at 10,000 bales, and the current quotations of to-day are as follows.—Middling Orleans, 12½d. to 13d.; Mobiles, 12½d. and Uplands, 12½d. per lb. Fair Dhollerahs are worth 8½d.; Omrautta, 8½d.; Comptah, 8½d.; Broach, 9½d., and Sawginned Diaruar, 10½d. per lb.

For Surat Cotton "to arrive," a very active demand has existed all the week, and prices have advanced almost daily. The rates now paying are 9d. for early shipments of Broach, and 8½d. for the first shipments of Dhollerah and Omrautta. For cotton sailing in May ½d. less would be taken. These prices, however, can only be obtained for "merchants' cotton." "Native" shipments are difficult to sell, owing to the many cases of bad turns-out that have occurred this year, and can only be placed at about ½d. reduction. It may be remarked that the prices now paying for Surats "to arrive" are just the highest obtained before the recent drop, and at the latest quotations from Bombay they would hardly allow shipments to come out without loss. The attention of speculators has recently been turned very much to East India cotton. It is seen that at the existing rate of outgoing, the stock must be almost exhausted by the autumn. There are to-day, in round numbers in stock and afloat for this port, 300,000 bales, all that is likely to be available for the next twelve weeks; the existing rate of consumption is about 16,000 bales per week, and judging from previous experience the export should reach at least 9000 bales per week, giving a total outgoing of 25,000 bales per week, or 300,000 bales for twelve weeks—but allowing the export to be kept down to the extremely low figure of 5000 bales per week the stock of Surat cotton here by the end of August would only be 30,000 bales, while the total of all sorts could not much exceed 150,000 bales. At the present rate of consumption of American cotton—say 5000 or 6000 bales per week, and without any export demand, our supply of that class is relatively larger than of Surat, being equal to sixteen or eighteen weeks of outgoing against twelve or fourteen weeks in the latter case.

Reports are floating about of later news by the Jura through Cape Race, but nothing authentic is known.

MANCHESTER, June 4.

During the past week following my last report, our market improved considerably in tone, and prices were strengthened by the increased dearthness of cotton consequent on the American intelligence: and both goods and yarns for India were favourably affected on receipt of more encouraging advices from India reporting a fair amount of business doing, both in the Bombay and Calcutta markets, at an advance in price.

Several classes of buyers have shown more disposition than of late to make limited purchases of printing cloths, and of the lighter T cloths, and also of long cloths; but the aggregate business done has been small, the advance asked by holders having prevented operators from extending their purchases. Heavier domestics have scarcely been touched, and 9-8th shirtings have been dull.

Goods adapted for the East have met with a better demand, the India houses having made some purchases of 40-inch shirtings at an advance of 1½d. per piece over the rates of Tuesday last. Prices then wanted, but not obtained by sellers, were paid at the close of the week by merchants, but the small advance thus obtained is most unwillingly submitted to, as buyers, from the present high range of prices, act with great caution, although there is every indication of a greater advance in textile of Africa, yet the greater number of our merchants do not operate with that confidence, which would infer a general belief in the safety of speculating on such a supposition.

The spinners of mules, of water, and of mock water yarns for India meet with a like difficulty in their attempts to get an addition of ¼ or ½ per lb.

The spinners of twist and well for printing cloths and Eastern goods, are not inclined to sell at the prices they would have accepted a week ago. Manufacturers, however, are exceedingly backward in doing anything.

Spinnings for the continent are generally firmer, and to some extent dearer; but merchants having few orders to execute, very little business has been done.

Single yarns of 60's to 80's show a little improvement, and some counts of two folds from 80's downward are rather better.

Our market continues to harden, and to-day the prices of goods and yarns are dearer than on this day week. The telegrams received from Calcutta and Bombay, reporting an active business at higher prices, have induced buyers to make offers for goods which would have been previously accepted, but the firmness of holders in resisting these offers has prevented much business being done. Our exports to the Eastern markets continue to decrease. The shipments to Calcutta for the month of May are, for plain goods, 14,485,266 yards, and for the five months, 105,327,640 yards, showing a decrease of nearly 20 per

cent. over 1861, and over 40 per cent. as compared with the same period of 1860. The news per Jura has also strengthened prices, as spinners do not see any possibility of having any supplies of cotton for some time to come.

LONDON, Wednesday evening, June 4.

On Friday last the demand for money appeared to be subsiding. The applications at the Bank of England became decidedly more limited, and, in the Stock Exchange, the supply being abundant, the rate for loans from day to day on Government securities was only 1½ per cent. The funds were almost stationary in prices, with little business, and the dullness extended to all other departments of the Stock Exchange. Any decline in the funds, however, was prevented by the returning ease in the money market. On Saturday, Consols for money opened and closed at 93½ to ¾, and for the account, 92½ ex div., whilst for July they were done at 92½ to ¾.

On Monday, the price throughout the day was 92½ to 92¾, they being quoted from that time without the July dividend.

On Tuesday, the wide circulation of the rumour that the Federal forces had experienced a great defeat, prejudiced the funds and some other securities. Consols fell ½ per cent.

To-day the attendance at the Stock Exchange has been very limited, on account of the DERBY, and the transactions in stocks and shares have been few and unimportant. Consols have recovered, however, from the decline of an eighth which took place yesterday. The last bargains were at 92½ to ¾.

Bank Stock closed at 234 to 236; New Three per Cents, 91½ to ¾; India Stock, 107½ to ¾; Rupee Paper, 103½ to 109½; and Exchequer Bills, March, 9s. to 13s.; June, 8s. to 12s. premium.

The blockade of the other Southern ports does not appear to have become more effective, since the occupation of New Orleans. We notice the arrival of several Confederate steamers at Havannah, Nassau, and Liverpool, bringing direct advices from the Confederacy of as late a date as May 3.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD'S GENERAL ORDER.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"Coryth, Miss., April 16, 1862.

"Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi:—

"You have bravely fought the invaders of your soil, for two days, in his own position. You have fought your superior in numbers, in arms, in all the appliances of war. Your success has been signal; his losses have been immense, outnumbering yours in all, save the personal worth of the slain. You drove him from his camp to the shelter of his iron-clad gunboats, which alone saved him from complete disaster. You captured his artillery, more than twenty-five flags and standards, his tents, and over three thousand prisoners. You have done your duty. Your commanding general thanks you; your countrymen are proud of your deeds on the bloody field of Shiloh, confident in the ultimate results of your valor."

"Soldiers! onward events saved the enemy from annihilation. His insolent presence still pollutes your soil; his hostile flag still flaunts before you. There can be no peace so long as these things are. Trusting that God is with us as with our fathers, let us seek to be worthy of His favour, and resolve to be independent or perish in the struggle."

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,
"General Commanding."

A CONTRABAND IN WALL STREET.—Yesterday afternoon a very black individual, belonging to that class of beings commonly designated "contrabands," made his appearance at an office in Wall-street, and told a woeful tale about his troubles. He confessed that he was from Wilmington, N.C., which place he had been induced to leave, and subsequently was induced, by plausible stories, to visit the North, as a paradise of freedom, where work was to be had in abundance, and fabulous sums would be given for labour. He made his way to this city in a Government vessel, or otherwise; but instead of finding plenty and freedom, he was encountered with cool indifference wherever he applied for assistance. He professed to be a cooper by trade, and said that he could find no employment here, and was weary seeking for aid and comfort. The "bosses" told him that they dare not give him work, because all their white hands would instantly leave them in disgust. Coming to the conclusion that Northern freedom and equality were all gammon, he only asked for a little assistance to get back to Wilmington once more, where he expected at least to get enough to eat and drink.

In the cells of Forts Warren and Lafayette, are incarcerated hundreds of American citizens.—They were sent there without any specific charges being made against them. They went at the fiat of Mr. Seward's supreme despotic power. They have appealed to know upon what charges they were imprisoned. They have demanded, and their friends have demanded, that they be allowed the poor privilege of a trial. But their appeals have passed unheeded. They have lain for months in the cells of these Bastilles, and yet, as in the case of Gordon, who was legally convicted, they have not yet, by their "imprisonment and sufferings, atoned sufficiently for their offence, and vindicated the law." Mr. Gordon is an Abolitionist, and was imprisoned for attempting to prevent the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and it required but a short time for him to suffer atonement for his offence, and a vindication of the law. The men imprisoned in Forts Warren and Lafayette, are Democrats, and were incarcerated for refusing to bow down and worship at the shrine of Abolitionism. In the opinion of the "powers that be," their offence is much greater than that of Mr. Gordon's, and will require a much larger time to suffer out an atonement and vindication of the law. Such is free government under Republican rule.—*Ohio Empire*, April 19.

THE cheering intelligence from the peninsula, on yesterday, had the effect of a pleasant surprise upon the community. The details of the fight are, as yet, meagre, but the brilliancy of the victory is none the less certain. The first despatches were slightly exaggerated, being, no doubt, the first flying reports from the scene of conflict. A participant in the fight informs us that our loss, in killed and wounded, sums up 220; the Federal loss, in killed and wounded, is unknown; the number captured by our forces is 623. The Federals had appeared 6000 strong, along a skirt of woods a short distance from a small fortification in our possession, below Williamsburg. At an early hour on Monday morning, General Longstreet despatched a howitzer to the right and another to the left of their position, and subjected them to a cross-fire, which did terrible execution, advanced on their front, and put them to route, taking the above number of prisoners, and eleven (not twelve) pieces of artillery. The prisoners were immediately put on the march to Richmond, and were expected to arrive last night.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

LONDON, May 29, 1862.

Much has been said in the New York papers about the Union loving sentiment found in Tennessee on the approach of the Northern, or Federal army; also the prospect of an immediate supply of cotton from these quarters. For the purpose of showing what appears to be the real condition of affairs, I send you copies of letters received in London from a New York house, who, believing the reports, sent an agent to Nashville to purchase cotton. This agent happened to be an Englishman, who was interested in knowing the true state of things that he might communicate the same to his friends this side. If they are of any service to you, you are at liberty to publish them; they may cause our Lancashire friends to think that cotton from America is a long way off.

J. B.

NASHVILLE, April 30, 1862.

The planters will not send in any cotton whilst the city is in possession of the Federal forces, and Mr. —, whose extended business relations gives importance to his information, states that a great deal of cotton has been burned, and that, as a body, they refuse to sell at any prices, if intended to be shipped to the North.

NASHVILLE, May 2, 1862.

As regards the important question of cotton planting, a relation of Mr. —, just in from the adjoining countries, states that, as a general thing, where 150 acres were planted last year, not over thirty to thirty-five are this, the balance being put in wheat and corn; some few have given half to cotton, but not many. The same gentleman travelled about Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, through the month of February, and reports a large portion of lands in those States have been devoted to grain crops, that in other years were entirely cotton; and from all he could gather, he does not believe the aggregate planting of the Cotton States is much more than half the crop.

NASHVILLE, May 3, 1862.

I have this morning had a long and very interesting conversation with a gentleman just arrived from Macon, Georgia, in which section he has been for some months packing up cotton, his purchases standing him in, on the average, only 7½ dollars for middling fair, paid for in Confederate currency. He says a good deal has been sold by the planters at 5 dollars per lb. payable in gold; he also states that they have not planted half a crop in that State, thinks not over a third; that Governor Brown had warned the people that he would order the cattle to be turned on such lands that were not seeded with grain crops, to the extent of one-half; he further remarked that, from observation, he placed the yet ungrown cotton at one-half the crop, consequent on the want of bagging and bale rope on the one hand, and the apprehension of Federal confiscation on the other.

NASHVILLE, May 5, 1862.

A party reported to Mr. —, last week, that he knew of a lot of sixty bales (cotton) about twenty-five miles from this, that the planter was willing to sell at 12 dollars for gold; the order was given to go and buy them, and the purchase was made only to be abandoned, the neighbours, hearing of it, refused to allow the cotton, then partially loaded, to be shipped here, supposing it to be for the North—such is the spirit yet displayed against the renewal of commercial relations with the loyal States.

NASHVILLE, May 6, 1862.

Several buyers are in to-day from scouring the country, unsuccessfully, for cotton, during the past three weeks, they report that Confederate planters will not sell, and Morgan's men apply the torch when known to be in Union hands.

NASHVILLE, May 7, 1862.

Brisk skirmishing between squads of cavalry in adjoining counties, and the burning of what is termed "Union cotton" by the Confederate forces, is bringing buyers back here daily. Adventures at a cost of 18 dollars there and thereabouts, too risky with the growing insecurity.

PHILADELPHIA, May 16.

Through some gentlemen recently returned, and from reliable correspondence, we are in possession of intelligence from the South West, relative to the prospect of receiving cotton, which induces us to believe, beyond all question, that such is the condition of sentiment among the cotton planters, that the expectation of any supply, beyond a few thousand bales, may be abandoned until after the termination of the war. And it appears, that wherever cotton is likely to fall within the lines of occupation of the United States' armies it will be destroyed. The destruction has already reached many millions. Under these circumstances, we fear that the proclamation of the President opening the trade of any of the Southern ports held by the United States' forces, either with or without restriction, will lead to no relief, for it seems that so soon as a Southern port falls into Federal possession, its communications with the interior are closed, and it

ceases practically to be considered as an outlet for Southern commerce, and under such a state of things we may look in vain for a restoration of commercial relations until the interior be pacified. As to our prospects in that direction, we have already given our views, which are only more confirmed by the progress of events. We have this morning the important news of the proclamation of General Hunter, the commanding-general, emancipating all the slaves in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida. This is, probably, preliminary to general emancipation, and we may bid farewell to the further production of cotton in this country. We leave to your contemplation the evils that must follow from this fatal step.

MOBILE, April 18, 1862.

We are much disappointed in not receiving any letter from you, whilst from other correspondents in Liverpool we had letters to Feb. 1, some days ago. By these we see middling Mobile, which had rated at 13½d., had declined to 12½d. We have now our entire crop of cotton ready for European markets, so soon as the blockade is raised; or in the event of our enemies coming too near to it, it will find a market in the flames. This is no bravado, but will assuredly be the result, resolutions having been adopted by the commercial cities to destroy every bale of cotton rather than it should fall into the hands of the enemy, and the quantity planted and to be planted will not produce throughout the Confederacy over one million bales, UNLESS the blockade is speedily removed, when more will be planted. Our enemies think they are in a fair way to subjugate the South, but they will find they are mistaken. Our late reverses have only brought us to look at the matter more determinedly, and to gather up all our energies. You will, I am sure, wonder that our infant Confederacy, without arms, seaports closed, and no other friends but our strong hearts, has accomplished so much, particularly as our enemies threatened to crush us down with 75,000 men, and now find that with 750,000 it is not done, and will not be. We don't look for help from any source but God and ourselves, and we shall not ask for it from anyone; if it comes, it is well; if not, we can fight our own battles. To be sure, if for humanity's sake other nations come in to stop the war, it must be upon the terms of equality already given us as belligerents, with the possession of all our rights as freemen, and respecting all our liberties for which we are now fighting.

Bills of Exchange, 65 per cent. prem.

MOBILE, April 30, 1862.

A steamer leaves here, affording an opportunity to write you a few hasty lines. Our city is very nearly deserted, and very soon all the women and children will be out of it. The Federals have been blazing away at the forts below the city of New Orleans, near the mouth of the river, for some time, and have pretty much used up their ammunition. Several of their large vessels steamed past the fort, and anchored off the city. The military commander evacuated the city. The Federal commander ordered a surrender of the city, and that the Confederate flags then flying be hauled down. The mayor replied he gave up the city, but could find no one to pull the flags down. The transports with troops not being able to get by the forts, the naval force do not feel like venturing ashore, and so the city has been surrendered, but not yet occupied—a curious state of things. Meanwhile, the flags of both nations are flying. We are getting ready for our turn next. These foolish enemies get but barren victories. The people of the South will not trade or have any social intercourse with them; there is no Union element for them. Meanwhile, large forces are concentrating in the interior. The grain crops everywhere thus far are very fine. General Beauregard has just issued an address to the planters and owners of cotton in the Mississippi Valley "to put the torch without delay or hesitation" to the cotton. Little will be planted this year, and only for domestic use. Thus it is very likely, instead of two short crops, there will be two crops short! The war has now begun in earnest. There was a kind of listlessness among our people so long as the idea of foreign intervention was expected. Now that is exploded, and all are going into the fight for their liberties, to win or die!

CLARKSVILLE, May 8.

I have received, by chance, several of your letters, circulars, and half-a-dozen London Times', all of date in October, November, and January; all these at a time, although of old dates, created feelings like to the unexpectedly meeting with a number of old friends, and when I read your expressions of interest about us all, and the desire to visit us again, I at once began to anticipate a pleasure that I hardly expected ever to realize in this world of sorrows and deprivations, and my feelings spontaneously acknowledged that divinity within us which never forgets old friends. I will hope to see you again under my own roof. Alas! how often since the commencement of the terrible and cruel troubles now scourging and devastating our once happy and prosperous and free country, have I looked to your stable and protective Government, though not coming up to my notions of freedom and perfect development, and earnestly wished that, with all those dependent on and dearest to me, we were sheltered under its protecting wing. I have really desired to expatriate myself from my country, once almost my idol, now distracted and maddened beyond recovery, and from my home, hallowed by affections and associations that heretofore bound me to her and it like rivets of steel.

Leaf tobacco of all grades is selling freely, and at high figures, here; say from 5 dollars for inferior lots, to 10, 12, and 15

dollars, in the equivalent of metal, or what is so considered. The production of last year was under an average, as was, I think, also, the quality, being for the most part rather poor, though leafy, and some spot and not a little worm-eaten; nearly all of dark colour. The prospect for production this year, near me, is unusually bad, insects preying on the young plants, and the prospect for planting more backward than I ever knew, owing to want of warm sunny weather; a very few such days as yet this spring. I think much exertion will be made in this quarter, stimulated by the very high prices, provided there are no important influences, from the malignant war waging now with more and more intensity, though at present at a distance from us; the locality may, however, be soon changed. You will also make the allowance for that intenseness of interest which nearly everyone is feeling in this horrible struggle, withdrawing the thoughts from nearly everything besides, except what necessity forces upon us; food and raiment we must have, but men are not greatly concerned for these, so absorbed and so astounded, I may say, are our minds at the terrible contest that is going on. A million of men in the field, bent only on the destruction of each other, and using every means they can devise to devastate and destroy all the materials of comfort, convenience, and necessity. Can your imagination realize so much madness? It would look, I think, to beings of another sphere, as if we were a nation of demons. The idea I want to impress is, that a people so engaged cannot succeed in their usual business as they would under different auspices. There will be no tobacco of consequence stemmed in all this region, nor much, I would think, grown in Missouri. On the Ohio, I hear, a full stemming will be done. In Virginia, the land of patriots, statesmen, and hospitality, but little tobacco can be grown, and none stemmed this year. That State is now the scene of war, and I suppose the most dreadful conflict may now be going on ever recorded. She may be overrun, her cities destroyed or occupied. She will never, never be subdued. We are the more anxious for her as we are cut off from all communication. On the line of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, at a point named Corinth, where thousands have been already slain and mutilated, large opposing armies are concentrated, and being daily added to, a terrible conflict is in daily anticipation, and when it takes place blood must flow like water—and what is this awful slaying for? Reconstruction! Reunion!! Establishment of peace, and return of prosperity, freedom, and happiness!!! Preposterous—impossible—hate, hate, eternal, and without mitigation!

Could you expect your brother to love you after you had persecuted him to his ruin? Was ever a million of men, with arms in their hands, brought to a peaceful establishment? It is said that New Orleans has fallen; suppose it true, and Memphis, Mobile, Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, Norfolk, and every other Southern city fall, will the South be subjugated? My opinion is, that the war is not yet at its zenith; but enough, and more than enough, of a drama too dreadful to contemplate. Would to God I could bury every reflection about it in oblivion.

CLARKSVILLE, TENN., May 10.

Loose tobacco is selling at 9 dollars 10 cents, and prized crops at 10 dollars 12 cents, for gold and Kentucky Bank notes. It is hard to form an estimate of the next crop, but it cannot be a large one. From information received here, millions of dollars worth of cotton have been burned all along the Mississippi valley during the past week; the excitement is increasing, and the destruction is spreading far into the interior. I had a large interest in upwards of 1000 bales fine cotton in Mississippi, which is no doubt a burnt-offering to the God of War and Liberty also. I give it up without one sigh of regret.

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA, April 29, 1862.

Matters in this country are not so satisfactory as they might be. You will no doubt have heard before you get this of the fall of New Orleans; still the people are not disheartened, and are only rallying the stronger. The Border States may be subdued, and then comes the tug. There seems to be a calm determination in the Cotton States never to submit to Northern rule. It is useless to speculate on the future or final consequences. Bankruptcy and ruin to all is not improbable, particularly for us of the present generation.

Apalachicola has been abandoned, but not yet occupied by the Federals.

There is hardly any cotton being planted this year—not above one-tenth of a crop. People are coming to the conclusion that the war will be a long and protracted one, and are preparing accordingly. All hopes so long, and by many, entertained of European intervention are abandoned, and we fall back upon our own resources, calmly determined to fight to the last. Any Union feeling that might have existed at the onset has been crushed out, by the coercive policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Government.

I do not pretend to try to form any opinion of the future, but am heartily sick of the war. But we cannot have peace until the rights of the South has been contended for, and their independence is acknowledged.

With all the seaports in the hands of the North, they will have begun their expectations of subjugation. The expense of holding them will eventually wear them out. They cannot force the South to trade with them, and may be like the man with the elephant.

Foreign Correspondence.

MOBILE, April 24, 1862.

The New Orleans mail-line steamer — is preparing for sea, and will depart for Havannah in about ten days. I begin early with a letter, to be continued during June, to put you up in Southern affairs. Three other steamers besides the — are fitting out for Havannah; one of the mail-line steamers for —. This business is risky but popular, and very profitable when it hits. A successful trip out and back pays 300 per cent. I wonder that European capital and enterprise do not embark in it. Our markets are bare of all imported commodities; 10 cent cotton goods and calicoes bring 50 cents; shoe (sole) leather is worth 1 dollar 50 cents the pound; a pair of shoes for me costs 12 dollars; coffee, 80 cents; tea not to be had at 4 dols. 5 cents. We have long since given it up at home. I shall write at random, and dot down what comes uppermost. Mobile not attacked yet; we expected it long ago. While I write, a Federal fleet of bomb vessels and gunboats are hammering away furiously at Fort Jackson, below New Orleans. So far, small impression made. I need not speculate on that as the result will have transpired before this leaves.

"Shiloh," as we call it, and "Pittsburg," as the enemy name it, was the bloodiest and greatest battle of the war. The way the Yankee papers and generals, and even the Secretary of War, have lied about it, is awful. With 38,000 men we attacked them, 50,000 strong, in their camps on the 6th inst. From 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. the battle raged, and during the whole day; without giving back a foot, we drove them out of their camps, nearly three miles, to the river. Their gunboats only saved the army from capture, or being driven into the Tennessee. At night our victory was complete. Our boys slept in their tents, ate (poor hungry fellows) of their luxuries, and helped themselves to their Minié muskets and clothing. At night Buell came up with large reinforcements, and next morning the battle was renewed, fresh troops on their side being put forward to assail our wearied ones. On that day we had not a man over 25,000 in the field, the enemy 70,000; yet, after eight hours of fierce fighting, the battle was a drawn one. Both sides stopped from exhaustion. We came off with 14 pieces of artillery, 25 colours, and 4000 prisoners. The latter I have seen; for my troops were their guard up to Tuscarora and Montgomery. Their loss could not have been less than 17,000 to 20,000, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our men fought with desperation, and every officer was a hero. Hardly a mounted officer that did not have his horse shot under him. I send you the *Weekly Register* after the battle, with full particulars. Mobile had many representatives in the battle, and has suffered greatly. The 21st regiment was a Mobile corps, and nobly distinguished itself. It carried several batteries at the point of the bayonet, and its casualties were more than 25 per cent. of its whole strength. Major Amstead fell early on the first day, and died like a true soldier. General Gladden was shot a few minutes later, and fell in the arms of John Scott, one of his aids. John Walker was there, as Bragg's aid, and escaped unhurt. Colonel Zach. Deas greatly distinguished himself, and is now at his father's, with a wound in the leg. He received half a dozen balls in his clothes and hat, and lost two horses. Dr. Nott's two sons behaved nobly. I suppose Dr. Pratt was in the battle, as he went up just before it.

The Yankees claim a victory. May they have many such. Our army was at Corinth to check his advance into Alabama and Mississippi. It marched out seventeen miles to do it, and although our soldiers were half starved, the road almost impassable, and torrents of rain had fallen, and they were two to one against us, we did check and have checked them. They are gathering in great force again; but no officer or man in the Corinth army doubts that we shall whip them whenever and in whatever number they come. If they come out from the river, we shall kill or capture them before they get back to their gunboats.

We have the same confidence of Johnston's and Magruder's armies in Virginia. A great battle there is imminent, but we are confident of success.

April 29.

Great events and five days of intense excitement since the above. The enemy's boats have passed the forts on the Mississippi, and are before New Orleans. The Confederate army evacuated to keep the city from being shelled. The enemy cannonaded the city, but dare not shell it, and have no troops to take and hold it. The forts still hold out, and troop transports cannot pass. Singular position! The mayor of New Orleans refuses to haul down the Confederate flag, and tells the Yankees to

come and do it themselves. See all this in the papers I send. Our army is growing stronger and stronger at Corinth. A great and decisive battle must soon come off there and in Virginia.

I send you the *Weekly Registers* of the past five weeks; they will post you in Southern affairs generally. The enemy will have their hands full on the Mississippi for a few weeks, and, so far, we expect to be let alone. Of course we get their next visit; the order is to hold Mobile, so that we shall fight here before long. The Mississippi won't help the Yankees much; our people are burning their cotton, and won't trade with the North-West. As long as our two great armies are in the field, we are not whipped; even if they are beaten, we shall take to the woods and carry on a guerilla war. It will cost Abe as much to hold as to conquer. We have not the least idea of giving up, and are sure of independence in the end; we know that we have to suffer many trials, privations, dangers, and death; but the spirit of the people is prepared for it.

May 1, 1862.

The forts at the mouth of the Mississippi have fallen, and the Yankees are in New Orleans. Our turn next. Another battle imminent at Corinth. We have at least 50,000 men there under Beauregard and Bragg.

WASHINGTON, May 17.

We are without any information as to the state of affairs in New Orleans since its occupation by the Federal forces, beyond the proclamation of General Butler, proclaiming martial law in the city. The newspapers are not allowed to publish anything except under the supervision of a censor. Provisions of all kinds were very scarce. I am waiting anxiously to hear of the progress of affairs, but up to our latest date we have not heard of a single individual who has presented himself as a Union man, and welcomed the Federal general to the city. This absence of any Union sentiment has caused great disappointment here, and it has been truly said that if no Union sentiment can be found in the city of New Orleans, which is largely composed of Northerners and foreigners, it is in vain to expect it elsewhere. I send you a paper herewith, containing the proclamation.

There have been no important movements in military affairs within the last few days. McClellan continues the concentration of his forces at a place called Cumberland, which is on the Pamunky River, about thirty miles from Richmond. The main body of the Confederates are reported to be entrenched on the Chickahominy, about twelve miles from that city; and if there is to be a battle it will be fought on the banks of this little stream. McClellan has made very slow progress during the last ten days; his army was badly worsted at Williamsburg; the loss is now officially acknowledged at near 3000, but it is reported in many quarters as still heavier. He may also be awaiting the movements of McDowell, who is still at Fredericksburg, where he has been for the last thirty days. It is still, in my opinion, a matter of great uncertainty whether the Confederates will risk a battle near Richmond. They may conclude to fall back, with their forces untouched and in good order, and take the line of the Roanoke as their defence. A few days will decide the event, as McClellan must move forward, either to the occupation of Richmond, or a defeat. We expect every day to hear of a terrific battle at Corinth. Both sides are increasing in their preparations, and at Halleck's headquarters it is reported that Beauregard has between 120,000 and 165,000 men; but I think this is a clear exaggeration, although I would not be surprised if he had upwards of 100,000. I do not think Halleck has much over 100,000, and to get these together he has been compelled to call in Mitchell, from North Alabama, so that the latter's operations in that quarter have all gone for nothing, except the capture of some prisoners. Fort Pillow appears yet to hold out. We hear of the appearance of the naval forces off Fort Morgan and Mobile Point, and suppose that the bombardment will soon be commenced at that place, and I expect Mobile will soon be occupied by the United States' forces.

But the news at hand this morning from Port Royal, South Carolina, in my opinion, in its importance far transcends anything that we have received since the commencement of the war. I allude to the proclamation of General Hunter, the commanding-general, a copy of which I enclose, in which he proclaims the freedom of all the slaves in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. This is, perhaps, preliminary to a general system of emancipation under the same power of martial law by which this has been promulgated. We have now to contemplate this event in all its serious evils, its horrors, and its ruin. I shall be mistaken if this does not awaken the most profound attention in Europe, because it must be very evident that the emancipation of slavery destroys all hope of any further

production of cotton or tobacco in this country; and, so far as the first article is concerned, is the virtual destruction of all the interests, commercial and political, which are involved in the cotton manufacturing interest of Europe.

I am sick at heart this morning at the contemplation of the ruin that is before us. The North must suffer equally with others; but in the excitement of the moment, "in the madness that rules the hour," reason seems to have departed, and we are at the mercy of a wild fanaticism which knows no bound to its passions.

There is enough in this threatened act of emancipation to cause a train of afflictions which might fill pages; but these are evident to all who stop to reflect, and it were needless for me to refer to them.

Sterling exchanges remains about the same, 113½ to 114, and gold stands at 3 to 3½ premium. United States' Stocks have receded somewhat from the extreme point, which was 107 for 6's, and now stand 104½ to 105. The general feeling is, that we approach the termination of the war, and that the South will soon be subjugated into submission at all points, and it is under this impression that the Government Securities stand so high; and they are further sustained under the belief that large orders will come out from Europe to buy stocks. I do not agree in these views, of course, but give them as the general expression of sentiment.

PARIS, June 3, 1862.

The news of the violence committed by General Butler upon several of the Consulates of the city of New Orleans has so astounded the French press, that not a single comment has as yet been made by them upon this brutal violation of international law. The *Patrie* alone contains these few lines:—"The Comte Mejan, Consul General at New Orleans, has addressed to M. the Baron Mercier, our Minister to Washington, a report specifying the acts of violence which the French Consulate has suffered at the hands of the Federal General."

This unanimous silence on the part of the French press looks very ominous for the Unionist bullies; for it is but the calm which precedes the tempest. Unlike England, France, when insulted in her national pride and colours, wastes no time in loud and hollow denunciations, but prepares silently the means of striking a deadly blow to its offenders. I am very much mistaken, or the bullying reign of Lincoln and Seward is well nigh over; they will soon find that the Emperor will exact from them something more than the lame apologies so readily offered, and so easily accepted by Lord Protest. Indeed, some experienced diplomatists, with whom I have spoken upon the subject, seem to consider this outrage beyond the reach of all apology; they unhesitatingly declare their opinion to be, that a Consulate in a foreign land is made, by international law, an intrinsic portion of the territory of the nation it represents, and that its seizure can be construed in no other light than the laying of violent hands upon that nation itself. If so, Uncle Sam may soon be plunged in a more critical position than he has bargained for; for Seward will not be permitted by the Emperor to play with the tri-coloured flag as he has done so far with the Union Jack.

The late Secretary of War of the United States has arrived in Paris. He has taken magnificent apartments at the Hotel de Louvre, where he seems to delight in the enjoyment of all the luxuries civilization affords. Thinking himself still in Washington, he holds grand and *petit levees*, to which the Yankees alone are admitted. Southerners are excluded therefrom by positive orders emanating from his Excellency, not that any Confederate citizen could ever have thought of so far disgracing himself as to seek an interview with the *honourable* Minister, unless, indeed, it were some of his victims, taking advantage of his transit in this free land to meet him upon equal ground, and avenge the wrongs received from the late Secretary of War. I am told that a gentleman situated in that very position has left Genoa for Paris immediately upon hearing of his arrival here; he comes to test the personal bravery of the new Minister to Russia. I am further assured that he has pledged his solemn oath not to rest until he has obtained an exemplary satisfaction from the Yankee Brutus.

It is exceedingly amusing to see the Yankees gravitate around him; as soon as he appears at a distance off fly their hats, down go their eyes, and humbly do they approach him. They seem not to have been able to realize that, though in Paris, they have got out of his grasp, or out of the reach of his powerful rod; and indeed, well may the poor Yankees, who have so easily abdicated at home all the rights of freemen, feel cowed down when in presence of the man who has, in a public meeting, expressed the following sentiments:—"I would not punish the deluded rank and file after they have laid down their arms. I would not harm one hair on the head of a single

individual who was enticed, or seduced upon misrepresentations, to join the rebels; but had I the leaders (they have been all the time at Richmond; why did not the Secretary of War lead the Federal army thither to take them, he could then have satisfied his relish for the rope). I would do with them as I said I would do with the mayor of Baltimore, when he asked the President to send back the national troops from Cockeysville, and not allow them to pass through Baltimore. I said, let me alone and I will hang him and his whole posse upon the trees around the War Department (probably to render the sight of these grounds more pleasant and more picturesque). Had I been allowed to do so, our troops would never have been impeded in their march through that city, and by such a course the rebellion would now have been crushed. Such are my opinions on that question, which, perhaps, I sometimes express unwisely for my own good, and this is another reason for the passage of the resolution to which I have alluded to."

The translation of the most remarkable work which has, so far, been published upon the American question has just made its appearance. I allude, of course, to Mr. James Spence's book. Mr. Spence has depicted the causes of the dissolution of the American Union, with such a profound knowledge of the true character of the American Constitution and laws, that it is difficult to understand how it is that the English Government could, after its perusal, have hesitated to recognize the Confederate States at once. The intelligent translation of this work by M. Begouin has already made it very popular in Paris, and its circulation will no doubt strengthen the position of those who believe in the justice of the Southern cause, and convert many, if not every one, of those who have been the admirers of the North.

With the exception of THE INDEX, the London papers seem to take the Bermuda affair very quietly; and the impression generally prevailing here among the politicians is, that the demand of Mr. Seward upon the British Cabinet to surrender the Emily St. Pierre will be complied with, unless the violence committed upon the French Consulate in New Orleans provokes a war between France and the United States; in which case, it is supposed, John Bull would immediately take advantage of this *imbroglio* to try the virtue of his much-talked-of Armstrong guns against the United States.

From another Correspondent.

PARIS, June 3, 1862.

The difficulty which arose between the General Lorencez and General Prim, with regard to the Mexican expedition, is said to be in a fair way of being settled, to the entire satisfaction of the Imperial Government. After some diplomatic explanations exchanged between the two Cabinets of France and Spain, it is rumoured that Spain is soon to assume an entirely new situation in the Mexican question. She is to use her diplomatic influence to aid and forward its solution. According to this new arrangement, General Prim is to be recalled to Spain.

Marschal Serrano would be sent to Mexico, with the title of Extraordinary Ambassador.

It is further said that England approves this policy of France and Spain, and will acquiesce in the final decision of the Mexican populations. Since the nomination of M. Ingres to the Senate, the artistic world is in full ebullition. The claims of Horace Vernet, of Eugene Delacroix, and of Auber, the celebrated musician, are brought forward by their respective admirers, with a persistence which, if it were countenanced by the Emperor, might turn the Senate of France into a musical and artistic academy.

Though the Roman question is temporarily settled by a determined *statu quo*, new dissertations upon the opportunity of evacuating Rome, as also upon the necessity of maintaining the French troops in the Eternal City, are soon to come out. Messrs. St. Marc Girardin, D'Haussouville, and Lamartine, even M. Thiers, are all reported as being busily engaged preparing pamphlets upon either side of this much vexed question. All these geniuses are probably losing much of their precious time upon a question which, in my judgment, is too firmly and deeply rooted in the Catholic hearts to be susceptible of an earthly solution as yet.

While each of the above-named eminent authors, no doubt, entertains the hope of astonishing the world with his particular views upon the fate which he reserves to the Papal Tiara, an important diplomatic negotiation is said to be going on between Austria and France, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Italy. Both of these Governments, if the rumours be true, should have agreed upon the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope, upon the condition, however, that important modifications should be made in the Pontifical Administration.

It is further alleged that the consent of the Pope to this arrangement would be considered by Austria, France, and Italy as a sufficient guarantee of political tranquility, to authorize these three Powers to bring down their respective armies on the footing of peace.

Though very little *au fait* of the American affairs, I think I can give you a piece of information which will prove agreeable to your Southern friends. I have seen a letter, this morning received by one of my friends from his agent in New York, stating, unequivocally, that General Banks has experienced a severe defeat in a fight with Jackson; that his army was moving in all haste towards Winchester hotly pursued by the Confederates; that McDowell, who, I believe, commands the Rappahannock army, near or opposite Fredericksburg, had lost a large number of men by diseases of a very pernicious character; that both these generals were at Washington, at the date of the letter, demanding large reinforcements, which the Government was unwilling to grant, on the ground that such a diminution of the Washington army might expose that city to a *coup de main* on the part of the Confederates. What bearing this news may have on the campaign, I know not; but it seems to me that, if such be the case, Richmond, the seat of the Confederate Government, is not so much threatened as reported by the Northern accounts.

M. the Baronde Bomberg, the new Ambassador of the Czar, and M. the Baron de Bismark, Minister of Prussia, have already begun to pay their visits to the high diplomatic world. The first is said to be the bearer of a diplomatic note of the Emperor of Russia to the Emperor of France, announcing that on account of the violation of the territory of Montenegro by the Turkish armies, his Russian Majesty had issued a circular advising his agents at Constantinople to hold themselves in readiness to leave. This rupture of a very serious nature, for it is said to meet the approval of the French Government. In connection with Russia, it is reported that the Grand Duke Constantine has been appointed by the Emperor, Vice-King of Poland, with instructions to organize for that country a separate and distinct government. It is said that the Emperor would have further declared his intention to grant to this unfortunate Polish nation, a political charter as soon as circumstances would allow it.

The consistories of Rome have not as yet assumed the political character, as it was thought they would. But the Cardinal Antonelli's parlors have been converted into a political club, where the prelates of Catholicism meet to devise all sorts of plans to preserve the Roman institutions.

Said Pacha has received a deputation of the principal stockholders of the Canal of the Isthmus of Suez. The object of their visit to his Egyptian Majesty was to ask the continuance of his patronage. Said Pacha answered, that he had never been so well disposed to favour, by all means in his power, the completion of this important work, but that he was bound to state that the main difficulties originated with the English Government, and that France alone could remove their opposition.

Said Pacha will be in England in a few days; he intends staying there but a short time. The old Chateau de Neuilly has been prepared to receive him on his return from London. It is said he has determined to remain in France until next fall.

The Pereires have just sent out two engineers to Mexico to make some arrangements about the working of the Mexican mines. These engineers are accompanied by a whole corps of experienced miners. This proves, evidently, that the French Government intends to remain there until a strong Government is established and working; for I know the Pereires too well not to be satisfied that they would never have undertaken an operation of this importance without having the positive assurance of the French Government's help and protection.

HAVANNAH, May 5, 1862.

Our people at New Orleans, Charleston, and Mobile, have been very negligent in keeping us supplied with Southern newspapers, and though the communication between Havannah and those cities has been almost interrupted, I have not received regular files. I enclose you now the *Nassau Guardian*, with list of arrivals at that place from Confederate ports; Havannah *Mercantile Weekly Report*, with list of arrivals at Havannah; also some late Southern papers, which will give you all the Southern news of which I am possessed.

You will have heard ere this of the great battle of Shiloh. The success of the Confederates on the first day was perfect, and on the second, against reinforcements of fresh troops, fighting against fearful odds, they made a drawn battle, and secured all the cannon (eighty), small arms (17,000), and prisoners from 3000 to 6000, taken in the first day's fight. Our people fought like lions, Breckinridge and Hurley covered themselves with glory, as well

as did the invincible Beauregard, and Bragg. The noble A. S. Johnston fell leading a charge, and a whole people, who a few weeks before were asking for his removal from his command, were convinced of their error, and thrown into the deepest sadness at his loss. It is reported here that in an attack by the Federal fleet on Fort Jackson, some fifteen vessels got by, and went up to New Orleans. I doubt the truth of this report. It is also stated that the English steamer Bermuda was captured by the Niagara on the high seas, on mere suspicion of carrying a cargo of munitions of war destined for the Confederates. There have been several outrages committed recently upon neutral flags, in this vicinity, by Federal vessels of war. An English steamer was fired upon and injured, within three-quarters of a mile of the Cuban coast, and a French steamer, laden with sugar, and bound for France, was also fired upon, and so disabled that she had to return to Havannah; these outrages will be brought to the notice of their Governments by the English and French Consuls.

Extract from the Havannah *Mercantile Weekly Report*.
LIST OF VESSELS
Arrived at Havannah from Ports in the Confederate States since (our last statement) March 15 to date, April 30, 1862.

1862.	Nation.	Tons.	Name.	Where from.	Cargo.
Mar. 24	Conf. sch.	50	Gino	N. Orleans	134 bales cotton
25	Do.	40	Cuba	Mobile	223 " "
26	Do.	103	Independence ..	Do.	219 " "
27	Do.	54	Eagle	N. Orleans	90 " "
29	Brit. sch.	22	Mary	Pensacola	35 " "
Apr. 1	Do.	63	Mary Ellen ..	Do.	33,000 ft. lumber & 50 bales cotton
2	Conf. stm.	234	Nelly	Charleston	352 " "
3	Conf. stm.	603	Austin	N. Orleans	1,147 " "
6	Brit. stm.	249	Elizabeth ..	Do.	412 " "
7	Do.	432	Fox	Do.	624 " "
18	Conf. stm.	767	Win. G. Hewes ..	Do.	1,441 " "
19	Do.	670	Arizona	Do.	1,035 " "
21	Do.	623	Atlantic	Do.	1,086 " "
22	Do.	616	Matagorda ..	Sabina Pass	953 " "
22	Conf. sch.	79	Wide Awake ..	N. Orleans	168 " "
23	Do.	80	Garibaldi ..	Do.	205 " "
23	Brit. stm.	457	Victoria	Do.	552 " "
27	Conf. sch.	68	Cora	Mobile	180 " "
28	Conf. sch.	69	Burrows	Do.	67 " "
28	Conf. sch.	130	L. C. Acton ..	Do.	355 " "
TOTAL					9358

NOTE.—Four vessels arrived at outports in March, with 953 bales of cotton. Total 10,308.

SHIPPING IN THE PORT OF HAVANNAH.

Names & Nations.		Tons.	Masters.	Bound to.	Consignees.
Elizabeth	Brit.	249	Johnson ..	Matamoros	Vignier, Robertson, and Co.
W. G. Hewes	Conf.	767	Smith	Do.	Ditto.
Matagorda	Conf.	616	Cole	Do.	Ditto.
Austin	Conf.	603	Fowler	Matamoros	Ch. Caro & Co.
Arizona	Conf.	676	Forbes	Do.	Ditto.
Atlantic	Conf.	623	Smith	Do.	J. M. Arcandano.
Matagorda	Conf.	616	Parker	waiting	Union & Barroso.
Victoria	Brit.	357	Lumber	Do.	Calhazac Brothers.
Total					8 steamers.

[The list of arrivals from Confederate ports at Nassau, referred to by our correspondent, was published in No. III. of THE INDEX, May 15.]

DETAILS OF THE EVACUATION OF NEW-ORLEANS.

(From the Mobile Register, May 2.)

Yesterday New Orleans was subjected to the most terrible humiliation and degradation which have ever fallen upon a brave and true people. After a valiant defence by our forts below the city—after exhausting all our resources and skill—the greater resources on water of the enemy enabled them to pass our exterior fortifications with their large fleet, and they approached the city with a squadron of fifteen of their largest vessels, all steamships, gunboats, and mortar vessels. There was a large force of land troops in the city; but of what avail were they against the ships and gunboats of the enemy? At the moment it was announced that the ships had passed the forts, it became evident to all reflecting persons that the city was defenceless. Steps were then taken to render it a barren conquest. By order of the Governor and military authorities all the Government munitions and stores were sent away. Such material of war as could not be removed was destroyed. Orders were also issued to destroy all the cotton in this city. This was done. The troops, under the command of General Lovell, were marched to the interior lines of the city—a few miles below, these lines would have been formidable against an army advancing by land; but the batteries near the river were quite weak and ineffective against the ships—especially in the present stage of the river—the high surface of the water enabling them completely to command the surrounding country.

In the condition of affairs, it was quite obvious that the enemy's fleet would meet with no serious obstacle in passing up the river. Accordingly, it was announced at an early hour that they were coming. Their vessels came up slowly, as if feeling their way—the Hartford, the flag-ship of Farragut, leading. Then followed the Brooklyn, the Richmond, and nine other ships, big and little. As these ships approached the batteries, about six or seven miles below the city, our artillerists opened upon them from both sides of the river, but as the guns were only 24's, they produced but little effect. The ships replied with several broadsides, which showed that they completely commanded our batteries. The batteries, though manned by unpractised gunners, kept up the fire for some time, but with no effect, and under such discouraging circumstances as to render it an obvious policy to withdraw the gunners and the troops; the batteries were accordingly abandoned, and the troops were marched to the Jackson railroad. In the meantime, the hostile squadron steamed up the river. A terrible and melancholy spectacle was presented to the victorious ships. The whole levee, for miles, was wrapped in smoke from the burning cotton and gun carriages, which the authorities had ordered to be consumed. In the river were many hulls of burning ships, the debris of our fleet and of the merchant vessels and steamers which contained cotton.

The squadron proceeded up the river, the great multitude

clustered on the levee looking on in disgust and horror at the dismal spectacle. As they passed, a few shots were fired by some of our soldiers, but without orders. The ships did not reply, but proceeded slowly along our levee. A feeble cheer was raised on board of one of the ships, which was responded to by something like a cheer from a few persons in the crowd. The cheers, whether intended as such or not, drew upon the parties who were suspected of giving them some dozen or so of pistol shots, by which several persons were wounded. The squadron being advanced, the foremost ship, as far as the Fourth District, came to an anchor—the ships, to the number of thirteen, taking up positions in front of the city so as to command the several streets. After remaining in this position for a half-hour, a boat came ashore with two officers, one Captain Bayleis, second in command of the squadron (Captain Farragut being flag officer), and a lieutenant. These officers were greeted, on touching the shore, with the most uproarious huzzas for "Jeff. Davis and the South," and with the most threatening demonstrations. They had neglected to bring a flag of truce, and it was a proof of the good sense of even an infuriated multitude that they were allowed to land. They, however, proceeded under the protection of some gentlemen, who undertook to conduct them to the Mayor's office, in a drenching rain, followed by a furious and excited mob. Though no violence was offered to the officers, certain persons, who were suspected of favouring their flag and cause, were set upon with great fury and very roughly handled. On arriving at the City Hall, it required the intervention of several citizens to prevent violence being offered to the rash ambassador of an execrated dynasty and Government.

The Mayor received the Federal officers in his office with proper dignity. Captain Bayleis stated the purport of his mission. He had been sent by Captain Farragut to demand the surrender of the city and the elevation of the flag of the United States over the Custom-house, the Post-office, the Mint, and the City Hall. The Mayor replied that he was not the military commander of the city, that he had no authority to surrender it, and would not do so; but that there was a military commander now in the city, and he would send for him, to receive and reply to the demand.

A messenger was despatched to General Lovell. In the interval a number of citizens who were present, got into conversation with the United States' naval officers. The lieutenant seemed to be a courteous, well-behaved gentleman, who bore testimony, with apparent earnestness, to the vigour and valour of the defence of our forts, and was quite communicative. The senior officer was more reserved, but still more large in professions of peaceful intentions. It was difficult, however, for him to conceal the bitter sectional hate of a Massachusetts man against a true Southern community.—In the course of the conversation, however, this officer remarked that Captain Farragut deeply regretted to see the spirit of incendiarism which prevailed in the city, in the destruction of cotton and other things. The Mayor remarked that he differed with him; that the destruction was of our own property, and did not concern outsiders. Captain Bayleis replied that it looked like hitting off one's nose to spite his face. The Mayor replied that we had judged differently.

After awhile, General Lovell arrived in front of the City Hall, and was greeted with loud cheers by the crowd outside. On entering the Mayor's office, Captain Bayleis introduced himself as second in command of the United States' Squadron in front of the city. General Lovell replied, "I am General Lovell, of the army of the Confederate States, commanding this department." The officers then shook hands, and Captain Bayleis stated his mission to demand the surrender of the city, and the elevation of the United States' flag over the Custom House, Mint, and Post Office—adding that he was instructed by Captain Farragut to state that he came to protect private property and personal rights, and especially not to interfere with the negro property.

General Lovell replied that he would not surrender the city, nor allow it to be surrendered; that he was overpowered on the water by their superior squadron, but that he intended to fight them on land as long as he could muster a soldier; that he had marched all his armed men out of the city; that he had evacuated it; and if they desired to shell the town, destroying women and children, they could do so. That it was to avoid this he had marched his troops beyond the city limits, but that a large number even of the women of the city had begged him to remain and defend the city even against shelling. He did not think he would be justified in doing so. He would, therefore, retire and leave the city authorities to pursue what course they should think proper. Captain Bayleis said that no such purpose was entertained by Captain Farragut, reiterating the expression of his regret at the destruction of cotton. General Lovell interrupted him by saying that it was done by his authority. Captain Bayleis said that he had no doubt that General Lovell had done his duty, and they were doing theirs. It was then concluded that Captain Bayleis and the other officers would return to their ships, and the Mayor would call the Council, and lay before it the demand of Captain Farragut. The officers requested to be protected in their return to their ships, and General Lovell directed Colonel Lovell and Major James to accompany them. The officers accordingly proceeded to the front of the City Hall, where they took a cab and proceeded to the wharf. During the interview an immense and excited crowd of people had congregated about the City Hall, who alternately hurled for Jefferson Davis, for General Lovell, and most vigorously groaned for "Lincoln and his squadron."

To calm this multitude Pierre Soule addressed them in a few eloquent and effective words, counselling moderation, self-possession, fortitude and confidence in their cause, declaring that the honour of the Government and city was in safe hands, and that General Lovell's answer to the demand to surrender was worthy of the commander of a brave people.

General Lovell, on appearing on the steps, was also loudly cheered. He addressed the multitude in a short speech, declaring his purpose not to surrender the city, but to retire with his army and fight the Lincolnites, whom they could always whip on land. He briefly sketched his course in the preparation of the defence of the city. Had done all he could do with the means at his disposal. That he came here six months too late, and it was beyond his resources to contend successfully against the enemy's power on water.

He advised the citizens to bear themselves manfully, never to stoop or submit to the Lincoln domination, and to wait with patient fortitude for the deliverance from bondage which must soon come to them. The General then mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his staff, rode to the Jackson Railroad, where he took the last car, having already sent his army ahead of him.

THE MILITARY PLANS OF THE SOUTH.

We quote the following from the *Glasgow Herald*, written to an individual in that city by his relative in Baltimore:—

Baltimore, May 15, 1862.

The policy of the Confederate Government has now been defined, and I think I can see through some of the movements.

My idea is that they will give up all places that can be attacked by the gunboats, and fall back and concentrate their armies in the interior. Richmond, however, will be defended, and I feel confident of the result, providing the gunboats do not work their way up James River. We are assured by our Southern friends that the river is safe.

Joe Johnston, Robert Lee, and Magruder are now posted on the Chickahominy River, with an immense force, and there will be fighting at that point; and you can rest assured of the success of the Confederates in case McClellan ventures to attack them, of which there seems to be grave doubts at this time. Johnston defeated the Federals at Williamsburg, and, as an officer told me at Burnum's a few nights ago, it was a victory of the Shiloh character for the Federals. They lost in that battle over 6000 men. This report you can rely on. I do not write from rumours. The Confederates were on their retreat from Yorktown when their rearward was overtaken by the Federals, who, pressing hard upon them, compelled them to make a stand and fight, which they did most nobly, and defeated them. The Northerners retreated from the field, and the Southerners took up their line of march, taking with them 623 prisoners and eleven pieces of artillery.

The battle of West Point was another glorious victory for the arms of the South. Lee defeated the invaders, killing and wounding over 6000 men, and drove them under the protection of their gunboats. Since McClellan took his position before Yorktown he has lost over 30,000 men. The Federals themselves even estimate a higher figure.

McClellan is hard pressed before Fredericksburg. He reports an army in front of him of 60,000, and says he does not think it prudent to risk a battle. This you can rely on.

Banks, Milroy, and Fremont have been compelled to retreat before Jackson and General George Johnson. Banks was reported at Strasburg a few days ago. Yesterday 3000 of his men entered Winchester, having lost everything in the retreat. The Southerners here to-day say they have saved nothing, and the roads for eighty miles are blocked up with wagons and army stores, and Ashby advancing and destroying what he cannot carry off. I am giving you plain facts, and what I know to be so. I will enclose you an article from the *New York World*, which will convince you what is the condition of the Federal army in Western Virginia.

Beauregard is yet at Corinth, where he will fight.

THE NEW YORK HERALD ON THE MEXICAN INTERVENTION.

The *New York Herald* of May 21, has the following leader; it is a fair specimen of the insulting tone adopted by Northerners in reference to Europe.

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION IN MEXICO—NAPOLEON IN A TIGHT PLACE.

The want of sympathy manifested by the principal European Powers for the American Republic since the commencement of its internal troubles, and even the indirect aid afforded to the rebellion, have rendered the American people particularly sensitive about the armed intervention of those Powers in Mexico, in the face of the well-known traditional policy of the United States. Little has been said about the matter, because we are engaged in the crushing of an insurrection which absorbs all our attention; but we do not feel it the less.

The European Powers have taken advantage of this; for if we were at peace they would not venture to set a hostile foot upon Mexican soil, nor would any of their agents dare to broach the idea of setting up a monarchy on this continent. But the tremendous extent of our land and naval forces, our immense preparations by land and by sea, and the splendid successes achieved by our arms, have alarmed two of these Powers—Spain and England; for they know that half the splendid fleet that captured New Orleans, commanded by Farragut, could take Havana in one day, and give Cuba to our arms; that all the West Indies could be as easily annexed by the same mighty agency, and Canada would fall like a ripe pear at the first gentle shake of the tree. By that instinct of self-preservation, which is the first law of nations, as it is of individuals, England and Spain have drawn their horns within their shells, and left France alone in her glory and her peril.

Louis Napoleon evidently does not understand the temper of the American people, perceive the approaching dissolution of the rebellion, or feel sensible of the dangerous position in which he has placed himself. In six weeks the insurrection will have been put down, and if by that time Mexico should then call upon our Government for aid to repel the high-handed outrage committed upon her independence, we could not refuse her the desired assistance without renouncing all our American ideas. What would be the result? With a portion of the squadron which reduced New Orleans we could capture the French fleet at Vera Cruz, and shut in the French army, which would never return to France. The expedition would speedily become the victim of a second Moscow.

This may prove Napoleon's downfall, as the invasion of Russia resulted in the overthrow of his uncle. It is not that he has much to lose in the way of territory in the New World; but the loss of his army and fleet, and the loss of his prestige, would be more than the loss of territory. If it suits him to play fast and loose with principles, that is not the part which the American Republic can play. It must be true to itself, true to its history and traditions, and true to the spirit of the age. Napoleon plays Pope one day and revolution next, two ideas in antagonism with each other. He went as far as he could in Italy without overthrowing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. In order to atone for that offence, he seizes an insane interval in our history, and sends a fleet and an army to Mexico in order to restore the domination of the church in that country, and to overthrow popular institutions. But we are fast returning to our senses, and if he does not make haste to remove his ships and troops they will never return. And we hereby give notice to the said Emperor of the French, to her Britannic Majesty, and to her most Catholic Majesty Queen of Spain, and to all other European Powers whom it may concern, to quit the soil and ports of the republic of Mexico on or before the fourth day of July next; otherwise it will then become the bounden duty of the people and government of the United States to employ their magnificent army and navy to clear the American continent of every vestige of foreign sway.

ENGLAND AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

Str.—It is generally believed by the inhabitants of the Confederate States, that England is their lukewarm friend, if not their secret enemy. In their opinion, she ought long ago to have acknowledged their independence,

and thereby have committed herself to the advocacy and support of their cause. By remaining neutral she has disappointed their expectations, and forfeited their goodwill. Curiously enough, the complaints made by the Confederates are re-echoed by the Federals. The latter upbraid England because of her Southern sympathies, and affirm that she has so shaped her policy since the beginning of the war as to afford to the South direct countenance and indirect aid. We are told, in no polished or measured language, that our neutrality is a farce, a shield under which we conveniently carry on intrigues for the overthrow of the North. These contradictory charges neutralize each other. It must be owned, however, that the complaints of the Confederates are better founded, and deserve more serious attention, than those preferred by their opponents.

Now, it is indisputable that vast numbers of Englishmen are wholly indifferent towards the South, and a small number fervently desire that she may be subdued. The former class is wholly ignorant of the real question at issue between the North and South, and of the character of the Southern people. These men belong, for the most part, to the middle-class. They have travelled a good deal on the Continent, and come in contact with numbers of Americans in the course of their wanderings. They have found these Americans to be conceited, insolent, and uneducated; little impressed with beautiful scenery, rare paintings, superb architecture; confident that a Broadway "store" is a handsomer structure than any European cathedral, and that nothing in Europe can match the Falls of Niagara; and apparently actuated by no other motive than to see the greatest number of sights in the shortest possible space of time, and at the smallest possible expenditure of dollars. American travellers who talk and act thus are chiefly Northerners, and, it is to be hoped, are very inferior samples of their countrymen. On the other hand, the Southerners who visit Europe do not rush about from place to place, as if prickled with evil consciences, or so pressed for time as to be unable to enjoy what they witness. Not only do they travel about in a leisurely and sensible manner, but, being men of wealth and culture, they obtain entrance into circles to which the underbred Northerners can never hope to be admitted. Consequently, there are few Englishmen who ever meet with, and fewer still who make the acquaintance of, Southern gentlemen. It were as fair to decide on the character of the French and German nations from the specimens to be seen in Leicester-square, as to judge the Southern people from the Northerners who excite our disgust and contempt when we have the misfortune to be their fellow-travellers on a Rhine steamer, or fellow-occupants of a Swiss hotel. Prejudices are easily formed, but hard to root out; and it may be long before those of our countrymen who entertain erroneous impressions of the Southern people will be brought to see and retrieve their mistakes. A change is gradually taking place. Hundreds, who a year ago would not have grieved had the South been conquered, now ardently desire that she may triumph. The earnestness and consistency with which she has asserted her rights, the unanimity with which she has defended them, the capacity of her leaders, the skill of her generals, the valour and devotion manifested by her people, have already done much towards making our countrymen modify opinions once entertained by them concerning her, and which they will soon see reason for discarding altogether as unfounded and unjust.

It were folly to expect that the English partisans of the North will ever change their views. The majority of them are fanatics, and fanatics neither listen to reason nor profit by experience. The party in this country which worships the "Union," though very small, is very noisy; hence, it appears greater and more important than it really is. Nearly every member of it is either a member of the Manchester school, or of the Peace Society. It owns several newspapers, which worthily emulate the vilest of the New York journals in calumniating the Confederates and hounding on their foes. In these newspapers the Federals are constantly admonished to strain every nerve in fighting for the preservation of that abstraction called the "Union," and the Northern soldiers are urged to inflict on the Confederates a merciless and memorable vengeance. This pro-Northern party is, unhappily, not without some influence in the country. The Government cannot run counter to it with impunity. To its open and secret influence must be ascribed the hesitation which has been shown in recognizing the independence of the Confederate States, and any bad feeling which may now or hereafter be entertained towards England by the Confederates will have been engendered by the machinations of that party. But England cannot submit much longer to the dictation of a handful of narrow-minded and unpatriotic men. If there be one thing which rejoices them more than another, it is the ascendancy of those who glory in dishonouring her. Whether it be Russia, Germany, or the Federal States, that insult her, these men applaud the deed and commend the perpetrator. The best proof we can possibly have that the recognition of the Confederate States will be for the advantage of England is that Mr. Bright and his friends are opposed to it. As soon as the country perceives this, it will loudly call on the Government to welcome the Confederate States into the family of nations. Before many weeks elapse that, I think, must be done. Until then we shall lie open to the reproach of having failed in performing a simple act of justice, as well as of having foolishly omitted to take a step which may hereafter redound to our national advantage.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1862.

The War.

THE news of the week is important and significant; the rumours of the street and "on 'change" are even more so. For the first time since the beginning of the war have these rumours been adverse to the success of the stronger side in the contest. It is currently reported and believed that private despatches have been received by prominent business firms—some go so far as to say by the Government—that Halleck's army has sustained a severe reverse near Corinth, and that the defeat of Banks' division was more general and disastrous than appears from the published intelligence. We have never been disposed to attach undue importance to mere rumours, although those we referred to seemed to have attained so tangible a form as to have somewhat affected the quotations of consols; but in this instance they do certainly indicate that the public mind of this country is becoming conscious of the extremely critical condition into which the Federal armies have been lured by exaggerated successes. It is now understood that the invaders have staked their fortunes upon two throws of the dice, the loss of either of which is irreparable, while the gain of neither can be decisive. The larger portion of the Federal forces is frittered away in the occupation of distant points, which must be abandoned if the main armies in the West and East are defeated; or in enforcing a partial quiescence upon States which impatiently await the expected opportunity to rise against the oppressor. A little food for self-glorification and indecorous boasting is all that has so far compensated them for the enormous outlay incurred in the capture of two seaports, and half-a-dozen places of comparatively trifling importance. Not one of the substantial advantages, either commercial or political, to be derived from these achievements has yet been obtained, or appears likely to be obtained. The whole burden of the war, then, rests upon the armies of Halleck and McClellan.

As for Halleck's army, if it is not already defeated, it is certainly doomed. No army ever marched to victory with such evil forebodings, such a distrust in its own powers and fortunes, so settled a conviction of its own defeat. The day of thanksgiving, ordered with such wanton profanity by the Washington authorities, cannot conceal even from the deluded masses of the North that their so-called victory at Shiloh had this strange effect of hopelessly, crippling their strength, and paralyzing all their forward movements. New York awaits with fear and trembling the news from the West; the Federal War Department has thought it necessary to take extraordinary precautions that no news whatever should come. The Confederates, we feel convinced, are no longer in danger in that quarter.

McClellan's army appears to be scarcely more fortunate than Halleck's. The course of events in the East has already attested the wisdom of the policy which dictated the evacuation of Yorktown. Severely beaten at Williamsburg, as is now obvious from the later accounts of the battle, his "invincible" gunboats repulsed with heavy loss, his Lieutenant, Banks, driven back into the inhospitable mountains of Western Virginia, the Young Napoleon of the North has been foiled in every detail of his vaunted

combinations. Not in London alone, but in New York also, the belief gains ground that Richmond is quite as safe at Washington. If the Federals cannot capture this important city within a few miles, as it were, of their own capital, what are we to think of their pretensions to conquer a territory equal to twenty European kingdoms? But if it should hereafter be found that the hastily-constructed fortifications cannot always repulse the iron-clad fleets which the North will endeavour to concentrate against them, and if Richmond, in consequence, should be abandoned, which is now considered highly improbable, the Confederates will nevertheless have obtained what is all-important to them—Time. For the season of effective campaigning is now rapidly drawing to a close. McClellan would be out-generalled, as he was at Manassas and Yorktown, and Richmond would prove no more valuable a possession than Nashville, or Norfolk, or New Orleans, have proved. A writer in the *Times* of yesterday, in whose lucid style and thorough knowledge of his subject we recognize the author of the "American Union," shows, by unanswerable arguments, that in no event could the Confederate army be cut off from retreat to Lynchburg, and that this city, in every military point of view, forms a better key of a defensive position than does Richmond.

Regarded in whatever light, it is undeniable that the news of the past week has been consistently adverse to the North. President Lincoln himself makes the most direct confession of the fact in calling for an additional levy of 50,000 men. Halleck and McClellan both clamour loudly for reinforcements. What has become of those countless hordes which were to sweep over the South like an avalanche, crushing it by the mere force of numbers?

Who Commenced the War?

"THE Confederates, of course, by the attack on Fort Sumter," will be the reply by ninety-nine Englishmen out of every hundred, to this query. Of the many errors in regard to American affairs persisted in in defiance of all evidence and logic, none is so prevalent or so deeply rooted in the public mind as this, and yet none is in more violent contradiction to the voice of truthful history. We should despair of obtaining a hearing for that voice on a point considered by so many to be settled beyond dispute, had we not to offer in evidence facts which are new to the majority of the English public, and documents which, to our knowledge, have never before been published in England. We refer to two Messages, with accompanying papers, of President Davis to the Confederate Provisional Congress, then in secret session at Montgomery, written when the Confederate States were as yet only preparing for a war they had exhausted every honourable means to avoid. No candid thinker can justly lay claim to an unbiassed judgment who has not listened to the evidence these documents contain. A brief synopsis of facts and dates, which may assist attentive perusal, completes our task of introducing them to the reader.

On November 6th, 1860, the day of the last general election for a President of the United States, the Legislature of the State of South Carolina, according to its wont since the construction of the Union, convened in special session, to appoint electors to cast the vote of the State, and instructed them to cast that vote for John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. On the night of the same day the telegraph made known the result of the election in almost every State of the Union, although the mere formality of casting the vote by the electoral colleges of the several States would not take place until more than a month later. In view of the solid phalanx into which the North had arrayed itself in this selection against the South, despite the most earnest expostulations of the latter, and the most unmistakable warnings; every Northern State, except one, whose vote was divided, having heaped up immense majorities for the candidate whose election had, by common accord, been accepted as the symbol

of open defiance against the South—the Legislature of South Carolina resolved to consult the will of the people as to the steps to be taken in this solemn emergency, and passed an Act for a Convention of the people to be held in the city of Charleston. It must here be remarked, that Conventions of the people are the recognized and lawful form in which, according to American theories of Government, each individual State, and even the whole of the States associated together, deal with such extraordinary political questions as cannot, from their nature, come within the competence of the constituted authorities of the several States, or of the association of States. These Conventions are assumed to embody, and to be alone competent to express and exercise that supreme sovereignty which is held to reside in the people, and from which all lawful authority is held to be derived. Thus it is by a Convention of the people that each State, without exception, has always framed the Constitution by which it entered the Union. It is by such Conventions that each State has always exercised its right of amending or altering that Constitution. Few States, either North or South, have not exercised that right more than once as members of the Union. It was by a National Convention, that is to say, by delegates from the Conventions of the several States, that the Union itself was instituted, and the Federal Constitution framed; and a similar body is expressly designated in that instrument as the proper authority for such alterations or modifications as the exigencies of future generations might require. Conventions, therefore, though the expedient only of great emergencies, are neither infractions of law, nor innovations upon usage. It has never been asserted that the elections to the Convention of South Carolina were not fairly conducted, or that the members themselves did not fully represent the will of the people. In the election district of the city of Charleston alone, there were as many as twenty-seven different combinations of names proposed to the voters, and the result at the ballot-box was a selection from each. In the second week of December this Convention met, and, after brief consultation, on the twentieth day of that month, passed by the unanimous vote of all its members the following ordinance:—

AN ORDINANCE,

TO DISSOLVE THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER, UNDER THE COMPACT ENTITLED THE "CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinances adopted by us in Convention on the 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed: and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

This event produced a very different effect in different parts of the Union. At the North it was treated with levity, as a mere empty threat on the part of the seceded State, which, it was argued, would soon be forced back by the unbearable burdens of a separate national existence. No one, however, spoke or thought of coercion by arms, and even her right to withdraw from the Union was not generally questioned. The organs of the ultra-abolition party spoke of it, and of the threatened secession of all the other Southern States, as a happy riddance. In the so-called Border States the gravity of the crisis was appreciated; but these States being then sincerely attached to the Union, did not despair of being able to restore it. A so-called "Border States' Peace Convention" was convoked by them for this purpose, to which the Legislatures of these States sent delegates, and by which a variety of compromises were suggested without any practical result whatever. In the so-called Cotton States the secession of South Carolina was the signal for an active canvass, conducted with consummate skill on both sides, between the advocates of immediate secession, and the party of temporizers calling themselves "Co-operationists."

An avowed Union party, even at that time, there was not in those States; what few lovers of the Union, for its own sake, there might have been took shelter under the wings of the Co-operation party. The two parties in the field, whose champions met each other in debate on every stump in city and country, were nearly evenly balanced in strength. Both agreed as to the right of secession, but differed as to the expediency, or rather, the manner of its exercise; the one insisting upon immediate withdrawal from the Union, and the formation of national governments for each individual State, the other counselling delay, consultation with other Southern States, preparation before the final step should be taken, and concerted action on the part of all. Both, however, agreed to submit to the decision of the ballot-box. That decision in every Cotton State was against delay, and against the dangerous expedient of waiting for each other. In January, the Conventions met in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, and by the end of the month these six States had followed the example of South Carolina. From that moment all party differences were at an end. Concessions had been made by each side; what there was wise in the councils of the Co-operationists was adopted in practice; violent or peculiarly obnoxious men were sacrificed to the general harmony; and the seceded States presented the unprecedented spectacle of a political love-feast, in which life-long opponents vied with each other in apologies for the past, and friendly assurances for the future. On February 5, delegates from all the seceded States met at Montgomery, to concert the terms of a temporary alliance, and propose the basis of a permanent Confederation. In this assemblage each former political organization was represented according to its attested numerical strength. A week after its meeting, a Provisional Government was unanimously instituted, and with equal unanimity a Provisional President and Vice-President appointed, the former representing the more prudent wing of the "immediate Secessionists" the latter, the late "Co-operation party."

The Southern Confederacy was now formed, its Government in actual operation; still no sound of war was heard. The President of the United States, in a formal Message to his Congress, declared himself alike powerless under the Constitution to sanction the disruption of the Union, and to preserve it by force. Meanwhile, South Carolina had exhausted the resources of diplomacy at Washington to obtain a peaceful settlement of accounts with the Union. Three of her most distinguished citizens, Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, were invested with full powers to treat in the name of the State. On their failing, they were succeeded by Mr. Hayne, the Attorney-General of the State, whose efforts were equally unsuccessful. The President received and corresponded with both delegations, though declining to recognize their official character, and pleaded his constitutional incompetency to treat with so difficult a subject, but expressed his peaceful intentions in the strongest terms, and even sent Mr. Treseott, the Assistant-Secretary of State, to Charleston, to give greater emphasis to his assurances. As early as December 26th, Major Anderson, the Federal commander of the forts in Charleston harbour, had removed his command, after partially demolishing one of the forts, to a position of greater strategic strength; an act which President Buchanan expressly admitted to have been a violation of his pledge to preserve the military *status quo* at Charleston unimpaired; but refused to annul; by this refusal causing a change of almost his entire Cabinet. Still no overt act of hostility had been committed on either side. Major Anderson continued to receive his supplies from the market, and from the private hospitality of Charleston.

It is at this time that the narrative is taken up by the official documents we publish elsewhere. It will be seen that one of the first acts of the Confederate Government was, to open with the incoming Administration of Mr. Lincoln those negotiations in which South Carolina had so signally failed with the Administration of Mr. Buchanan. In the very selection of its Commissioners it proved its earnest desire

for a peaceful settlement. Of the three, each represented one of the old parties which, in by-gone times, had contended for predominance in the common Government.

We have President Davis' official announcement to the Confederate Congress, that their instructions were to make every honourable concession for the sake of peace. Now let the reader peruse for himself how these Commissioners, and through them, the Confederate Government, were lulled into a false security by assurances as false as Judas' kiss; how a justice of the Supreme Court—the most honoured office in the United States—was made the unconscious instrument of perpetrating this fraud; how a solemn promise was made, and kept like that of the witches of Macbeth; how a hostile fleet was secretly equipped, and its purpose only revealed several days after it had sailed, and when, in the ordinary course of navigation, it might be expected to reach the doomed city, warned too late; how it was the finger of God, by a tempest, that alone defeated the bloody scheme so nefariously concerted. We are strangely mistaken if any man to whom public faith is more than an empty word, and who believes nations, like individuals, to be amenable to the laws of honour, can read this history without repeating, with the Confederate President:—"The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candour, and in directness, as was the course of the United States' Government toward our Commissioners in Washington."

Is it difficult, after this, to understand that what love for the Union, what doubts of the justice or necessity of withdrawal from it, might still have remained latent in the South, should be extinguished for ever? The South was unprepared for war, the weaker in number, without an arsenal worthy the name; without a powder mill in her whole territory; with scarcely a fort in a state of defence. The duplicity of Mr. Lincoln's Government caused her to neglect precious opportunities, and, but for the heroic determination of her people, might have proved fatal to her independence. The Southerners can justly proclaim, before God and man, in the words of their leader, when he took his oath of office, now fifteen months ago:—

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of our just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations; if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it.

The South as a Literary Market.

THE interest which commerce, in all its many forms, has in the destinies of the Confederate States, is a subject on which political economists and statisticians have lavished their logic and their figures. We know, or, at least, we ought to know, to within a pound or two, the dowry of the rich bride which only awaits our wooing. We can cipher it up by an easy process of arithmetic, that the independence of the South, opening to unrestricted free trade a market of fabulous capacity for production and consumption, and a coasting navigation of thousands of miles to the shipping of all the world, would be equal to the discovery of another India, and that an India discovered for our special benefit and enjoyment, without the drawback of its costing us large standing armies, and an equally expensive machinery of Government. The interests, we repeat, of commerce and capital in the destinies of the South, are, if not generally understood, at least sufficiently explained to give no one an excuse for not understanding them. But the interests of literature, scarcely less in magnitude, no one has ever taken the pains to consider.

One of the first acts of the Southern Congress, at Montgomery, was the passage, without opposition, of the following resolution, which is now one of the laws of the land:—

A RESOLUTION

IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHTS.

Whereas, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Saxony, and other European Powers, have passed laws to secure to authors of their

States the benefits and privileges of their copyright laws, upon condition of similar privileges being granted by the laws of such States to authors the subjects of the Powers aforesaid, therefore be it

Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to instruct the Commissioners appointed by him to visit the European Powers, to enter into treaty obligations for the extension of international copyright privileges to all authors the citizens and subjects of the Powers aforesaid.

Approved March 7, 1861.

The importance of this law needs no elaboration with those who know, from sad practical experience, to what heavy losses British authors and publishers have been subject by the wholesale and systematized piracy practised under sanction of law in the United States. Here is a public as numerous as that which the author addresses at home, to whom he gives his brains without substantial reward, and too often, even, without reward of fame, and of which the publisher must be content to see his rightful gains pass into other hands. An English book of any merit is certain to be reprinted in America, costing nothing but its weight in paper, and the mechanical labour of printing it, requiring no judgment or risk on the part of the so-called publisher, and, therefore, sold at one-fifth of its English price. A few examples will suffice for illustration. Baron Macaulay's "History of England," on moderately good paper, in four volumes, bound in sheep, is retailed in the United States for four dollars, or a trifle over sixteen shillings. It is notorious that its American sale, in this cheap form, has been almost double its sale in England and her dependencies. "The British Poets," an exact counterpart of the London edition, in type, paper, and binding, retail, for 2s. 6d. a volume. Four of the leading British Reviews, and one Monthly, are furnished to the American subscribers at £2 per annum by a firm whose sole business consists in such republications. But this is by no means the worst feature of this wholesale robbery. It is only where the author's name is an additional source of profit, that he is not robbed of that also. Works of reference, such as dictionaries and other laborious compilations usually receive a few American improvements, and in that form are the easy spoil of whoever chooses to put his name on the title-page. We have now in mind a useful little volume, Walford's "Men of the Time," which, enriched by the biographies of a few American politicians, but all trace of its British origin erased, sells at five shillings in the Transatlantic market. We could cite a whole catalogue of meritorious works that have undergone a similar fate. A New York magazine, which, before the war, claimed to have a circulation of largely upward of a hundred thousand, had, from its origin, stolen its best articles from the magazine literature of this country.

Huge fortunes, it is unnecessary to add, have been made by this simple and convenient process. In a few cases, but only in a very few, a pittance has been paid to the author or publisher here for advance sheets, so as to secure the simultaneous publication in both hemispheres of some popular book or serial, in order the more effectually to preclude the possibility of European competition. It would be well if American literature enabled us to resort to the practice of retaliation; but the style of our loving kinsmen is, as yet, beyond the appreciation of the unformed taste of the people of these kingdoms. Of the few really good books that America has given us most were first published here, and thus the benefit of copyright laws secured to the authors.

The independence of the Confederate States enlarges the appreciative and remunerative audience of every man who lives by his pen, or who plies it from choice or for fame, by some six or seven millions of his own race and language, eager to receive intellectual instruction from the parent source of their language and literature. The South has always been a profitable literary market; but the North, as in all things, has held the monopoly. Of rare, or old, or costly books, the South has been almost the exclusive purchaser on the American continent. New York and Boston imported libraries from the continent, but it was to sell them again to Charleston, to Savannah, Augusta, Montgomery, and Nashville. The secession has cost the Northern periodical press the better half of their circulation. Even the school-books of the South

have always been, without a noticeable exception, of Northern origin. All this, we are aware, speaks ill of Southern intellectual activity, but it is accountable by a variety of causes, into which it is not our purpose to enter now. Suffice that the Southerners, a very prevalent error notwithstanding, are a reading people. Less profoundly absorbed by money-making pursuits, with none of that feverish bustle in which the man of the North consumes his mind and body, they are, from nature as well as from circumstances, a serious, thoughtful, meditative people. No one ever so slightly conversant with the history of the American Republic, but knows that by far the greater number of its distinguished jurists and statesmen, as well as of its tacticians of repute, are of Southern birth. To say that the South has no literature would be to do it great injustice. It has a political literature, the fruit of a half century of political struggles with its rival, which is scarcely known to Europe, but which is marked by ability of no common order. It has a poetry, also, of its own, which indicates both taste and power. But it is fair to say that the Confederate States, in the career of independence which they have so heroically commenced, will not for many years be able to supply their own literary wants, or to give an equivalent for what they must necessarily receive from Europe. Of no species of Northern manufactures will they be so jealous and suspicious as of Northern reading matter, and just as British dry goods must take the place of Northern dry goods, and British ships the place of Northern ships, so must British newspapers and British publications of every character fill the immense vacuum which the disruption of the American Union has created in their favour in the Southern States.

Federal Treatment of European Consuls.

THE reported proceedings of General Butler, at New Orleans, are so extravagant that there is a disposition to discredit them, although they come from hitherto reliable sources. That he should tyrannize over the New Orleanists is reasonable, though unrighteous. If any part of the South is to be held by the North it must be ruled oppressively. There is no other way of keeping an antagonistic, loathing people in subjection. But how can we explain the insults to the Dutch Consul, the ignominious searching of his person, and the seizure of money entrusted to him on account of Messrs. Hoop, of Amsterdam? What motive can we suggest for taking forcible possession of the offices of the French and Spanish Consulates? The riddle is easily answered. Though the United States have nothing to gain from insulting Europe, yet the United States' officers cannot hope for the favour of King Mob unless they embrace every opportunity of treating Europe with indignity. The arrangement is simple, and until now has worked well. The military and naval officers practice the insults preached by a rabid press; and to keep off hostilities until a convenient season, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward are always ready, and probably willing, to eat any quantity of humble pie. Still there is a limit to patience, and we think that limit is nearly reached. The confirmation of the reported outrage on the Dutch Consul and the French and Spanish Consulates will cause great disgust throughout Europe.

Many who feel thus incensed would find it difficult to state how far the Federal Commander has transgressed the law of nations. It happens that the authority and privileges of consuls, except when defined by special treaties, are, to some extent, conjectural. They are not entitled to the same privileges as ambassadors, except in those countries where they exercise diplomatic functions; but in such instances, although called consuls, and still performing consular duties, they are public ministers, and so can claim the immunities universally accorded to the representatives of sovereignty. We have, however, to deal with the case of consuls not exercising diplomatic functions, except in case of need. Have such officers any privileges not enjoyed by private

citizens? Nearly all jurists agree that they have. Vattel gives some reasons for consular privileges: "The consul is no public minister. Yet, bearing his Sovereign's commission, and being in this quality received by the Prince in whose dominions he resides, he is, in a certain degree, entitled to the protection of the law of nations." All English consuls are appointed by the Crown, and no foreign consul can exercise his office in England until his appointment has been approved by the Sovereign. There is a very erroneous impression that consuls are virtually the nominees of the merchants. It is true, Chambers of Commerce, and other mercantile bodies, recommend candidates to supply consular vacancies, but such recommendations, though entitled to a respectful consideration, are not always regarded. A few months since the Danish Consul-Generalship for England was vacant. The Danish Chambers of Commerce recommended one candidate, but the King, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, elected another gentleman to the office. A consul, then, is an officer of the Crown, commissioned, subject to the consent of the Government of the country in which he is to reside, to protect the property and to exercise some degree of authority over the persons of the subjects of his Sovereign. Indeed, so dignified is the consular position, that, in the event of the legation being recalled—as was the case with the English legation at St. Petersburg, before the commencement of the Crimean war—the consul forthwith acts as the public minister of his Government. Being without instructions, he cannot, of course, enter into diplomatic discussions, but he can receive and transmit despatches; he can communicate directly with the Foreign Office of the country in which he is residing; he is charged with the care of the ambassadorial archives; to his fellow countrymen he can, and is bound, to render all the assistance that they could have demanded of the ambassador, and if he has any complaint to make in reference to the treatment of a fellow-countryman, he need not wait for instructions from his Government, but may, if the case is urgent, forthwith apply for redress. We press this point, because, virtually, the foreign consuls in New Orleans were in the position of consuls on whom had devolved diplomatic functions, and surely, with the functions, so many of the privileges as are necessary for official effectiveness. New Orleans was blockaded, and consequently, foreign residents could not communicate with their ministers at Washington, and could only look to their consuls.

But besides the manner of his appointment and acceptance, and the important duties devolving on him and the still more important functions he may at any moment be called upon to undertake, Vattel directs attention to the fact that the official discharge of consular duties necessitates consular immunities and privileges. "The functions of a consul seem even to require that the consul should be independent of the ordinary justice of the place where he resides, so as not to be molested or impeded, unless he himself violates the law of nations by some enormous crime." This, then, according to reason and usage, is the position of a consul, except when, as in Eastern or semi-barbarous countries, he exercises diplomatic functions. Officially, he is entitled to the immunities of a public minister; but personally, he does not enjoy the privileges of a public minister, and is responsible to the laws of the country in which he resides for his personal acts.

We need not rest the case upon the authority of Vattel. We will cite the opinion of Mr. Cushing, the American jurist. When Attorney-General, the learned gentleman addressed a circular to the United States' Consuls, instructing them as to their powers in reference to the marriages of United States' citizens abroad. In his introductory remarks, he observes:—"But although consuls are not merely commercial agents, as many authors assert, and although they undoubtedly have some of the rights of a foreign minister, still it is undeniable they do not enjoy the privileges of extraterritoriality, according to the rules of public law, as received in the United States . . . in their personal affairs, they are punishable by the local tribunals for offences."

Mr. Cushing assents to the view we have adopted; but, with annoying reticence, he omits to state what are the privileges of consuls, although he does name an important privilege to which he avers they are not entitled. Are we to understand that, with the exception of extraterritoriality, a consul is entitled to all the privileges of a public minister?

In 1853, a Convention was signed between France and the United States, as to consular duties and consular privileges. The Second Article states that the consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, or consular agents of the United States and France, "shall enjoy in the two countries the privileges usually accorded to the offices, such as personal immunity, except in the case of crime." This second article, it will be perceived, is declaratory; it stipulates for the usual privileges, and it affirms that personal immunity, except in the case of crime, is one of the privileges usually accorded to the consular office. What crime had the Dutch Consul at New Orleans been guilty of that his person was searched? Was he, in the midst of warfare, with the possible contingency of the bombardment and sack of the city, to refuse the custody of property belonging to Amsterdam merchants? Yet we confess, such guardianship would be worthless, if we were bound to receive Mr. Cushing's ruling as to extraterritoriality. Let us see if his doctrine is tenable.

In the Convention of 1853, between France and the United States, there is a clause permitting consuls to display the arms or flag of their country at their offices or dwellings. This clause, though not verbally, is really declaratory; for it is the universal custom of consuls to hoist their national flags, or to put up over their doors their national arms. What is the object of hoisting a national flag? Why, for example, do vessels hoist the national flag? Only to set forth claims to extraterritoriality. Nor do consuls hoist their national flags for the sake of decorating their offices and abodes. But to make the matter clearer, we have the third article of the Convention of 1853, that "The consular offices and dwellings shall be inviolable. The local authorities shall not invade them under any pretext. In no case shall they examine or seize the papers there deposited. In no case shall those offices or dwellings be used as place of asylum." Anything stronger than this could not have been penned. It proves the seizure of the office of the French Consulate was illegal. We further contend that it proves the outrage on the Dutch and Spanish Consulates equally unjustifiable. We may be told that this is an express compact between France and the United States, but we beg to say, it is a declaratory compact, not differing from, but in accordance with, the usages of civilized communities.

We are of opinion, then, that the conduct of General Butler to the foreign consuls is illegal. That it is insulting and hectoring needs no proof; but Europe has so long submitted to Yankee bullying that she has scarcely a right to complain of it.

There is another view of the case which we must consider. For argument's sake, grant that consuls have neither officially nor personally any more privileges than non-official foreign residents—and we presume no one will assert that consuls have less privileges—are there not such things as neutral rights? If General Butler did not know that he was grossly violating the law of nations by taking forcible possession of the Consulates, he must have known that he was violating the rights of neutrals.

The United States may disregard the law of nations and adopt a semi-barbarous policy, but not with impunity. Sooner or later civilized nations will have to enforce the claims of international rights. A few more such outrages as the one we have been discussing, and the Yankees will have to learn that though they can "lick all creation" on paper, they will be obliged in practice to submit to the laws and obligations of civilization.

THE pressure upon our columns compels us to omit, for this week, the serial parts of "The Cruise of the Sumter" and "Three Months in the Confederate Army."

Reviews.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL. *

No. III.

On October 5, 1568, the Prince of Orange crossed the Meuse, near Stochem. This achievement was the most brilliant operation of the campaign. The Prince, at the head of 30,000 troops, for the most part composed of men who cared nothing about the good cause, and only fought for good pay, and the chance of plunder, was anxious to give the enemy battle. Alva was too consummate a general to risk a needless encounter. The Spaniards were domiciled in the Netherlands; the patriots were, strategically, invaders. An invader held in check, worn with harassing retreats, with marches and counter-marches, and with skirmishes which are never allowed to grow into battles, is virtually defeated. Alva would not fight William, but he followed him about like his shadow. In a month's campaign, the patriot camp was moved twenty-nine times, and at every move Alva changed his position so as to be near enough to his enemy to cause embarrassment and irritation, but not near enough to compel an engagement. The most serious affair happened when the Prince was crossing the river Geta to effect a junction with the Count de Genlis. The rear-guard, 3000 strong, under the command of Hoogstraaten, was posted on a hill to protect the passage of the main body. Alva immediately despatched his son Frederic with a force of 7000 men, to attack the enemy. The hill was surrounded, and Hoogstraaten and his forces remorselessly slain. Those who escaped immediate carnage were burnt or butchered in cold blood. Viletti was anxious to cross the river and follow up the advantage, but Alva forbade the pursuit. There was no objection to slay 3000 of the enemy if they could be trapped like rats, but is useless to fight a rapidly dissolving army, however certain of victory, seeing that no battle could be fought without some loss to the victorious side. The tactics of the Spaniard were completely successful. The people whom the Prince came to deliver gave him no sign of welcome; for, oppressed and depressed as they were, they needed some evidence of their deliverer's prowess. The troops became mutinous, and after endeavouring to incite them to fight for religious freedom in France, the Prince disbanded his army at Strasburg, paying their arrears as far as he could, and solemnly engaging, "should he return from France alive, and be still unable to pay their arrears of wages, to surrender his person to them as a hostage for his debt."

If the first exilement of the Prince had been discouraging, what must have been the moral effect of the second? On the former occasion he had gone forth to seek aid to save his country from spoliation—now he retires, after proving that the aid collected with so much ingenuity, pains, and cost, was ineffectual. The Prince was, so far, a failure—a complete, entire failure. No marvel that timid patriots despaired of his ability or his fortune, nor can we altogether question the prudence of those who determined not to trust the unlucky William. Was such a one the chosen prophet to speak to the dry bones, to the trodden dust, of national independence, and recall them to life and animation? Even so. The prophet, as well as the people, needed the fiery ordeal. It seems as though, like Job, the Netherlands were permissively and sorely afflicted. Whilst we read of the cruel scourges of the inhuman Spaniards, and of the cruel frustrations of the hopes of the patriots, we wonder how the Ruler of the Universe suffered such outrages, and such frequent disappointments to the cause of truth and justice. But the end vindicated the unsearchable wisdom of Providence. The long contest with the Netherlands precipitated the downfall of Spanish power, mutilated the cruel Inquisition, and uprooted the political supremacy of the Papacy. If William had been immediately successful, civil and religious liberty might have been established in the Netherlands, but not elsewhere. The eighty years' struggle was not for the benefit of the Netherlands only, but was destined to bless all nations, and all times, by crippling the tyrannies that made Europe a huge prison. And we may observe the same of the present contest in America. The immediate object of the Confederates is to defend their sovereign rights and their independence; the object of the North is to make the South its tributary, and so monopolize the wealth thereof. But what of the result of the struggle? Sooner or later the South must establish its independence, because it is impossible to enslave eight millions of people who prefer ruin and death to national dishonour; and the independence of

the South will break down a monopoly that impoverishes the world. Posterity will wonder at the apathy with which nations conscious of the advantages of free trade beheld the contest, just as we now are overwhelmed with surprise at the indifference of Europe to the prolonged warfare between Spain and the Netherlands. We are astonished at the blindness that could not see that religion was a mere excuse for cruel oppression generated by a spirit of avarice; much more will future historians be surprised at the credulity of this age in paying the slightest heed to the humanitarianism excuse for Northern avarice—in supposing that Yankees care for a race whom they treat as reptiles, seeking, as they do, to deprive the negro of his home, that in the name of emancipation they might beat him with the scorpions of their inextinguishable, loathing hatred; mocking him with the pretence of liberty, and teaching their children to regard him as a leper doubly accursed, and that the touch of his black skin is more horrible than the bite of an adder; holding that even to permit him to worship God in the same temple is defiling. It is true, the cant of humanitarianism no longer deludes the intelligent classes of Europe; but, for a time, it veiled the enormity of the Northern raid on the South, just as the plea of religion concealed the enormity of the Spanish raid on the Netherlands. We do not say the analogy is perfect. Philip had sovereign rights in the Netherlands, but the Yankees have no rights in the Confederate States.

No sooner was the campaign over, than Alva, breathing out slaughter and vengeance against the people who had meekly submitted to his authority instead of supporting the Prince who came to deliver them from cruel bondage, turned his attention to domestic oppression. Fancying himself secure, he ventured to strike at the last vestige of the Netherlands' rights, by proposing a scheme of perpetual taxation to the Provincial Estates assembled in Brussels in the spring of 1569. The Estates were commanded to endorse, not to discuss, the following decrees:—

A tax of the hundredth penny, or one per cent., was laid upon all property, real and personal, to be collected instantly. This impost, however, was not perpetual, but only to be paid once, unless, of course, it should suit the same arbitrary power by which it was assessed to require it a second time.

A tax of the twentieth penny, or five per cent., was laid upon every transfer of real estate. This imposition was perpetual.

Thirdly, a tax of the tenth penny, or ten per cent., was assessed upon every article of merchandise or personal property, to be paid as often as it should be sold. This tax was likewise to be perpetual.

The whole country was alarmed. The Catholics perceived that their religion might save their necks, but would not preserve their property. So universal was the opposition raised to the scheme, that Alva, finding himself unsupported at Madrid, was obliged to accept a compromise. The provinces agreed to pay two millions yearly for two years. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed.

Certainly but little enthusiasm could be expected from the crowd, had the text of the amnesty been heard. It consisted of three parts—a recitation of the wrongs committed, a statement of the terms of pardon, and a long list of exceptions. All the sins of omission and commission, the heresy, the public preaching, the image-breaking, the compromise, the confederacy, the rebellion, were painted in lively colours. Pardon, however, was offered to all those who had not rendered themselves liable to positive impeachment, in case they should make their peace with the Church before the expiration of two months and by confession and repentance obtain their absolution. The exceptions, however, occupied the greater part of the document. When the general act of condemnation had been fulminated by which all Netherlands were sentenced to death, the exceptions had been very few, and all the individuals mentioned by name. In the act of pardon, the exceptions comprehended so many classes of inhabitants, that it was impossible for any individual to escape a place in some one of the categories, whenever it should please the Government to take his life.

Such an amnesty was too much like a bait to catch the unwary, rather than an act of clemency, to produce a pacification. If the Netherlands were to be plundered, and Protestantism exterminated, the avowed and unceasing brutality of Alva was more effectual, and not more cruel, than the flimsy hypocrisy of Philip.

In 1570, there was a terrible inundation to add to the miseries of the unhappy country. Not less than 100,000 persons perished. The Spaniards, with that readiness to dogmatically interpret the will of God which characterizes fanaticism, whether clothed in Romish red or Protestant black, declared that the flood was a punishment for heresy.

The Prince of Orange was not disheartened by the gloomy prospects of his country. He busied himself in raising supplies and in seeking foreign alliances. The former came in slowly, and the latter were difficult to negotiate on account of the fear inspired by the power of Spain. In 1572, the Duke of Alva had so far entered into amicable relations with the Queen of England, that at his instigation Elizabeth forbade her subjects to supply the "sea-beggars" under the command of De la Marek, then lying off the Southern Coast, with meat, bread, and beer.

The Spaniard soon had occasion to repent the success of his diplomacy. De la Marek set sail for the coast of Holland, boldly demanded the surrender of Brill; the terrified inhabitants fled, and the "sea-beggars" took possession of the city. "The two parties, not more, perhaps, than 250 men in all, met before sunset in the centre of the city, and the foundation of the Dutch Republic was laid." Alva deputed Bossu to recover the city, but the Nieuwland sluice was opened, the country flooded, the Spaniards were panic-stricken, and retired. Flushing soon followed in the wake of Brill.

Instantly afterward, half the island of Walcheren renounced the yoke of Alva. Next, Enkhuizen, the key to the Zuyder Zee, the principal arsenal, and one of the first commercial cities in the Netherlands, rose against the Spanish Admiral, and hung out the banner of Orange on its ramparts. The revolution effected here was purely the work of the people—of the mariners and burghers of the city. Moreover, the magistracy was set aside and the government of Alva repudiated without shedding one drop of blood, without a single wrong to person or property. By the same spontaneous movement, nearly all the important cities of Holland and Zealand raised the standard of him in whom they recognized their deliverer. The revolution was accomplished under nearly similar circumstances everywhere. With one fierce bound of enthusiasm the nation shook off its chain. Oudewater, Dort, Harlem, Leyden, Gorcum, Loewenstein, Gouda, Medenblik, Horn, Alkmaar, Edam, Monnikendam, Purmerode, as well as Flushing, Veer, and Enkhuizen, all ranged themselves under the government of Orange, as lawful stadholder for the King.

Nor was it in Holland and Zealand alone that the beacon fires of freedom were lighted. City after city in Gelderland, Overijssel, and the see of Utrecht; all the important towns of Friesland, some sooner, some later, some without a struggle, some after a short siege, some with resistance by the functionaries of Government, some by amicable compromise, accepted the garrisons of the Prince, and formally recognized his authority.

Still the movement was not a revolution. The Prince was obeyed as the stadholder of the King over Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, and the conservatism of the movement gave it strength. Alva attempted to conciliate by abolishing the hated tax, but the concession, like all tyrannical concessions, came too late. However, towards the close of 1572, the prospect of the patriots was again dark. The much-needed contingent under Genlis was cut to pieces. Mons was recaptured. The Prince of Orange had once more to disband his German army after a fruitless campaign, and to retire to Holland. Town after town was recovered by the Spaniards, and in all cases the town was sacked, the men butchered, and the women subjected to treatment worse than death.

Harlem had been surrendered after a gallant and protracted resistance. We may well wonder that the citizens did not give up at the first summons, considering the disparity of forces. The besiegers were equal in number to all the inhabitants of the town; that is, the Spanish commander, Don Frederic, had 30,000 men under his command, and the garrison did not exceed 4000 men. But the brave Harleimers did not shrink from the unequal contest. Women and children, as well as men, provisioned the city by skimming over the ice on skates during the winter nights. Moreover, there were 300 fighting women.

The last was a most efficient corps, all females of respectable character, armed with sword, musket, and dagger. The chief, Kanau Hasselaer, was a widow of distinguished family and unblemished reputation, about forty-seven years of age, who, at the head of her amazons, participated in many of the most fiercely-contested actions of the siege, both within and without the walls. When such a spirit animated the maids and matrons of the city, it might be expected that the men would hardly surrender the place without a struggle.

The Prince of Orange sent a body of 4000 troops under the command of De la Marek to relieve the city. This much needed contingent were completely routed by the Spaniards. After three days' cannonade terminating on December 20, Don Frederic ordered an assault.

Romero advanced to the breach, followed by a numerous storming party, but met with a resistance which astonished the Spaniards. The church bells rang the alarm throughout the city, and the whole population swarmed to the walls. The besiegers were encountered not only with sword and musket, but with every implement which the burghers' hands could find. Heavy stones, boiling oil, live coals, were hurled upon the heads of the soldiers; hoops, smeared with pitch and set on fire, were dexterously thrown upon their necks. Even Spanish courage and Spanish ferocity were obliged to shrink before the steady determination of a whole population animated by a single spirit. Romero lost an eye in the conflict, many officers were killed and wounded, and three or four hundred soldiers left dead in the breach, while only three or four of the townsmen lost their lives. The signal of recall was reluctantly given, and the Spaniards abandoned the assault. Don Frederic was now aware that Harlem would not fall at his feet at the first sound of his trumpet. It was obvious that a siege must precede the massacre. He gave orders therefore that the ravelin should be undermined, and doubted not that, with a few days' delay, the place would be in his hands.

Although another effort of the Prince of Orange to succour the place was defeated, the citizens remained stout-hearted. As fast as the Spaniards mined, the patriots countermined. At length, when the ravelin was given up, and the Spaniards poured in, expecting to instantly possess themselves of the city, they were met by a new and stronger barrier, which the citizens had secretly and industriously raised. Don Frederic then determined to reduce the place by famine.

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

The siege lasted for seven months. Gallant sorties were of frequent occurrence. "These citizens," wrote Don Frederic, "do as much as the best soldiers in the world could do." The city did not surrender till July 12.

Ordinary food had long since vanished. The population now subsisted on linseed and rape-seed; as these supplies were exhausted they devoured cats, dogs, rats, and mice, and when at last these unclean animals had been all consumed, they boiled the hides of horses and oxen; they ate shoe-leather; they plucked the nettles and grass from the graveyards, and the weeds which grew between the stones of the pavement, that with such food they might still support life a little longer, till the promised succour should arrive. Men, women, and children fell dead by scores in the streets, perishing with pure starvation, and the survivors had hardly the heart or the strength to bury them out of their sight. They who yet lived seemed to flit like shadows to and fro, envying those whose sufferings had already been terminated by death.

Even when the Prince of Orange recommended a surrender, they determined to make a sally and conquer or perish. This intention was abandoned in consequence of a solemn promise made by Don Frederic, of ample forgiveness if the town submitted. Of course the promise was broken.

Five executioners, with their attendants, were kept constantly at work; and when at last they were exhausted with fatigue, or, perhaps, sickened with horror, three hundred wretches were tied two and two, back to back, and drowned in the Harlem Lake.

At last, after twenty-three hundred human creatures had been murdered in cold blood, within a city where so many thousands had previously perished by violent or by lingering deaths, the blasphemous farce of a pardon was enacted.

The siege of Harlem, thus wonderfully protracted, left the Spaniards little ground for triumph.

In 1573, Alva retired from the Netherlands out of favour with his sovereign, and bitterly cursed by the people he had so cruelly oppressed. The close of his administration was marked by disaster. Just before Requesens assumed the command, the patriots had gained a naval victory on the Zuyder Zee, capturing the Spanish Admiral, Count Bossu. Such reverses must have been extremely galling to Alva after his long triumphant career. The meanness, as well as the wickedness, of his disposition was shown by cheating his Amsterdam creditors.

The Duke had contracted in Amsterdam an enormous amount of debt, both public and private. He accordingly, early in November, caused a proclamation to be made throughout the city by sound of trumpet, that all persons having demands upon him were to present their claims, in person, upon a specified day. During the night preceding the day so appointed, the Duke and his train very noiselessly took their departure, without notice or beat of drum. By this masterly generalship his unhappy creditors were foiled upon the very eve of their anticipated triumph; the heavy accounts which had been contracted on the faith of the King and the Governor remained for the most part unpaid, and many opulent and respectable families were reduced to beggary. Such was the consequence of the unlimited confidence which they had reposed in the honour of their tyrant.

Alva was, indeed, greedy of fame. The renown of his inhuman butcheries did not content him, so he was guilty of an act which entitles him to be remembered as an adroit swindler.

The year 1574, was a dark one for the Prince of Orange. Count Louis, at the head of a small and mutinous army, was obliged to give battle to Avila. The patriots were defeated, and the gallant Louis, his brother Count Henry, and the Duke Christopher, were never again seen alive. For awhile, the Prince refused to believe the evil tidings, and wrote urgent letters "day by day, long after the eyes that should have read the friendly missives were closed."

The siege of Leyden, interrupted by the enterprize of Count Louis, was resumed on the May 26, 1574. Mr. Motley's account is worthy of the subject, and we cannot pay the historian a higher compliment. The siege of Leyden will for ever be freshly remembered as a marvellous example of human endurance. The sufferings of Harlem were repeated—even exceeded. The city was not relieved until October 3.

Yet, while thus patiently waiting, they were literally starving; for even the misery endured at Harlem had not reached that depth and intensity of agony to which Leyden was now reduced. Bread, malt-cake, horseflesh, had entirely disappeared; dogs, cats, rats, and other vermin, were esteemed luxuries. A small number of cows, kept as long as possible for their milk, still remained; but a few were killed from day to day, and distributed in minute proportions, hardly sufficient to support life among the famishing population. Starving wretches swarmed daily around the shambles where these cattle were slaughtered, contending for any morsel which might fall, and lapping eagerly the blood as it ran along the pavement; while the hides, chopped and boiled, were greedily devoured. Women and children, all day long, were seen searching gutters and dung-hills for morsels of food, which they disputed fiercely with the famishing dogs. The green leaves were stripped from the trees, every living herb was converted into human food, but these expedients could not avert starvation. The daily mortality was frightful—infants starved to death on the maternal breasts, which famine had parched and withered; mothers dropped dead in the streets, with their dead children in their arms. In many a house the watchmen, in their rounds, found a whole family of corpses, father, mother, children, side by side; for a disorder called the plague, naturally engendered of hardship and famine, now came, as if in kindness, to abridge the agony of the people. The pestilence stalked at noonday through the city, and the doomed inhabitants fell like grass beneath its scythe. From six thousand to eight thousand human beings sank before this scourge

alone, yet the people resolutely held out—women and men mutually encouraging each other to resist the entrance of their foreign foe—an evil more horrible than pest or famine.

Yet the heroism of the people would have been of no avail but for the bold device of inundating the country by cutting the dykes. The prince still held in his hand the keys with which he could unlock the ocean gates and let the waters in upon the land, and he had long been convinced that nothing could save the city but to break the dykes. Leyden was not upon the sea, but he could send the sea to Leyden, although an army fit to encounter the besieging force under Valdez could not be levied. The Battle of Mookerheyde had, for the present, quite settled the question of land relief, but it was possible to besiege the besiegers with the waves of the ocean. The Spaniards occupied the coast from the Hague to Vlaardingen, but the dykes along the Meuse and Yssel were in possession of the Prince. He determined that these should be pierced, while, at the same time, the great sluices at Rotterdam, Schiedam, and Delfshaven, should be opened. The damage to the fields, villages, and growing crops would be enormous, but he felt that no other course could rescue Leyden, and with it the whole of Holland, from destruction. His clear expositions and impassioned eloquence at last overcame all resistance. By the middle of July the Estates fully consented to his plan, and its execution was immediately undertaken. "Better a drowned land than a lost land," cried the patriots, with enthusiasm, as they devoted their fertile fields to desolation.

No one, we presume, will dispute the wisdom or the righteousness of the inundation and desolation that saved Leyden. What ground, then, is there for carping at the Confederates gallantly making the same sacrifices under like circumstances? They are invaded, and they destroy the property they cannot defend. They are closely pressed by Northern hordes having the command of the sea, and the advantage of unlimited supplies of the material of war; therefore they swamp the country. Who has a right to complain? Not the enemy. A burglar may be incensed at the strength of bars, bolts, and locks, but it would be childish to bemoan his ill-usage. Is Europe aggrieved by the destruction of cotton and sugar, and the inundation of the country? No doubt we have a very considerable interest in the matter. The devastation in the Confederate States means pauperism in Lancashire and a depression of trade throughout Europe. We consider it politic and right to let the Confederacy maintain the cause of freedom alone, and so we submit to the incalculable sufferings entailed upon our artisans and the injury done to our commerce. Our suffering is the price of our policy. The Confederates cheerfully accept devastation rather than endure dishonour. They think "a drowned land is better than a lost land." To the Northern rabble it seems inexplicable that for the sake of nationality men should sacrifice property. The Yankees hold that cotton, sugar, and the almighty dollar are vastly more valuable than social and political rights. They will have to unlearn their creed, that "the dollar is God, and there is none beside." If it were possible and necessary, the South would carry into effect the resolve of William the Silent, to give the country to the sea rather than let it fall into the hands of the enemy. The resolution of the Southern people will not fail. The war may last for years. The Yankees may necessitate greater desolation and devastation than Spain necessitated in the Netherlands. Still the prosperity of the South will return with peace, as it did with the Netherlands; but the Northern Republic will at the end of the war have an empty exchequer and a crippled trade, and, like Spain, will find that the effort to subjugate a free nation has resulted in her own humiliation.

(To be continued.)

An Embassy to the Court of St. James's in 1840. By F. Guizot, Ambassador from His Majesty, Louis Philippe. London: Richard Bentley.

Those who read this book for amusement will not be disappointed, and any historical work from the pen of M. Guizot must command the attention of the historical student. Nevertheless, we cannot accept these memoirs as history, pure and simple. A record of current events, however elaborate, cannot be thoroughly impartial. Each generation makes its history, and posterity writes it. Still more impossible is it for anyone who has played a chief part in affairs to render a historical account of his times. In proportion to his conscientiousness will his recital be colored with his political partiality. M. Guizot is a remarkable instance of the truth of what we are advancing. We do not question his downright honesty of purpose, but the Minister of Louis Philippe cannot, after a retirement of fourteen years from office, rid himself of his officialism. He looks at the past and the present, is sorely perplexed that the actual state of affairs does not square with his former ideas and predictions, never considers that his ideas were fallacious, and his predictions unwarranted by circumstances and experience, but clings to them pertinaciously, and exclaims, "Providence seems sometimes to delight in confounding the judgments and conjectures of men." M. Guizot is not wrong; it is Providence makes a mistake. Such is not our creed. We believe that the laws which govern the moral and social condition of mankind are as certain and, we will add, as ascertainable, as the laws which govern the world of matter. We have no such irreverent conception of Deity as to suppose the Creator has endowed His creatures with the faculty of judgment in order to sometimes confound it. If conjecture is the child of ambitious aspiration, and judgment the offspring of alluring prejudice, it is consistent with, nay, it is an essential of, the Divine law that the one should not be realized, and that the other should be confounded. We are not advocating the presumptuous doctrine of the infallibility of human reason; but we contend that our fallibility in conjecturing and judging of those things that are within the province of our reasoning faculties, is not inherent, but acquired. If the statesman listens to the

oracles of the past there is every probability that his judgment will be sound, and his predictions verified. Unless to this extent we have faith in the reliableness of human judgment, the craft of statesmanship is no more to be trusted and honoured, than astrological soothsaying, or the puerile speculations of aerial castle-builders.

M. Guizot, thus writes of the Revolution that exiled him from France, and brought about the restoration of the Napoleon dynasty:—

On the day when I left London to repair to the Chateau d'Eu, the 6th of August, Prince Louis Napoleon, towards four o'clock in the morning, disembarked near Boulogne, and with his name alone for an army, attempted for the second time the conquest of France. What would be the astonishment to-day, if any rational man, who, having slept since that date the sleep of Epimenides, should see, on waking, that Prince upon the throne of France, and invested with supreme power? I cannot recall again, without some embarrassment, what was said by all the world, in 1840, and what I wrote myself with reference to what we all called "a mad and ridiculous adventure," and to its hero. * * * Yet, there is nothing in the strange contrast between the incident of 1840 and the Empire of to-day, beyond what is natural and clear. No event ever shook the confidence of Prince Louis Napoleon in himself and his destiny; in despite of the success of others and of his own reverses, he remained a stranger to doubt and discouragement. Twice, vainly and wrongfully, he sought the accomplishment of his fortune. He never ceased to reckon on it, and waited the propitious opportunity. It came at last, and found him confident and ready to attempt everything. An eminent example of the power which preserves, in the dark shadows of the future, persevering faith; and a great lesson to all who doubt and bend easily under the blows of fortune.

The most casual reader can scarcely fail to observe that the above passage is illogical. If there is nothing strange in the Revolution of February undoing the work of Revolution of July, assuredly any rational man might have foreseen the convulsion looming in the future. We quite believe that M. Guizot, who, on the very eve of the revolution, "laughed immoderately" at the suggestion of danger, thought in 1840 that the throne of Louis Philippe was founded on a rock, and would endure for ever. But we submit that a sagacious statesman, in 1840, before sleeping the sleep of Epimenides, would, had he considered the subject, have foreseen that the durability of the monarchy was uncertain, if not improbable. The Citizen King had, little by little, separated himself from the power to which he owed his kingship. In that very year the Paris fortifications were commenced, and no one could be deceived by the pretence that they were intended to protect the capital against foreign invasion—wisely or unwisely, they were designed to command Paris in case of a revolt. The Citizen King could no longer rely on the loyalty of the citizens. The great fault of the Government of Louis Philippe was, not that it aimed at repressing the political liberties of the people, but that in effect it kept France stationary. The French never have been and never will be contented with peace and plenty at home, unless they are simultaneously regarded abroad as "the grand nation." The cry for reform would never have been raised if the European influence of France had been great and growing. And we assure M. Guizot, the revolution was foreseen by the partisans of Napoleon, if not by others. A Prince who can govern as Napoleon III. has governed would not be guilty of the extreme folly of making two hopeless and unsuccessful attempts for empire, for the sake of keeping his name before the world. Prince Louis Napoleon saw plainly the blunder of Louis Philippe, and was ready to profit by it. He miscalculated the season, and on two occasions shook the tree before the pear was ripe. If he had gone to Boulogne in 1847, it is highly probable he would have precipitated the revolution. Not that the French people at that time thought of the restoration of the Empire. When the Provisional Government was established in 1848, first Lamartine, then Cavaignac, was the hope of France; and it was only when the contest for the Presidency was over that Europe knew Louis Napoleon had a chance of the Chief Magistracy. Napoleon was elected because his name was a symbol of order, and still more, of that supremacy in the councils of Europe which Frenchmen so much desire. We are nauseated with the repetition of the assertion of Napoleon's faith in his destiny. If the phrase is meant to signify that he foresaw the downfall of the Citizen King, and that he was, from ability and association, his fitting successor, we have no objection to it save its vagueness. If those who utter it wish us to understand that the shrewdest man in Europe is the obedient slave of a fanatical chimera, and that the Imperial policy, so well-timed and so successful, is the result of a fatalistic monomania, we can only marvel at their blindness. Napoleon would not have thought himself destined to ascend the throne of France, if Louis Philippe had thoroughly understood the genius of the people over whom he was elected to rule.

During the season London is peopled with "lions," and in 1840, the year of the Queen's marriage, the English metropolis was more than usually favoured with the presence of passing and lasting celebrities. M. Guizot was not lost in the crowd of distinguished personages: on the contrary, he was the observed, not only of all observers, but of all the observed. He came to this country, saw everything, and naturally retains a vivid impression of his eight months' sojourn. As the representative of the French Sovereign he would have been honoured by statesmen, and heartily welcomed by Belgians. But the man was still greater than the ambassador. M. Guizot was famed for his literary ability. Above all, he was what this aristocratic England delights to honour—a self-made man—a *parvenu*. Not "self-made" in the vulgar sense of being raised to power by mob and ranting demagogism, for Englishmen hate and despise demagogues. "Self-made" is, indeed, a wrong term. M. Guizot was one of those fortunate individuals to whom Nature gives an indefeasible patent of intellectual nobility, which is sure to be acknowledged and

respected by all classes of the community. The memoir of his ambassadorship shows that from day to day the brilliant Frenchman was associated with persons famed for intellect, title, or position; and that he was a keen observer of men and manners.

We commenced our reading of this work by marking several passages for extracts, but we soon found that if we were to quote all the particularly interesting parts we should have to reproduce at least half the book. We therefore select, almost at random, two specimens of our author's clever word-painting. We commend the following to the attention of those who have exaggerated notions of the grandeur, if not the gaiety, of a royal dinner:—

On Thursday, the 5th of March, I dined for the first time with the Queen. Neither during the dinner nor in the drawing-room afterwards was the conversation animated or interesting. Political subjects were entirely avoided; we sat round a circular table, before the Queen, who was on a sofa; two or three of her ladies were endeavouring to work; Prince Albert played at chess; Lady Palmerston and I, with some effort, carried on a flugging dialogue. I observed over the three doors of the apartment three portraits, Fénelon, the Czar Peter the Great, and Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon, the first wife of James the Second. I felt surprised at this association of three persons so incongruous. No one had remarked it, and no one could explain the reason. I thought of one; the portraits were selected for their size—they fitted well in their respective places.

We next give a specimen of demagogic tuft hunting; the sketch of O'Connell is life-like:—

I found Mr. O'Connell exactly the sort of man I had pictured to myself. There was something, perhaps, in this, but it is always much to answer expectation. He was tall, bulky, robust, animated, his head a little sunk between the shoulders, with an air of strength and shrewdness; strength everywhere, shrewdness in the quick glance, slightly indirect although not indicating duplicity; he was neither elegant nor vulgar, his manner a little embarrassed yet firm, with even a tincture of suppressed arrogance. His politeness towards the Englishmen of condition he met there was mingled slightly with humility and pride: it was apparent that they had once been his masters, and that now he exercised power over them; he had submitted to their rule and he accepted their attentions. He was evidently flattered at having been invited to meet me. On our introduction, I said to him, "You and I, sir, are here two great evidences of the progress of justice and good sense: you, a Catholic, are a member of the English House of Commons; I, a Protestant, am the ambassador of France." This opening remark pleased him, and during dinner we conversed together almost like old acquaintances. During the morning, Mrs. Stanley had hesitated about an evening party; nevertheless she had decided for it, and after dinner I saw arrive Lord and Lady Palmerston, Lord Normandy, Lord Clarendon, the Bishop of Norwich, Lady William Russell, and several others. On leaving the dinner-table, a fit of social modesty seized Mr. O'Connell—he wished to take his departure. "You have company," said he, to Mr. Stanley. "Yes, but pray remain, we expect you to do so." "No, no, I must go."—"Stay, I entreat you." He stayed, with visible satisfaction not unmingled with pride. "That, then, is Mr. O'Connell?" said Lady William Russell to me, who probably had never seen him before.—"Yes," I replied, "and I am come from Paris to tell you so."—"You thought, perhaps, that we passed our lives with him?"—"No, I see evidently that you do not." All appeared glad of the opportunity to make themselves agreeable to him, and he seemed equally inclined to profit by it. He spoke much; he detailed the progress of temperance in Ireland; the drunkards were disappearing by thousands—the taste for regular habits and more refined manners advanced to proportion as inebriety receded. No one expressed the slightest doubt. I asked him whether this was a mere puff of popular humour or a lasting reform! He replied gravely, "It will last; we are a persevering race, as all are who have suffered much." He took pleasure in addressing himself to me—in calling me to witness the improved fortune of his country, and his personal triumph. I retired towards midnight, and was the first to go, leaving Mr. O'Connell surrounded by four cabinet ministers and five or six ladies of rank, who listened to him with a mixture, somewhat comic, of curiosity and pride, of deference and disdain.

We will, in conclusion, cite an instance of M. Guizot's good taste. He was the first Protestant who ever came to this country as French ambassador. Forthwith, the late lamented and somewhat erratic Bishop Blomfield proposed to receive him at St. Paul's officially and with "a little display." But, much to his honour, the Protestant ambassador declined the proposal, having "no taste for show in such a place." We expect the enthusiastic prelate did not quite understand the ultra-tolerant Protestantism of M. Guizot.

CONFEDERATE STATE PAPERS.

MESSAGE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.
APRIL 29, 1861.

GENTLEMEN OF CONGRESS.—It is my pleasing duty to announce to you that the Constitution framed for the establishment of a permanent government of the Confederate States of America has been ratified by the several conventions of each of those States which were referred to to inaugurate the said Government, in its full proportions and upon its own substantial basis of the popular will.

It only remains that elections should be held for the designation of the officers to administer it.

There is every reason to believe that at no distant day other States, identical in political principles and community of interests with those which you represent, will join this Confederacy, giving to its typical constellation increased splendour—to its government of free, equal and sovereign States, a wider sphere of usefulness, and to the friends of constitutional liberty a greater security for its harmonious and perpetual existence.

It was not, however, for the purpose of making this announcement that I have deigned it my duty to convene you at an earlier day than that fixed by yourselves for your meeting.

The declaration of war made against this Confederacy by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, in his Proclamation, issued on the 15th day of the present month, renders it necessary, in my judgment, that you should convene at the earliest practicable moment, to devise the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

The occasion is, indeed, an extraordinary one. It justifies

me in giving a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and a succinct statement of the events which have resulted, to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on our motives and objects.

During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered severally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

In order to guard against any misconception of their compact, the several States made an explicit declaration in a distinct article—that each State retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power of jurisdiction and right which is not by this said Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled under this contract of alliance.

The war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were each by name recognized to be independent.

The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every State after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Government, and the preservation of the Union.

It was by the delegates chosen by the several States under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was formed in 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same."

I have italicised certain words in the resolutions just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavoured in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government or nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States—the Constitution of 1787, however, admitting the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State reclaimed its sovereignty and independence.

Some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principles, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, that it is none the less true that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government set above and over the States, an organization created by the States, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs.

The creature has been exalted above its Creator—the principals have been made subordinate to the agent appointed by themselves.

The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render a common government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burthens on commerce as protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests.

Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing, by emigration and other causes, more than the population of the South.

By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as majority to govern the minority. Without control, they learn to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will, and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind that, in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts a maxim, which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires, in all cases, that the majority shall govern. And in another memorable instance the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between States and the United States to those which exists between the county and the State in which it is situated, and by which it was created.

This is the lamentable and fundamental error in which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress, for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create the apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union, that its permanence was impossible.

When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States' Congress, a large portion of the labouring population were importuned into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the fifteen States, negro slavery existed, and the right of property existing slaves was protected by law; this property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave.

The increase in the number of slaves by foreign importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress to authorize it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment, or the discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government.

The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labour, while the reverse being the case at the South, made unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections unfriendly.

The Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South, and prohibiting slavery within their limits. The South were willing purchasers of property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition without harbouring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were not only in want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

As soon, however, as the Northern States, that prohibited African slavery within their limits, had reached a number sufficient to give their representation on a controlling vote in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves.

Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt. Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond.

The constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty. Men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact. Often owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

The dogmas of the voluntary organization soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed for the punishment, by ruinous fines, and long-continued imprisonment in gaols and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare ask of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, on the theatre of agitation and aggression, against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Congress, Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was not to promote the general welfare, or ensure domestic tranquillity—but to awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciations of their institutions.

The transactions of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority.

Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the Slave States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounded them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars.

This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care for the well-being and comfort of the labouring classes, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand, at the date of the adoption of the constitutional compact, to upwards of four millions.

In a moral and social condition, they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural labourers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful religious instruction, under the supervision of a superior race. Their labour had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands covered with a prosperous people. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and it rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South.

The white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 1,250,000, at the date of adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000, in 1860, and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labour of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the export of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperilled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the dangers with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best to be adopted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in all of the States of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measures of redress. Indeed, it is obvious that, under the law of nations, this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact.

The Democratic party of the United States repeated, in its successful canvass in 1836, the deduction made in numerous previous political contests, that it would faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures of 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. Their principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States in their conventions determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government which they had ratified in their several conventions. They consequently passed ordi-

nances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States, and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union. Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact among themselves by new articles of confederation, which have been also ratified by conventions of the several States, with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the Constitutions of 1787.

They have organized their new Government in all its departments. The functions of the executive, legislative, and judicial magistrates are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the Government thus established by themselves; and but for the interference of the Government of the United States, this legitimate exercise of a people to self-government has been manifested in every possible form.

Scarce had you assembled in February last, when, prior even to the inauguration of the chief magistrate you had elected, you expressed your desire for the appointment of commissioners, and for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two Governments upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith.

It was my pleasure as well as my duty to co-operate with you in this work of peace. Indeed, in my address to you on taking the oath of office, and before receiving from you the communication of this resolution, I had said that "as a necessity, not as a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separating, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us to peacefully pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desires will then have been fulfilled."

It was in furtherance of these accordant views of the Congress and the executive, that I made choice of three discreet, able, and distinguished citizens, who repaired to Washington. Aided by their cordial co-operation and that of the Secretary of State, every effort compatible with self-respect and the dignity of the Confederacy was exhausted before I allowed myself to yield to the conviction that the Government of the United States was determined to attempt the conquest of this people, and that our cherished hopes of peace were unobtainable.

On the arrival of our commissioners in Washington on the 5th of March, they postponed, at the suggestion of a friendly intermediary, doing more than giving informal notice of their arrival. This was done with a view to afford time to the President of the United States, who had just been inaugurated, for the discharge of other pressing official duties in the organization of his administration, before engaging his attention in the object of their mission.

It was not until the 12th of the month that they officially addressed the Secretary of State, informing him of the purpose of their arrival, and stating in the language of their instructions their wish to make the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress, and people of the Confederate States desired a peaceful solution of these great questions—that it was neither their interest nor their wish to make any demand which is not founded on the strictest principles of justice, nor to do any act to injure their late confederates.

To this communication no formal reply was received until the 8th of April. During the interval, the commissioners had consented to waive all questions of form, with the firm resolve to avoid war if possible. They went so far even as to hold, during that long period, unofficial intercourse through an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success, and through whom constant assurances were received from the Government of the United States of its peaceful intentions—of its determination to evacuate Fort Sumter; and further, that no measure would be introduced changing the existing status prejudicial to the Confederate States; that in the event of any change in regard to Fort Pickens, notice would be given to the commissioners.

The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candour and directness, as was the course of the United States Government toward our commissioners in Washington. For proof of this I refer to the annexed documents marked, taken in connection with further facts which I now proceed to relate.

Early in April the attention of the whole country was attracted to extraordinary preparations for an extensive military and naval expedition in New York and other Northern ports. These preparations commenced in secrecy, for an expedition whose destination was concealed, and only became known when nearly completed, and on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, transports and vessels of war with troops, munitions, and military supplies, sailed from northern ports bound southward.

Alarmed by so extraordinary a demonstration, the commissioners requested the delivery of an answer to their official communication of the 12th of March, and the reply dated on the 15th of the previous month, from which it appears that during the whole interval, whilst the commissioners were receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope of the success of their mission, the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had already determined to hold no intercourse with them whatever—to refuse even to listen to any proposals they had to make, and had profited by the delay created by their own assurances, in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations.

That these assurances were given, has been virtually confessed by the Government of the United States, by its act of sending a messenger to Charleston to give notice of its purpose to use force if opposed in its intention of supplying Fort Sumter.

No more striking proof of the absence of good faith in the confidence of the Government of the United States towards the Confederacy can be required, than is contained in the circumstances which accompanied this notice.

According to the usual course of navigation, the vessels composing the expedition, and designed for the relief of Fort Sumter, might be looked for in Charleston harbour on the 9th of April. Yet our commissioners in Washington were detained under assurances that notice should be given of any military movement. The notice was not addressed to them, but a messenger was sent to Charleston to give notice to the Governor of South Carolina, and the notice was so given at a late hour on the 8th of April, the eve of the very day on which the fleet might be expected to arrive.

That this manoeuvre failed in its purpose was not the fault of those who controlled it. A heavy tempest delayed the arrival of the expedition, and gave time to the commander of our forces at Charleston to ask and receive instructions of the Government. Even then, under all the provocation incident to the contemptuous refusal to listen to our commissioners, and the treacherous course of the Government of the United States, I was sincerely anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, and directed a proposal to be made to the commander of Fort Sumter, who had avowed

himself to be nearly out of provisions, that we would abstain from directing our fire on Fort Sumter if he would promise not to open fire upon our forces unless first attacked. This proposal was refused. The conclusion was, that the design of the United States was to place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet. The fort should, of course, be at once reduced. This order was executed by General Beauregard with skill and success, which were naturally to be expected from the well-known character of that gallant officer; and, although the bombardment lasted some thirty-three hours, our flag did not wave over the battered walls until after the appearance of the hostile fleet off Charleston.

Fortunately not a life was lost on our side, and we were gratified in being prepared. The necessity of an useless effusion of blood by the prudent caution of the officers who commanded the fleet, in abstaining from the evidently futile effort to enter the harbour for the relief of Major Anderson, was spared.

I refer to the report of the Secretary of War, and the papers accompanying it, for further particulars of this brilliant affair.

In this connection I cannot refrain from a well-deserved tribute to the noble State, the eminently soldierly qualities of whose people were conspicuously displayed. The people of Charleston for months had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbour as a standing menace against their peace and independence—built in part with their own money—its custody confided with their long consent to an agent who held no power over them other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack. How it was held out with persistent tenacity as a means of offence against them by the very Government which they had established for their own protection, is well known. They had beleaguered it for months, and felt entire confidence in their power to capture it, yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labours, and privations of a protracted siege, and when at length their patience was relieved by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct, even in the very moment of triumph they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag.

All manifestations or exultations were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his Government, refrained from imposing any terms that would wound the sensibility of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honours of war, to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel on which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had so recently been directed.

Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honour on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people and of this Government from making any harangue of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation, attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquility, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war.

Scarcely had the President of the United States received intelligence of the failure of the scheme which he had devised for the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, when he issued the declaration of war against this Confederacy, which has prompted me to invoke you. In this extraordinary production, that high functionary affects total ignorance of the existence of an independent Government, which, possessing the entire and enthusiastic devotion of its people, is exercising its functions without question over seven sovereign States—over more than five millions of people—and over a territory whose area exceeds five hundred thousand square miles.

He terms sovereign States "combinations too powerful to be suppressed in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law."

He calls for an army of seventy-five thousand men to act as the *posse comitatus* in aid of the process of the courts of justice in States where no courts exist, whose mandates and decrees are not cheerfully obeyed and respected by a willing people.

He avows that the first service to be assigned to the forces which have been called out will not be to execute the processes of courts, but to capture forts and strongholds situated within the admitted limits of this Confederacy, and garrisoned by its troops, and declares that this effort is intended to maintain the perpetuity of popular Government.

He concludes by commanding the persons composing the "combinations" aforesaid, to wit: the five millions of inhabitants of these States, to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days.

Apparently, contradictory as are the terms of this singular document, one point was unmistakably evident. The President of the United States calls for an army of 75,000 men, whose first service was to be to capture our forts. It was a plain declaration of war which I was not at liberty to disregard, because of my knowledge that under the Constitution of the United States the President was usurping a power granted exclusively to the Congress.

He is the sole organ of communication between that country and foreign powers. The law of nations did not permit me to question the authority of the Executive of a foreign nation to declare war against this Confederacy. Although I might have refrained from taking active measures for our defence, if the States of the Union had all imitated the action of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, by denouncing it as an unconstitutional usurpation of power to which they refuse to respond, I was not at liberty to disregard the fact that many of the States seemed quite content to submit to the exercise of the powers assumed by the President of the United States, and were actively engaged in levying troops for the purpose indicated in the proclamation. Deprived of the aid of Congress, at the moment I was under the necessity of confining my action to a call on the States for volunteers for the common defence, in accordance with the authority you had confided to me before your adjournment.

I deemed it proper further to issue a proclamation, inviting applications from persons disposed to aid in our defence in private armed vessels on the high seas, to the end that preparations might be made for the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, which you alone, under the constitution, have the power to grant.

I entertain no doubt that you will concur with me in the opinion, that in the absence of an organised navy, it will be eminently expedient to supply their place with private armed vessels, so happily styled by the publicists of the United States the militia of the sea, and so often and justly relied on by them as an efficient and admirable instrument of defensive warfare.

I earnestly recommend the immediate passage of a law authorising me to accept the numerous proposals already received.

I cannot close this review of the acts of the Government of the

United States without referring to a proclamation issued by their President under date of the 19th ult., in which, after declaring that an insurrection has broken out in this Confederacy against the Government of the United States, he announces a blockade of all the ports of these States, and threatens to punish as pirates all persons who shall molest any vessel of the United States under letters of marque issued by this Government. Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States.

Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; and conceding this to be the case, so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilised nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination, on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organised Government.

If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite.

For the details of the administration of the different departments, I refer to the reports of the secretaries of each, which accompany this message.

The State Department has furnished the necessary instructions for those commissioners who have been sent to England, France, Russia, and Belgium, since your adjournment, to ask our recognition as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of these powers treaties of amity and commerce.

Further steps will be taken to enter into like negotiations with the other European powers, in pursuance to resolutions passed at your last session.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the departure of these commissioners for the receipt of any intelligence from them.

As I deem it desirable that commissioners or other diplomatic agents should also be sent at an early period to the independent American Powers south of our Confederacy, with all of whom it is our interest and earnest wish to maintain the most cordial and friendly relations, I suggest the expediency of making the necessary appropriations for that purpose.

Having been officially notified by the public authorities of the State of Virginia, that she had withdrawn from the Union and desired to maintain the closest political relations with us which it was possible at this time to establish, I commissioned the Hon. Alex. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, to represent this Government at Richmond.

I am happy to inform you that he has concluded a convention with the State of Virginia, by which that honoured Commonwealth, so long and justly distinguished among her sister States, and so dear to the hearts of thousands of her children in the Confederate States, has united her power and her fortunes with ours, and become one of us. This convention, together with the ordinance of Virginia adopting the Provisional Constitution of the Confederacy will be laid before you for your constitutional action.

I have satisfactory assurances from other of our late confederates that they are on the point of adopting similar measures; and I cannot doubt that, ere you shall have been many weeks in session, the whole of the slaveholding States of the late Union will respond to the call of honour and affection, and by uniting their fortune with ours, promote our common interests and secure our common safety.

In the Treasury Department, regulations have been devised and put into execution for carrying out the policy indicated in your legislation, on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi River, as well as for the collection of the revenue on the frontier.

Free transit has been secured for vessels and merchandise passing through the Confederate States, and delay and inconvenience have been avoided as far as possible.

In organizing the revenue service for the various railways entering our territory, as fast as experience shall indicate the possibility of improvement in these regulations, no effort will be spared to free commerce from all unnecessary embarrassments and obstructions.

Under your act authorizing a loan, proposals were issued inviting subscriptions for five millions of dollars, and the call was answered by the prompt subscription of eight millions by our own citizens, and not a single bid was made under par.

The rapid development of the purpose of the President of the United States to invade our soil, capture our forts, blockade our ports, and wage war against us, induced me to direct that the entire subscription should be accepted. It will now become necessary to raise means to a much larger amount to defray the expenses of maintaining our independence and repelling invasion.

I invite your special attention to this subject, and the financial condition of the Government, with the suggestion of ways and means for the supply of the treasury, will be presented to you in a separate communication.

To the department of Justice you have confided not only the organization and supervision of all matters connected with the courts of justice, but also those connected with patents and with the bureau of the public printing.

Since your adjournment all the courts, with the exception of those of Mississippi and Texas, have been organized by the appointment of marshals and district attorneys, and are now prepared for the exercise of their functions. In the two States just named the gentlemen confirmed as judges declined to accept the appointments and no nomination have yet been made to fill the vacancies.

I refer you to the report of the Attorney-General, and concur in his recommendation for immediate legislation, especially on the subject of patent rights. Early provision should be made to secure to the subjects of foreign nations the full enjoyment of their property in valuable inventions, and to extend to our own citizens protection not only for their own inventions, but for such as have been assigned to them or may hereafter be assigned by persons not alien enemies.

The patent office business is much more extensive and important than had been anticipated. The applications for patents, although confined under the laws exclusively to citizens of our Confederacy, already average seventy per month, showing the necessity for the prompt organization of a bureau of patents.

The Secretary of War, in his report and accompanying documents, conveys full information concerning the forces, regular, volunteer, and provisional, raised and called for under the several acts of Congress—their organization and distribution; also, an account of the expenditures already made, and the farther estimates for the fiscal year ending on the 18th of February, 1862, rendered necessary by recent events.

I refer to the report, also, for a full history of the occurrences in Charleston harbour, prior to, and including the bombardment

and reduction of Fort Sumter, and of the measures subsequently taken for common defence on receiving the intelligence of the declaration of war against us, made by the President of the United States.

There are now in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip, and Pulaski, 19,000 men, and 16,000 are now en route for Virginia. It is proposed to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of 100,000 men. If further force be needed the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress will be confidently appealed to for authority to call into the field additional numbers of our noble spirited volunteers, who are constantly tendering their services far in excess of our wants.

The operations of the Navy Department have been necessarily restricted by the fact that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the purchase or construction of more than a limited number of vessels adapted to the public service. Two vessels have been purchased and manned, the Sumter and McRea, and are now being prepared for sea, at New Orleans, with all possible despatch. Contracts have also been made at that city, with two different establishments, for the casting of ordnance—cannon, shot and shell—with the view to encourage the manufacture of these articles, so indispensable for our defence, at as many points within our territory as possible. I call your attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for the establishment of a magazine and laboratory for the preparation of ordnance stores and the necessary appropriation required for that purpose.

Hitherto such stores have been prepared at the navy yards, and no appropriation was made at your last session for this object.

The Secretary also calls attention to the fact that no provision has been made for the payment of invalid pensions to our citizens. Many of these persons are advanced in life—they have no means of support—and by the secession of these States have been deprived of their claims against the Government of the United States.

I recommend the appropriation of the sum necessary to pay these pensioners as well as those of the army, whose claim can scarcely exceed 20,000 dollars per annum.

The Postmaster-General has already succeeded in organizing his department to such an extent as to be in readiness to assume the direction of our postal affairs on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by the act of March 15, 1861, or even sooner if desired by Congress.

The various books and circulars have been prepared, and measures taken to secure supplies of blanks, postage stamps, stamped envelopes, mail bags, locks, keys, &c.

He presents a detailed classification and arrangement of the clerical force and asks for its increase.

An Auditor of the Treasury for this department is necessary, and a plan is submitted for the organization of his bureau.

The great number and magnitude of the accounts of this department require an increase of the clerical force in the accounting branch of the treasury. The revenues of this department are collected and distributed in modes peculiar to itself, and require a special bureau to secure a proper accountability in the administration of its finances.

I call your attention to the additional legislation required for this department—to the recommendation for changes in the law fixing the rates of postage on newspapers and sealed packages of certain kinds, and specially to the recommendation of the Secretary, in which I concur, that you provide at once for the assumption by him of the control of our entire postal service.

In the military organization of the States, provision is made for Brigadiers and Major-Generals, but in the army of the Confederate States the highest grade is that of Brigadier-General; hence it will, no doubt, sometimes occur that, where the troops of the Confederacy do duty with the militia, the General selected for the command and possessed of the views and the purposes of this Government, will be superseded by an officer of the militia, not having the same advantages.

To avoid contingencies in the least objectionable manner, I recommend that additional rank be given to the General of the Confederate army, and concurring in the policy of having but one grade of Generals in the army of the Confederacy, I recommend that the law of its organization be amended so that the grade be that of General.

To secure thorough military education, it is deemed essential that officers should enter upon the study of their profession at an early period of life, and have elementary instruction in a military school.

Until such school shall be established, it is recommended that cadets be appointed and attached to companies until they shall have attained the age, and shall have acquired the knowledge to fit them for the duties of lieutenants.

I also call your attention to an omission in the law organizing the army, in relation to military chaplains, and recommend that provision be made for their appointment.

In conclusion, I congratulate you on the fact that in every portion of our country there has been exhibited the most patriotic devotion to our common cause. Transportation companies have freely tendered the use of their lines for troops and supplies.

The Presidents of the railroads of the Confederacy, in company with others who control lines of communication with States that we soon hope to greet as sisters assembled in convention in this city, have not only reduced largely the rates heretofore demanded for mail service and conveyance of troops and munitions, but have voluntarily proffered to receive their compensation at their reduced rates, in the hands of the Confederacy, for the purpose of leaving all the resources of the Government at its own disposal for the common defence.

Requisitions for troops have been met with such alacrity, that the numbers tendering their services have, in every instance, greatly exceeded the demand. Men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. The gravity of age, the zeal of youth, rival each other in the desire to be foremost in the public defence, and though at no other point than the one heretofore noticed have they been stimulated by the excitement incident to actual engagement and the hope of distinction for individual deportment, they have borne, what for new troops is the most severe ordeal, patient toil, constant vigil, and all the exposure and discomfort of active service, with a resolution and fortitude such as to command the approbation and justify the highest expectation of their conduct when active valor shall be required in place of steady endurance.

A people thus united and resolute cannot shrink from any sacrifice which they may be called on to make, nor can there be a reasonable doubt of their final success, however long and severe may be the test of their determination to maintain their birth-right of freedom and equality as a trust which it is their first duty to transmit unblemished to their posterity.

A bounteous Providence cheers us with the promise of abundant crops.

The fields of grain which will, within a few weeks, be ready for

the sickle, give assurance of the amplest supply of food, whilst the corn, cotton, and other staple productions of our soil afford abundant proof that up to this period the season has been propitious.

We feel that our cause is just and holy.

We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honour.

In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direct extremity.

The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficially.

So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self government.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, April 29, 1861.

—N. O. Picayune, May 2.

MESSAGE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ACCOMPANYING THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JUDGE JOHN A. CAMPBELL AND SECRETARY SEWARD, MAY 8.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS,—In the Message addressed to you on the 29th ultimo, I referred to the course of conduct of the Government of the United States towards the Commissioners of this Government sent to Washington for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a peaceful adjustment of the pending difficulties between the two Governments. I also made allusion to “an intermediary, whose high position and character inspired the hope of success;” but I was not then at liberty to make my communication on the subject as specific as was desirable for a full comprehension of the whole subject. It is now, however, in my power to place before you other papers which I herewith address to you from them. You will perceive that the intermediary referred to was Hon. John A. Campbell, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who made earnest efforts to promote the successful issue of the mission intrusted to our Commissioners, and by whom I was kept advised, in confidential communication, of the measures taken by him to secure so desirable a result. It is due to you, to him, and to history, that a narration of the occurrences with which he was connected should be made known, the more especially as it will be seen by the letters hereto appended, that the correctness and accuracy of the recital have not been questioned by the Secretary of State of the United States, to whom it was addressed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to correct an error in one of the statements made in my Message of the 29th of April. It is there recited that I was prompted to call you together in extraordinary session by reason of the declarations contained in the Proclamation of President Lincoln of the 15th of April. My Proclamation, conveying you, was issued on the 12th of April, and was prompted by the declaration of hostile purposes contained in the Message sent by the President to the Governor of South Carolina, on the 8th of April. As the Proclamation of President Lincoln of the 15th April repeated the same hostile intention in more specific terms, and on a much more extensive scale, it created a stronger impression on my mind, and led to the error above alluded to, and which, however unimportant, I desire to correct.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Montgomery, Wednesday, May 8, 1861.

Following is the correspondence alluded to in the Message:—
Washington City, Saturday, April 13, 1861.

Sir,—On the 15th March, ult., I left with Judge Crawford, one of the Commissioners of the Confederate States, a note in writing to the effect following:—

“I feel entire confidence that Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next ten days. And this measure is felt as imposing great responsibility on the administration.

“I feel entire confidence that no measure changing the existing status, prejudicially to the Southern Confederate States, is at present contemplated.

“I feel an entire confidence that an immediate demand for an answer to the communication of the Commissioners will be productive of evil, and not of good. I do not believe that it ought at this time to be pressed.”

The substance of this statement I communicated to you the same evening by letter. Five days elapsed, and I called with a telegram from General Beauregard, to the effect that Sumter was not evacuated, but that Major Anderson was at work making repairs.

The next day, after conversing with you, I communicated to Judge Crawford, in writing, that the failure to evacuate Sumter was not the result of bad faith, but was attributable to causes consistent with the intention to fulfil the engagement; and that as regarded Pickens, I should have notice of any design to alter the existing status there. Mr. Justice Nelson was present at these conversations, three in number, and I submitted to him each of my written communications to Judge Crawford, and informed Judge Crawford that they had his (Judge Nelson's) sanction. I gave you, on the 22nd of March, a substantial copy of the statement I had made on the 15th.

The 30th of March arrived, and at that time a telegram came from Governor Pickens inquiring concerning Colonel Lamont, whose visit to Charleston he supposed had a connection with the proposed evacuation of Fort Sumter.

I left that with you, and was to have an answer the following Monday (1st April). On the 1st of April I received from you the statement in writing, “I am satisfied the Government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens.” The words “I am satisfied” were for me to use as expressive of confidence in the remainder of the declaration.

The proposition, as originally prepared, was, “The President may desire to supply Sumter, but will not do so,” &c., and your verbal explanation was that you did not believe any such attempt would be made, and that there was no design to reinforce Sumter.

There was a departure here from the pledges of the previous month, but with the verbal explanation I did not consider it a matter then to complain of—I simply stated to you that I had that assurance previously.

On the 7th of April, I addressed you a letter on the subject of the alarm that the preparations by the Government had created, and asked you if the assurances I had given were well or ill founded. In respect to Sumter, your reply was, “Faith as to Sumter, fully kept—wait and see.” In the morning's paper I read, “An authorized messenger from President Lincoln informed

Governor Pickens and General Beauregard, that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.”

This was the 8th of April, at Charleston, the day following your last assurance, and is the evidence of the full faith I was invited to wait for and see. In the same paper I read that intercepted despatches disclose the fact that Mr. Fox, who had been allowed to visit Major Anderson, on the pledge that his purpose was pacific, employed his opportunity to devise a plan for supplying the fort by force, and that this plan had been adopted by the Washington Government, and was in process of execution.

My recollection of the date of Mr. Fox's visit carries it to a day in March. I learn he is a near connection of a member of the Cabinet.

My connection with the Commissioners and yourself was superinduced by a conversation with Justice Wilson. He informed me of your strong disposition in favour of peace, and that you were oppressed with a demand of the Commissioners of the Confederate States for a reply to their first letter, and that you desired to avoid, if possible, at that time. I told him I might, perhaps, be of some service in arranging the difficulty. I came to your office entirely at his request, and without the knowledge of the Commissioners. Your depression was obvious to both Judge Nelson and myself. I was gratified at the character of the counsels you were desirous of pursuing, and much impressed with your observation that a civil war might be prevented by the success of my mediation. You read a letter of Mr. Weed, to show how irksome and responsible the withdrawal of troops from Fort Sumter was. A portion of my communication to Judge Crawford on the 15th of March was founded upon these remarks, and the pledge to evacuate Sumter is less forcible than the words you employed. Those words were, “Before this letter reaches you (a proposed letter by me to President Davis) Sumter will have been evacuated.”

The Commissioners who received those communications conclude they have been abused and overreached. The Montgomery Government hold the same opinion. The Commissioners have supposed that my communications were with you, and upon the hypothesis prepared to arraign you before the country in connection with the President. I placed a peremptory prohibition upon this, as being contrary to the terms of my communications with them. I pledged myself to them to communicate information upon what I considered as the best authority, and they were to confide in the ability of myself, aided by Judge Nelson, to determine upon the credibility of my informant.

I think no candid man who will read over what I have written, and consider for a moment what is going on at Sumter, will agree that the equivocating conduct of the Administration, as measured and interpreted in connection with these promises, is the proximate cause of the great calamity.

I have a profound conviction that the telegrams of the 8th of April, of General Beauregard, and of the 10th of April, of General Walker, the Secretary of War, can be referred to nothing else than their belief that there has been systematic duplicity practised upon them throughout. It is under an oppressive sense of the weight of this responsibility, that I submit to you these things for your explanation.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Hon. WM. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

DESPATCHES.

To L. P. WALKER, Secretary of War:—

An authorized messenger from President Lincoln just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force.

General P. G. T. BEAUREGARD:—

If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation; and if this is refused, proceed in such manner as you may determine to reduce it.

WASHINGTON CITY, Saturday, April 20, 1861.

Sir,—I enclose you a letter corresponding very nearly with one I addressed to you one week ago (13th April), to which I have not had any reply. The letter is simply one of inquiry in reference to facts concerning which I think I am entitled to an explanation. I have not adopted any opinion in reference to them which may not be modified by explanation, nor have I affirmed in that letter, nor do I in this, any conclusion of my own unfavourable to your integrity in the whole transaction.

All that I have said, and mean to say, is, that an explanation is due from you to myself. I will not say what I shall do in case this request is not complied with; but I am justified in saying, that I shall feel at liberty to place these letters before any person who is entitled to ask an explanation of myself.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

No reply has been made to this letter.

April 24, 1861.

Montgomery, Ala., May 7.

Sir:—I submit to you two letters that were addressed by me to Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, that contain an explanation of the nature and result of an intervention by me in the intercourse of the Commissioners of the Confederate States with that officer. I considered that I could perform no duty in which the entire American people, whether of the Federal Union or of the Confederate States, were more interested than that of promoting the counsels and the policy that had for their object the preservation of peace. This motive dictated my intervention. Beside the interview referred to in these letters I informed the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States (not being able to see the Secretary), on the 11th April, ultimo, of the existence of a telegram of that date from General Beauregard to the Commissioners, in which he informed the Commissioners that he had demanded the evacuation of Sumter, and, if refused, he would proceed to reduce it. On the same day, I had been told that President Lincoln had said that none of the vessels sent to Charleston were war vessels, and that force was not to be used in the attempt to supply the fort. I had no means of testing the accuracy of this information, but offered that, if the information was accurate, I would send a telegram to the authorities at Charleston, and that it might prevent the disastrous consequences of a collision at that fort between the opposing forces. It was the last effort that I would make to avert the calamity of war. The Assistant Secretary promised to give the matter attention, but I had no other intercourse with him or any other person on the subject, nor have I had any reply to the letters submitted to you.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

GENERAL DAVIS,

President of the Confederate States.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEED AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumbold-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C. S. A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson & Co.,
3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS,
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on most liberal terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES,
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: Houghton, New Bond-street.

**European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.**

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal SYSTEM OF ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
picture of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
pamphlet, our Southern editors can be educated
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRES INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.**

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.
The Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissence, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Lectures will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Admission Tickets, price One Guinea each (con-
taining to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirées, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C., and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meet-
ing will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions to a special fund.
For every £5 subscribed to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C., by Messrs. Bannister, Jovier,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Western Bank, Lothbury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kemball,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.

A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.

G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

SAN FRANCISCO and BRITISH
COLUMBIA, via Panama—Steamers from
Southampton on the 2nd and 17th of each month.
THROUGH BILLS OF LADING for goods, &c., are
issued by the ROYAL MAIL STEAM PACKET
COMPANY, in connection with Messrs. Wells, Fargo,
and Co., of San Francisco. Goods should be sent to
Southampton, addressed to the care of a shipping
agent there. Jewellery received in London.

For further particulars apply to Captain Vincent,
Superintendent, or to R. T. REEF, Sec.
Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 55, Moorgate-
street, E.C.

**TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.**

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysees—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under twenty.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

"The Human Face Divine." Eyes, Ears, Nose,
Lips, Mouth, Teeth, Chin, Neck, Head, Hair,
Hand, Feet, Temperament, Complexion, Resem-
blances, Capabilities, &c., in the

NEW ILLUSTRATED SELF-IN-
STRUCTOR IN PHRENOLOGY, PHYSIO-
LOGY, and PHYSIOGNOMY, with 160 Portraits.
Free by post 2s.—Address Fowler and Wells, 147,
Strand, W.C.

ENGLISH COMMERCIAL
HOTEL, No. 59, LAURENCE-ST. HONORE,
17, RUE MABLEYNE, PARIS.—Excellent accom-
modation at reasonable charges. Centrally located
near the Champs Elysees and Boulevard des Halles.
MRS. BROWN, Proprietress.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees has resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice- President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

**Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.**

OFFICE...... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profit for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 609,525 70
Amount of Profit for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 865,420 38
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

**Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.**

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrip of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Fouks.
G. Arnold.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voorhier.
D. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,576 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets 30th April, 1861..... 1,042,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

**BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.**

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, any liquor, oil of vitrol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age, containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcel, the contents of which are of a dangerous
nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to VI. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havana. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—June 5, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 7.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 12, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	97
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	99
Liverpool Letter	99
Manchester Letter	99
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Latest from New Orleans	100
Further list of killed, wounded, and missing at the Battle of Shiloh	100
Private Letters and Extracts	101
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Washington	102
Paris	102
LEADERS—	
An Opportune Moment for Pacification	104
The Evacuation of Corinth	104
The Errors of the Past	105
The Productiveness of the South	105
Editorials	106
THE SOUTH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS ..	106
REVIEW OF BOOKS—	
A Historical Parallel, No. IV.	108
SOUTHERN PROSPECTS	109
SEIZURE OF THE BERMUDA AND CIRCASSIAN ..	110
ADVERTISEMENTS	112

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

IN our last issue, in commenting on Colonel Kenley's defeat, we observed, "We have no details at present, but in the course of a few mails we shall know more about it, and then 'the driving out the Federal Colonel Kenley's command' will turn out to be an important victory." We were true prophets. The affair at Front Royal resulted in Colonel Kenley being killed, and nearly all his troops cut to pieces or made prisoners. The Northerners confess to the loss of *one* gun. The remnant of the troops fled towards Winchester in the wildest disorder. The correspondent of the *New York World* describes the affair as "a miniature Bull Run stampede." General Banks met the fugitives, and entered Winchester with them. It is reported that a few hours previously a small body of Federals, together with their baggage, had been captured in New Town, about eight miles from Winchester. The body-guard of General Banks was engaged in smearing the bridge across Lader Creek with tar, when the Confederates made a sudden swoop, and killed or captured all but five of them. We must remind our readers that our summary of Federal disasters is compiled from Federal accounts, and that it is likely they are toned down, whilst it is quite certain they are not exaggerated. We will quote the letter of the correspondent of the *New York World*, in reference to the destruction of cavalry, and the seizure of ammunition on this, the second day of General Banks' rout.

The rebel cavalry came up, and more than 100 waggons were taken possession of by the enemy. The cavalry which were behind have suffered much more than I am able now definitely to speak of. They were ordered at daylight, when the infantry and artillery and baggage had started toward Winchester, to make the reconnaissance to Woodstock, to see if anything could be learned of the anticipated attack in the rear. They were cut off by the cavalry of the enemy, and unable to return. More particulars in regard to this I will forward soon. Company A, however, of the Vermont Cavalry were all lost, captured, or

killed, except Captain Platt, his lieutenant, and half-a-dozen men, who made good their escape from the toils of the enemy most creditably. Major Collins is among the captured.

The next day, Sunday, May 25, the Confederates, under the command of Generals Jackson and Ewells, attacked General Banks, and drove the Federals out of Winchester. Arms and all things that impeded flight were flung away by the soldiers, who were actively pursued, and found no rest until they had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport; leaving the Confederates in undisputed possession of the Valley of Shenandoah.

The Confederate booty in military stores was very large. We have no accounts of the killed, wounded, and captured, but the Federal loss must have been heavy. According to Northern accounts, "Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, 28th New York, is said to have been killed; Colonel Knipe, 46th Pennsylvania, wounded and taken prisoner; Colonel Murphy, 29th Pennsylvania, killed; and many others." When the truth is known, the "many others" will be found to include a very long list of casualties.

This victory is not only strategically important, but it will produce a great moral effect. It will teach the sane Northern public that the South is not yet crippled, much less conquered, by Federal efforts. Following, too, so closely the naval victory on the Mississippi and the victory at Fort Darling, it affords a striking proof of the admirable tactics of the Southern leaders, and of the heroism and devoted patriotism of the Southern army.

The remnant of General Banks' army must have a vivid recollection of the want of Union feeling in Virginia, and the bitter hostility of the Virginians to the Yankees—the ruthless invaders and cruel spoilers of their homes and country. The correspondent of the *New York Times* writes that the people with whom he lodged in Winchester were "rejoicing that Jackson was again coming to free them from the Northern yoke." And further that, "while retreating through Winchester, women from the houses opened fire of pistols upon our soldiers, and killed a great many of them."

There was a complete panic at Washington, and, indeed, throughout the North, when the news became known. It was supposed the Confederates would march on the capital. Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation taking military possession of all the railroads in the United States for the transport of troops. We may observe, that if the Confederates had marched on Washington, the new loaves called for by Mr. Lincoln, and his appropriation of the railroads, would not have impeded their advance. Of course, the chance of getting up a little sensation in New York was not lost. The New York 7th Regiment "marched down Broadway, flags flying and drums beating, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of an immense crowd that lined the thoroughfare, and of a crowd of ladies equally enthusiastic, who filled every window and balcony commanding a view of their march," just as it did a year ago. It is very pleasant to make a demonstration at the cry of "Wolf, wolf!" but it will not be so agreeable if the wolf should come. The Governor of Massachusetts, who had been a little refractory at the first demand

for more men, became tractable when he heard that Mr. Lincoln was nervous about the safety of Washington.

The excitement in Baltimore was so intense that it nearly resulted in a conflict. The respectable classes are friendly to the cause of Secession; the rowdy mob is Unionist. When the news of Colonel Kenley's defeat was known, the Secessionists openly expressed their satisfaction at the punishment of Marylanders who had been traitors to the South. The further intelligence of the rout of General Banks increased the feverish excitement. The mob became angry at the joy of the Secessionists. A friend to the South was seized, a rope placed round his neck, and but for the timely interference of the authorities, he would have been hanged. The Secessionists then harricaded their houses and defied the mob.

The Confederates spare no pains to save the aged and women and children from the horrors of warfare. The Virginia Legislature has appropriated 200,000 dollars to remove the women, children, and decrepid persons from Richmond to a place of safety.

The state of affairs before Richmond remained unaltered at the last advices. The Federals were preparing for an engagement, but the Confederates only fight when they can do so with advantage, and not to oblige the enemy.

It was reported by refugees, at Norfolk, that the Confederates were 200,000 strong at Richmond. The reports of refugees, especially after being edited by Mr. Stanton, are not particularly reliable.

We hear, per Great Eastern "that a portion of General Banks' division has advanced beyond Martinsburg, and recaptured Front Royal, taking upwards of 150 prisoners." The capture is possible, for it is likely the Confederates did not attempt to hold the place. The "upwards of 150 prisoners" is merely one of Mr. Stanton's flourishes.

We have been favoured with the following extract from a letter addressed to a Liverpool firm by its New York correspondent, which was received per Niagara. We give it without comment:—

I never meddle with politics, but I am told privately that the Federals have been defeated before Richmond, and the Confederates will probably be in possession of Washington within twenty days. The Confederates have taken the *offensive*, are most unquestionably far better officered than the Federals, and that the latter are quaking. Federal papers must not be believed, though even they admit of defeat before Richmond.

Reinforcements are still leaving New York; four regiments left this morning.

New York, May 26, 1862.

Despite the reported advance of General Banks, we are told "the Confederates still threaten the Federal lines at Harper's Ferry."

The evacuation of Corinth has been so often reported that its happening does not create any surprise. General Halleck has evidently been befooled and out-generaled. The New York telegram, under date May 30, contained the following paragraph: "General Halleck reports that his position does not warrant his risking anything, hence he moves by regular approaches, fortifying as he goes along. The Federals were expected to open an attack on the 29th." Well, after making roads and erecting fortifi-

cations, he arrives at Corinth to find that the Confederates had retired. All public property and stores are destroyed. Where the Confederates have gone to is not known to the Federals. General Halleck officially reports "that the accounts are conflicting as to the enemy's movements, but he believes them to be in strong force on the Federal left flank, four or five miles south of Corinth, near the Mobile and Ohio railroad." And the same telegram states: "Nothing at all definite has been ascertained as to where the Confederates have retreated from Corinth." That is, General Beauregard changed his position without giving the enemy any idea of his movements.

As an amusing example of official bungling, we direct attention to the following summary, per Great Eastern:—

General Halleck telegraphed as follows from Corinth, May 30:—

The enemy's position in front of Corinth was exceedingly strong. He cannot occupy a stronger position in his flight. This morning he destroyed an immense amount of public and private property—stores, provisions, waggons, tents, &c. For miles out of the town the roads are filled with arms, haversacks, &c., which have been thrown away by his fleeing troops.

A large number of prisoners and deserters have been captured. Their number is estimated by General Pope at 2000.

Beauregard evidently distrusts his army, or he would have defended so strong a position. His troops are generally much discouraged and demoralized.

In all the engagements for the last few days their resistance has been slight.

For miles out of town "the roads are filled" (we would suggest, as an improvement, "piled up mountains high") with arms and haversacks thrown away by troops who had been leisurely destroying the public property at Corinth before evacuating the place, and who were not being pursued by the enemy. The Southerners are not such wags as to amuse themselves with the game of Bull Run at the expense of arms and baggage. Is it not also rather, just a trifle, curious that though "for miles out of town the roads are filled with arms," General Halleck is doubtful about the road taken by his enemy? Is it not passing strange that though General Beauregard's "troops are generally much discouraged and demoralized," General Halleck should not have been informed by deserters of their intending flight before the evacuation of Corinth? Is it not marvellous that General Halleck, being so near to the Confederate entrenchments that he occupied them a few hours after the withdrawal of General Beauregard, did not pursue the troops who were throwing away their arms and haversacks, and whose resistance had been slight, "in all the engagements of the last few days"? Perhaps Mr. Stanton, like the people who regularly render false returns of their income, and then send conscience money to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is troubled with an uneasy conscience, and so words his fabrications that if anyone is deceived by them, the dupe can only blame his own shortsightedness.

It is also worthy of remark, that though nothing was known on the 1st of June "as to where the Confederates had retreated from Corinth," yet on the 31st of May we were definitely informed that "the Confederates retreated from Corinth to Grand Junction, and then southward."

General Butler has succeeded in making himself pre-eminently infamous. Not contented with suppressing a newspaper, interfering with the offices of religion, stopping the circulation of the only available currency, and generally governing with "the utmost military rigour," he has issued the following proclamation:—

Head-quarters Department of the Gulf, May 15.

As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves "ladies of New Orleans," in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter, when any females shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.

BUTLER, Major-General.

By command of Geo. C. Strong, A.A.G.

General Beauregard thus refers to the abominable document:—

Men of the South, shall our mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters be thus outraged by the infamously soldiers of the North,

to whom is given the right to treat at their pleasure the ladies of the South as common harlots? Arouse, friends, and drive back from our soil these infamous invaders of our homes and disturbers of our family ties.

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General-Commanding.

The Federal press can hardly credit the disgraceful proceeding:—

The *New York Times* says, if the Federal commander has issued any such order, he should be forthwith dismissed from the army. It would be a disgrace to the service, an infamous outrage upon the morality and decency of the country and the age.

The *New York Herald*, writing before the report was confirmed, observes:—

In the absence of any official information upon the subject, we take the liberty of doubting that General Butler has ever issued such an order.

But General Butler has issued the proclamation, and by so doing, disgraced the service to which he belongs. Never in any age, or in any state of society, was such a degrading, fiend-like act committed.

The seizure of the Messrs. Hope and Co.'s money is confirmed, as well as the violation of the French and Spanish Consulates. The *New York Commercial Advertiser* excuses the act on account of the possible illegal conduct of the consuls. General Butler had better confine himself to tyrannizing over the inhabitants of New Orleans and insulting women, for insulting the consuls of European Powers is rather a dangerous game.

General Butler has also done his best to pick a quarrel with England. He has imprisoned some British subjects, upon the ground that they have sent arms and accoutrements to General Beauregard. The British Consul has interfered, but the matter was not decided when the mail left.

The following paragraph occurs in General Butler's proclamations:—"The United States have sent land and naval forces to New Orleans to fight and subdue rebellious armies. They find substantially only fugitive masses, runaway property-owners, a whisky-drinking mob, and starving citizens, with their wives and children. It is our duty to call back the first, punish the second, root out the third, and feed and protect the last." Finding "substantially runaway" property-holders, is rather a pretty "bull."

The Confederates have not evacuated Fort Wright. Advices to the 27th state that the Confederates have been largely reinforced at that place. Two transports had arrived from Memphis, bringing two regiments of infantry and three batteries of artillery. Part of this force landed at Fort Randolph, while the remainder occupy the Arkansas shore, nearly opposite the foot of Island No. 33, where they are reported to be throwing up batteries.

Commodore Tatnall, late commander of the *Merrimac* officially reports that the reason of her destruction was that the pilots assured him they could take the *Merrimac*, with a draught of eighteen feet, to within fourteen miles of Richmond. Confiding in these assurances, Tatnall ordered the *Merrimac* to be lightened and run up James River, for the protection of Richmond. When the *Merrimac* had been lightened so as to render her unfit for action, the pilots declared their inability to carry her with a draught of eighteen feet above Jamestown Flats, up to which point the Federals occupied the shore on both sides. The *Merrimac*, at that time, was not in a condition for battle with an enemy of equal force, and the Federal force was overwhelming. It was, therefore, resolved to destroy her.

Maryland is becoming extremely troublesome. Judge Carmichael, of Talbot County, Maryland, has been arrested on a charge of treason. The Federal officials arrested him at the Court-house. Carmichael resisted, and kicked the officer, who thereupon drew his sword and struck the judge on the head. A scene of disorder ensued, ending in Carmichael and three citizens being taken to Fort M'Henry. Arresting a judge in his Court-house, and striking him on the head with a sword, is a startling incident, even in these times. In semi-barbarous countries the office of the judge is respected, and the court of justice deemed inviolable. Was Judge Carmichael arrested at the Court-house for the purpose of teaching the mob not to pay the slightest respect to law and order?

We referred last week to a dispute in Washington

in reference to the Fugitive Slave law. It arose between Marshal Lamon and General Wadsworth, for the custody of a fugitive slave who sought refuge in that city. Marshal Lamon, in accordance with the ordinary law of the United States, whose officer he is, decided upon giving up the slave to his owner, on proof of the ownership; but General Wadsworth, in military command of the district, decided that this could not be done, unless he, the General, were satisfied that the owner was a loyal man and no rebel. Hence the dispute, which threatened a breach of the peace, and is not yet decided.

The report that General Burnside had occupied Raleigh, North Carolina, is not true.

General Wool finds the people of Norfolk quite intractable. He has prohibited the publication of the *Norfolk Daybook*, and stopped the trade of the place. Yet he cannot elicit any Union feeling.

The "obstinacy" of the "rebels" is engaging the attention of the Federal Congress. We take the following from the *New York Herald*:—

THE CONTUMACIOUSNESS OF DEFEATED REBELS. — Mr. Howe (rep.), of Wis., introduced a bill to aid in restoring order and preserve the public peace within insurrectionary districts. He referred to the answer of the Mayor of New Orleans to Captain Farragut, and of the Mayor of Norfolk to General Wool, and to various letters showing a lack of Union feeling at the South, and treason swaggers everywhere, and their armies recruited by decrepit old men, unchristian ministers, and malignant women. Treason shouts where it can no longer fight, and loyalty implores where it ought to command. The bill was referred.

We could not wish for a more forcible admission of the unanimity of the South.

With regard to "wicked ministers," we notice that the Maryland Episcopal Convention have excluded from their committee nearly all the members who remain loyal to the Federal Government.

The Yankees are fond of confiscating, and if they could, they would confiscate "all creation." The House of Representatives has offered to pass a Bill confiscating the property of men who shall hereafter hold office under the Confederate Government, or who shall not lay down their arms within sixty days after proclamation duly made by the President.

According to the *New York Herald*, Generals Huger and Holmes have given up 1400 Federal prisoners. We may gather from this that Federal captures have been numerous.

The people of Savannah are anxious to defend their city against the enemy. The Common Council has passed the following resolution:—

Whereas a communication has been received from the Commanding General, stating that he will defend this city to the last extremity; and

Whereas the members of Council unanimously approve the determination of the Commanding General; therefore be it

Resolved, that Council will render all the aid that is in its power to sustain the General, and to carry out his laudable determination.

A Petersburg paper reports that, on the 19th ult., eighteen of the Monitor's crew went ashore at City Point, and were surprised by the Confederates. Nine were made prisoners, and the rest, who reached the boat and pulled for the vessel, were shot. Eight were killed, and the other lost an arm. It is evident that the Monitor and her crew had better keep at a respectful distance from the shore.

General Beauregard's official report of the Battle of Shiloh, according to Northern telegrams, gives 1700 killed, 8000 wounded, and 1000 missing. This includes the two days.

The Federal fleet has captured Natchez, on the Mississippi. No resistance was offered.

The people of Western Tennessee are again taking action. A large force has been assembled to march upon Hickman.

The *Times* of yesterday remarks, in reference to the article on "mediation," which we publish in another part of our impression:—

The return to France of the French Secretary of Legation at Washington had given rise to conjectures, and the article on "mediation," in the *Paris Constitutionnel* of this morning, may possibly have been inspired by the information brought home by that personage.

The same journal says:—"The commercial advices from New York this week show that, although the ignorant confidence of the multitude in the paper issues of the Government was still

almost undiminished, many of the more shrewd financiers were preparing for the approach of the inevitable crisis. All the hopes of a revival of business from the removal of the blockade of New Orleans appear to have been disappointed. 'There is,' it is said, 'not a sign of our being able to induce the inhabitants to trade.'

The *Independence Belge* published the following on Tuesday:—"The *Constitutionnel* has a second leader on the necessity of an European mediation in America. The arguments are pretty nearly the same as before, and we should not mention again this continued effort, if it were not that strong rumours in Paris connect together the publications of the semi-official sheet upon the American question, with the arrival of important despatches, kept entirely secret up to this time, from M. Mercier, French Minister at Washington. "It is repeatedly stated, too, in some well informed circles, that negotiations have been reopened between France and England, with a view to a prompt and decided interference. It is affirmed, moreover, that the two Powers have come to an agreement upon the principle of interfering, and that they are engaged now solely upon the actual time and the extent of that intervention."

Semi-official Washington despatches say that news dated Orizaba, May 9, had been received, stating that 10,000 Mexicans had attacked the French troops three leagues from the city of Mexico, and that the French had been defeated, with a loss of 500 men. The British Minister had, it was reported, concluded a treaty, by which all the difficulties between Mexico and England were settled. The New York papers publish Mexican news, *via* San Francisco to the 8th May, according to which the French had commenced retreating from Puebla towards Amesa. An official despatch from Ignacio Megia to Juarez, dated Puebla, 8th of May, announces the retreat of the French.

We give the following item, brought by the Niagara, without comment.

The *Halifax Express*, of the 28th ult., contains the following:—

It is currently reported in this city that his Excellency Vice-Admiral Milne has received a telegraphic despatch from Lord Lyons, her Britannic Majesty's minister at Washington, requesting that none of the ships of war under his command leave the station until further orders. We cannot, of course, vouch for the authenticity of the foregoing, but it is at least very far from being improbable.

The Northern press omits no opportunity of abusing and attacking the Emperor of the French. The *New York Herald*, in commenting on the affairs of Mexico, observes:—"Now civil war is raging within our own borders, and European despots may safely exercise their brief authority. The day of settlement, however, will come, and sooner, perhaps, than Europe imagines."

The following most important announcement was made in the *Patrie* yesterday evening:—"It is asserted that negotiations will be shortly opened at London for the drawing up of mediatory proposals to be made simultaneously by England and France to America."

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 11, 1862.

Our market continued steady during the latter half of last week, with a daily business doing of about 8000 bales, based upon 12½ for Middling Orleans. Speculations chiefly ran upon Surats "to arrive," and large purchases were made on London account at advancing prices, the transactions on some days being supposed to reach 10,000 bales, or more. On Monday the Niagara's news were to hand, and their tenor was decidedly in favour of the market; the retreat of Banks from the valley of the Shenandoah showed unlooked for strength on the Confederate side, and the whole scope of the news was most adverse to the chance of a settlement or the renewal of cotton shipments from the South. An active demand in consequence sprung up, at fully ½d. per lb. advance, and the market was assisted by the arrival of large orders to purchase for the continent: 2000 bales of Saw-ginned Dharwars were bought that day for Russia, and "to arrive," a very extensive business was also transacted at higher prices. The sales on the spot were about 12,000 bales, and probably as much afloat. On Tuesday the export demand was very active, running more upon American cotton, and about 3000 bales of that class were said to have been bought chiefly

for Havre. Some purchases were also made for New York, where Middling is now quoted 31 to 32 cents; the total sales reached 14,000 bales, at a further advance of ¼d., while "to arrive" large operations also took place at a similar advance. To-day the Great Eastern's news is to hand, reporting the evacuation of Corinth, which is rather disappointing to Southern sympathizers, and seems to indicate Confederate weakness in that quarter; but the tone of our market continues good, with sales of 13,000 bales, closing at an advance of ¼ to ½d. for the week, both in American and Surats cotton. Middling Orleans is worth 13½d. to 1½d.; Fair Dhollerahs 8½d. to 9½d.; Omrawuttce 8½d. to 9d.; Comptah 8½d.; Broach 10d., and Sawginned Dharwar 10½d. In cotton to arrive 9½ is now paying for the first shipments of Broach; 9d. has been paid for February shipment of Omrawuttce, and 8½d. is the current price for April and May shipments of Dhollerahs and Omrawuttce. For early shipments of Dharwars 10½d. is offered.

It is important to note that in the last week or two a decided change has passed over the public mind in reference to the position and prospects of the cotton trade, and in connection with this it is curious to observe the fluctuations in public opinion on this subject since first the gravity of the crisis became apparent. During the Autumn of last year intense anxiety was felt on the subject of cotton supply, the press was crowded with discussions respecting it, and appalling consequences were predicted from a suspension of our supplies from the South, even to the present time. Amid a fever of speculative excitement, prices were run up 4d. in the four months ending October, and middling Orleans was quoted 12d. By the end of the year most persons looked for 15d., and by June, if the war continued, it was generally thought the stock would be on the verge of exhaustion, and prices at a fabulous range, certainly not below 18d. for American, and 12d. for the medium qualities of Surats. But the panic caused by the "Trent affair" gave a rude shock to the confidence of holders. Still, on its settlement, the expectation revived that these excessive prices must soon be reached. Middling Orleans was thought a safe investment at 13½d. on the 9th January, and the only question raised by the speculator was the duration of the war, for it was not doubted that, so long as it went on, prices would each month attain a higher level. But these expectations were completely baffled by the strange inertia of Manchester. The surfeited markets of the world refused to respond to the advance in the raw material, business came almost to a dead-lock, spinners and manufacturers found the outlets for their production choked up, and finding their position ruinously bad, threw their mills on hal time, and withdrew as far as possible from the cotton market. Then one political *canard* after another kept the public in a continual state of ferment. First European intervention was predicted, then the financial exhaustion of the North, afterwards the collapse of the South, and latterly, the re-opening of trade by the Federal occupation of the Southern ports. One panic after another succeeded on these reports; so anxious was the public to see a settlement that it clutched at every straw that afforded a hope; attention was almost withdrawn from the gradual approach of the cotton famine; supplies lasted so much better than was expected, that the former anxiety on that score subsided, and the only point that engaged the public mind was the hope of an early release of the Southern crop.

But during the long interval of suspense, the ground has been clearing for another course of speculative excitement. The reserves both of cotton and goods have been gradually melting away. The tide of demand is now returning in Manchester, and cannot be again staved off, for it springs out of the absolute wants of consumers. But the prospect of receiving supplies from America is more remote than ever, and there is now no reasonable probability of seeing American cotton arrive here in any quantity before the end of the year. We are therefore shut up by the necessity of measuring our scanty stock by the demand that must be made on it, and the public are awaking to its alarming insufficiency.

The following statement may be given as the approximate estimate of the utmost supply that can be reckoned on this year for all Europe, assuming that nothing is received from America; for the small supplies that may be obtained from the South during the continuance of the war, all will be wanted to meet the urgent wants of the Northern spinners.

	Bales.
Stock in Liverpool, about	290,000
do London, do	54,000
do Havre, do	38,000
do All other Continental ports, about	10,000
do Held by English Spinners	40,000
Total Stock existing in Europe	432,000
Bombay cotton afloat for all Europe	250,000
Madras, and other East Indian	20,000
Shipments from Bombay from May 12, to Sept. 1, estimated same as last year ..	300,000
Shipments of Madras, &c., say	40,000
Imports of Brazil, Egyptian, &c., into Europe, about the same as last year	125,000
Total supply.....	1,167,000

Now of this aggregate we cannot assign less than one-third to the Continent, which is considerably below its relative proportion as compared with former years—for previous to this crisis its consumption was fully 30,000 bales per week, against 50,000 in Great Britain, or ⅔ of the total. Nor is it possible to suppose that the stock in this country, including Liverpool, London, and the holding of spinners, can fall below 100,000 bales, so that only

678,000 bales would be available for home consumption as follows:—

	Bales.
Total supply of cotton for Europe	1,167,000
Less one-third for Continent	389,000
Less stock at end of year	100,000
	488,000

Total available for home consumption..... 678,000 being, for a period of twenty-nine weeks, fully 23,000 bales per week; but the great bulk of this, consisting of Surat and long-stapled cotton, it is only equal in weight to 20,000 bales per week as compared with the full consumption of 50,000 bales per week before the crisis, or a supply equal to 2-5ths of the full requirements of the country. We cannot suppose that the demand on Manchester can be restricted for the next six months to only 2-5ths of its former dimensions, without a very great advance in prices. At present, quotations are not 20 per cent. above the average of ordinary seasons, and it is doubtful whether an advance of 100 per cent. would permanently keep the consumption of cotton goods down to half its former rate;—more than this need not be said to show the extraordinary position of the market.

MANCHESTER, June 10, 1862.

The business of the past week in yarn and cloth up to Saturday last has not been equal to that of the previous week, as our largest buyers had in some measure anticipated their requirements, and the accumulation of wants was then satisfied for a time, and also because the firmness of holders in resisting offers below asking prices checked business.

Some stocks of shirtings adapted to the Eastern markets were cleared out in the early part of the week, at prices which would entail a heavy loss on manufacturers. Accumulation of stock and pressing demands for the needful caused needy sellers to accept offers which, under other circumstances, would have been refused. On Friday last, our second market day in the week, buyers of yarns for the Continent were very slow in their operations, and any slight advance asked by spinners checked business. The manufacturers of this district have shown little inclination to buy yarns, especially when spinners asked an advance of ½d to ¾d. per lb.

Rather higher prices have been paid for certain mule yarns, especially 60s. The sellers of two-folds up to 100 were doing rather more than in the early part of the week, and on better terms. All yarns from 120s. upwards continue without improvement. Rather more disposition has shown itself to purchase printing cloths, but business has been restricted by the addition of 1½d. per piece to prices. Heavy domestics remain dull.

On Saturday, owing to private telegrams from Bombay and Calcutta, reporting an active business in both markets at higher prices, buyers who had previously refused to give prices asked were induced to come in and make purchases of yarns and cloths to a considerable extent these advances being made public on Monday, coupled with the news per "Niagara," being interpreted as favourable to holders of cotton, caused a general and extensive inquiry from all classes of buyers, and an advance on some description of cloths was obtained.

Our market to-day is much more cheerful than of late, and a good general buying has set in, causing holders of stocks to obtain prices which they could not have done this day week. The advance in 7th and 8th shirtings ranges from 1½d. to 3d. per piece, and lighter fabrics, 1½d. per piece. Yarns are fully ½d. per lb. dearer.

WILLIAM DICKINSON.

THE APPROACHING BATTLES.

The public mind is rallying from the crushing shock of the great disaster at New Orleans, and feeds confidently on hopes of new victories rather than does penance on painful reflections as to the past. Our eventual success in this revolution, if Southerners are true to themselves, is now no more questionable than it has been from the beginning. The South must be conquered before it is subjugated—the people of the South must be conquered. The enemy have conquered a good deal of our territory, but very few of our people—we mean soldiers. The largest army they have ever whipped was that at Donelson, and then they had the assistance of their gunboats and of the elements. They were four to one in that fight. They have got to whip armies much larger than they have yet met, and to whip them out of reach of their gunboats, before the South is conquered. No one believes that they can do it unless they greatly outnumber us, and this it is almost impossible for them to do, for our main armies are very large. Certainly this belief in the invincibility of our main armies in the open field is justified by the records of the war from the beginning. In no case where considerable forces have been engaged in the open field—and we have had a force approaching the numbers of the enemy—have we been defeated. Therefore, let us await with confidence the issue of the pending battles in Virginia and the Mississippi Valley.

But supposing that we are unsuccessful in these conflicts, we may rest assured that the enemy will not be entirely successful; for if our men are worsted, they will display the splendid traits of the Southern soldier, as manifested in his capacity to endure even defeat without demoralization, and to retrieve that defeat in a measure by the cool intrepidity of orderly retreat before a victorious enemy. Time and again have our Southern soldiers proved their possession of the high qualities of courage and coolness essential to the endurance of disaster undismayed. Therefore, we may trust that though the enemy overpower one of our large armies with numbers, he cannot destroy it. Our men will fall back clinging to their standard, and rally again at a point still more remote in the interior of the South; and present a new front, rendering a still larger army necessary to the enemy.

If the enemy do overpower one of our grand armies in a pitched battle, their victory will be so dearly bought as to be almost equivalent to a defeat. Such victories will ruin them and achieve our triumph in the end. The armies winning them will be destroyed so far as their efficiency for weeks afterwards is concerned. If we do not rout, capture, and utterly destroy an army, it makes little difference whether we or they hold the field, only as to sustaining the claims of a victory won. They will suffer just as much though we retire from the ground as if they did. So we kill, disable, and retard them, we prosper our cause; compelling them to make more exhausting efforts to wage their desperate war, prolonging the sufferings which they force themselves to endure in prosecuting it, and wearing out the patience of an injured world, which has already reached the limit of forbearance.—*Mobile Register*.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE
FROM THE SOUTH.

FROM OUR LIVERPOOL CORRESPONDENT.
BY MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

Thursday morning.
Ambr. Lanfar received the 400 bales of cotton, and sold to a Northern purchaser
All cotton in New Orleans, except a few hundred bales, had been burnt.
Also all cotton on the Mississippi, between New Orleans and Memphis.
Mr. Stea. Value and J. Burnside had about 4000 bales on plantation, which they burnt.
All shopkeepers refused Federal notes.
There is no ill-feeling in the Confederate States against England.
John Crickard, teller in Bank of New Orleans, was fired on while in the Jackson railroad cars, by United States' sentinels, and severely wounded.
Captain T. B. Huger, of steamer McRae, died from a wound received near the forts.
General Twigg's and Colonel D. W. Adams' residences occupied by Federal troops.
Sam Smith and Brother, and B. James, dry goods' merchants, and B. Avegno, were arrested.
Have received Orleans papers to 20th May, but too late to send. Nothing of importance in them.
This news received from New Orleans passengers just arrived.

BATTLE OF SHILOH.

(NEAR CORINTH.)

LIST OF KILLED, WOUNDED, & MISSING.

FIRST LOUISIANA REGULARS.
COLONEL ADAMS.

FIELD OFFICERS. WOUNDED—Col. Daniel Adams, of New Orleans, severely but not fatally in the head. Improving, and promises to recover.
COMPANY A—(Capt. Beatty).—KILLED—Sergt. James Carpenter; Privates John Gavin, and David Sexton. Total, 3. WOUNDED—Second Lieut. M. C. Gladden, in thigh; Sergt. John Quirk, thigh; Corporal Martin Knox, both legs; Corporal Edward Virtue, leg slightly; Corporal William A. Foster, leg; Privates Morris Bebb, hand; Thomas Daily, neck slightly; William Eubardt, leg; Gustave Epstein, leg; Adolphe Oppenheim, leg; George Mitten, mouth; David Roth, leg; Joseph Rifle, leg; Thomas Reagan, leg; Joseph Schurte, leg; Edward Sexton, shoulder; Frederick Trabad, shoulder; John Mathison, side slightly. Total 19. MISSING—Thomas Mahan, supposed to be wounded and in hospital; assisting physician. Total in action, 39; killed and wounded, 22.
COMPANY B—(1st Lieut. Thomas Butler).—KILLED—Sergt. Hodges; Privates Andrew Love and John Burke. WOUNDED—1st Lieut. commanding Butler, Corporal Wyman, Privates Brookins, James Dougherty, Samuel Davison, Ernst, Girardin, O'Donnell, W. H. Roger, Dennis Cronan, Michael Quinn, Mullins, Shrite. MISSING—Known to be wounded on the field, James Douglas.
COMPANY C—(Capt. F. M. Kent).—KILLED—Privates Gill and O'Brien. WOUNDED—Capt. F. M. Kent (severely but not dangerously), Lieut. W. P. Grivot, slightly; Sergt. W. Vandergrift; Privates Allen, Brundoll, Bruza, Harley, Hawkins, Lawler, May, McDonald, Murphy, McCluskey, Shea, Gallagher, Goslin. MISSING—Privates Kelley, Evans, Frankie, Servis, Williams, Wheeler, Sullivan.
COMPANY D—(Capt. J. H. Trezevant).—KILLED—Corporal Meyer; Privates Anderson, P. Ryan, W. Jones, J. N. Gates, M. Moore, P. Haggerty—7. WOUNDED—Capt. Trezevant; Sergts. Smith, Regan, O'Sullivan; Corporal McManus; Privates Clark, Fields, Joney, Kilway, McAdams, Nugent, Parsons, Porter, Taylor, Hardin, Garrison, Peffer, Steiner, Cullum, E. Murphy—20. MISSING—Privates Spencer, McCullum, and McDonald—3. Total killed, wounded, and missing, 30. Number of men and officers in action, 56.
COMPANY E—(Capt. E. C. Preston).—KILLED—Sergeant Joseph Lambers, Sergeant James Duno; Privates James M. Butler, McDonald, Edward H. Smith, S. Wood, Sweatman. WOUNDED—Capt. E. C. Preston, severe flesh wound; 1st Sergt. James Plummer, in the thigh; Corporal Ferguson; Privates M. Doovon, William Eppinger, P. Gallagher, slightly; John Grease, severely; — Gerbosh, — Gost, slightly; — Howard, P. Jasmin, W. Knox, W. Mahon, severely; — McDonough, mortally; Charles Miller, slightly; Henry Ross, severely; — Stewart, slightly; J. Schriver, J. Wark, severely; A. Willis, slightly. MISSING—Bartsche, known to have been wounded; P. Caveny.
COMPANY F—(Capt. Strawbridge).—KILLED—J. C. Levy, Francis Clayton, A. Keneman, Peter Norton, Thomas Murphy. WOUNDED—1st Lieutenant W. A. Reid, 3d. Sergt. Edward Burns, 4th Sergt. Charles Johnson, 3d. Corporal Charles Molloy; Privates Thomas Beglan, Thomas Sullivan, Jean Christian, John Wartiff, Lewis Livan, John Gillmore, John McElree, James Syme, John Guerin, Jacob Kyser, Conrad Winke, Pat Cannon, Robert Cula, Charles McCalla, John Madden, Thomas Swannansen, Michael McDermott. MISSING—Sergt. Francis Conroy, and 8 privates.
Total killed, 12; wounded, 21.
COMPANY G—(Captain Wheat).—KILLED—Captain J. T. Wheat, Sergeant Henry Smith, Sergeant William Hickley; Privates John Welcome, and Michael Dwyer. WOUNDED—Lieut. Kennedy, Corporals Landridge and Johnston; Privates Bell, Brown, Connors, Enlow, Edward Hughes, Philip Gilligan, Fishman, McGown, Kenny, J. C. Martin, Miles, Owens, Wittenman, J. D. Williams, J. L. Williams, William Smith, Kearney, Watson, and Colter.
COMPANY H—KILLED—Mathias Albright, Edward Dean, John Hartman, William Herman, Anthony Mailier, Jerry O'Brien, Ferdinand Walker. WOUNDED—Sergt. John Connerly, Corporal John Kelly; Privates James Bell, William Brink-

man, John Doyle, James Donovan, John Haley, Joseph Hepworth, James Kenty, Charles Lerpp, Richard Leslie, Henry Myers, Michael Malloy, Charles Lifort. Patrick Haly, John R. Kurns, George F. Knaus, Albert Vedder. MISSING—Corporal Ashel D. Jarvis, Private James Bennett.
COMPANY K—(Capt. Taylor).—KILLED—Lieut. B. nd, Sergt. Webber, Corporal Perry, Corporal Badley; Privates Fleming, Francy, Kennedy, Lynch, Morris, and Quinn—Total 10. WOUNDED—Lieut. Sparks and Keble; Sergts. McClay, Hinkl, and Pottenger; Corporal Hunter; Privates Arnold, O'Ryan, Dillon, Tonsen, Myer, Nolan, and O'Donnell—13. MISSING—Privates Barges, Clifford, and Price—3.
FOURTH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.
[From the Chaplain, Rev. J. A. Godfrey.]
COMPANY A—(Capt. Charles Betts).—WOUNDED—John Counselman, Michael Hammel, Jerry Mullaghligh, John Nevil, Gus Wolf, Jacob Near, John Caffry, Joseph Gearing, Hector Latile (acting Lieutenant). MISSING—Peter Younger, Francis Martin, William Stein. SUMMARY—Wounded, 9; missing, 3. Total, 12.
COMPANY B—(Capt. W. F. Pennington).—WOUNDED—Capt. W. F. Pennington, Sergt. C. Tucker, Sergt. Hogg; Privates E. S. Alexander, Berker, Gutzmer, W. Grace, Lawler, Leister, Moon, Murphy, Murly, Pride. MISSING—Lieut. D. C. Jenkins; Private Mazoran. SUMMARY—Wounded, 13; missing, 2. Total, 15.
COMPANY C—DELTA RIFLES—(Capt. H. M. Favrot).—WOUNDED—Lieut. O. P. Scofield; Privates B. C. Bradford, Henry Carl, John C. Carl, W. P. Denum, M. S. Bowman, L. Brown, Stephen Henderson, W. H. S. M. Crindle, N. S. Key, Z. P. Yersin, Ben Smith, S. Weatherby, R. D. Prun. MISSING—Corporal W. M. Barrow, Corporal J. B. Stuart; Privates Phil Barnard, J. Brown, William Kepler. SUMMARY—Wounded, 14; missing, 5. Total, 19.
COMPANY D—TIRAILLEURS—(Capt. F. A. Williams).—KILLED—Felix Hebert, R. Hebert, T. Lejeune. WOUNDED—2nd Lieut. B. Landry, Junior 2nd Lieut. Aillet, Sergt. Coutade, Sergt. N. Leblanc, Sergt. L. O. Dupuy, Corporal P. T. Babin; Privates R. Lisle, W. B. McKimmons, L. Martin, A. O. Landry, L. Landry, A. Doiron, E. Henry, M. A. Allen, J. B. Hebert, J. L. Blanchard, P. Tullier, A. Hebert, S. P. Insley, S. Levick. SUMMARY—Killed, 3; wounded, 20. Total, 23.
COMPANY E—WEST FELICIANA RIFLES—(Capt. C. E. Torrotrain).—KILLED—Capt. C. E. Torrotrain, Drummer W. Leavenworth, J. Elliot. WOUNDED—1st Sergt. L. J. Tansey; privates John Brady, T. A. Ohioe, L. K. Collins, John Hobgood, J. B. Riley, J. B. Vicarro, J. Davis, A. Vigoe, A. Reams. MISSING—Private W. T. Wilson. SUMMARY—Killed, 3; wounded, 11; missing, 1. Total, 15.
COMPANY F—ST. HELENA RIFLES—(Capt. J. B. Taylor).—KILLED—Serg. H. T. Amicher; Privates C. C. Thompson, J. R. Clayton. WOUNDED—Capt. J. B. Taylor, 1st Lieut. H. M. Carter; Privates A. P. Richards, G. G. Easley, N. Q. Easley, W. T. Rayburn, J. W. Barron, G. Bridges, W. F. Bennett, L. Carter, Thomas Zachary. M. W. Glascock. MISSING—A. O. Jones, J. C. Watson. SUMMARY—Killed, 3; wounded 12; missing, 2. Total, 17.
COMPANY G—BEAVER CREEK RIFLES—(Capt. J. A. Wingfield).—WOUNDED—Lieut. R. Y. Burton; Serg. H. Ohme; Corporal T. J. Andrews; Privates John Vestler, W. Cornish, J. W. Denmark, W. H. Dyer, C. Gill, M. Johnson, T. Knight, O. M. Lee, L. P. Muse, John McFarland, J. G. Powell, L. C. White, J. W. Roberts, W. L. Ressel, W. A. Smith, J. L. Spring, M. Taylor, John Wigill—22.
COMPANY H—LAFOURCHE GUARDS—(Capt. J. L. Bellin).—KILLED—Corporal Geo. Quicksel; Privates O. Leblanc, Thos. Corbit. WOUNDED—Sergts. E. and L. Allen; Privates A. Babin, C. Beltan, Joseph Desdriane, H. H. Harris, S. Herbert, W. L. Head, Z. Lapeymie, James McDonel, J. Russell, D. P. Morebeau, A. Rossengal, F. Scanlan. MISSING—Sergt. L. F. Morehead; Privates O. Deioene, E. B. Perryman, Thos. Roussel. SUMMARY—Killed, 3; wounded 14; missing, 4. Total, 21.
COMPANY I—HUNTER RIFLES B.—(Capt. J. T. Hilliard).—KILLED—Capt. J. T. Hilliard. WOUNDED—1st Lieut. J. J. Adams, 2nd Lieut. E. C. Holmes; Privates J. Delancy, A. J. Doty, F. Gumble, J. Mills, E. Clark, R. W. Vincent, C. A. Yunger. MISSING—E. Messcy. SUMMARY—Killed, 1, wounded, 9; missing, 1. Total, 11.
COMPANY K—HUNTER RIFLES, A.—(Capt. E. J. Pullen).—KILLED—Corporals J. L. Hickin, C. P. Garrett; Privates J. P. Dupriest, H. L. McDonel, R. F. McKie, J. Mays, J. K. Smith, N. W. Tate, S. T. White. WOUNDED—Sergeant W. A. Knox; Corporal J. A. White; Privates P. Z. Coleson, W. H. Cook, J. Dwyer, G. W. Hamilton, E. W. Hobgood, H. Huntington, H. W. Johnston, T. L. Johnson, J. Kuffer, A. G. M'Donal, S. G. McNeely, W. R. M'Adams, J. A. Morgan, D. Odum, D. C. Thompson, W. A. Thompson, J. D. White, J. Y. D. Richardson, C. J. Parkuan, Z. Lee, F. Webber. MISSING—J. A. Ransom, E. H. Cramer, T. M. Hudson. SUMMARY—Killed, 9; wounded, 23; missing, 3. Total, 35.
FIELD AND STAFF.—Col. H. W. Allen, Adjutant C. Belcher, Colour-bearer B. W. Clark, Fife-Major B. Prun—4.
THIRTEENTH REGIMENT LOUISIANA VOLUNTEERS.
MAJOR AVEGNO.
Major Anatole Avegno, shot through left leg above the ankle, fracture of tibia, acting Colonel during battle; A. Commissary Walter V. Crouch, glanced shot on forehead and leg, not dangerously—2.
COMPANY A.—Capt. Stephen O'Leary, ball in left thigh, contusion of left shoulder and right breast by pieces of shell, not dangerously, acting Lieut.-Colonel during engagement; 1st Lieut. J. Daily, glanced shot on forehead and luxation of left foot, commanding Company A., left in hospital; 1st Sergt. William Cullin, killed; 2d Sergt. Daniel Fitzpatrick, killed; 1st Corporal Philip Prosser, killed; Privates William Dunn, killed; Patrick Maher, killed; Patrick Lacey, large piece of shell entering near right shoulder, cut out under arm, dangerously; Michael Griffin, contusion of knee by piece of shell; Patrick Curley, piece of shell through right shoulder; Philip Cahill, through side and abdomen, very dangerously; Thomas Cranforth, shot through right hand, slightly; John Scott, glancing shot on forehead, not seen after battle; George Patterson, contusion of right hand (musket shattered by a bombshell) slightly; Michael Maher, struck by shell against leg, not seen after battle; Patrick Moore, shot through left thigh; John Stanley, shot through neck and fingers of right hand, not seen after battle. — Killed, 5; wounded, 12, including two officers; missing 2—19.
COMPANY B.—Capt. E. L. Campbell, shot through right arm, fracture of humerus; Privates John Kraft, shot through

left forearm; James Coulter, shot through right arm; Frederic Eisenhardt, shot in left shoulder; John Brother, shot in foot, near ankle, ball lodging in bone; Thomas Powers, shot in right leg, ball lodging in left leg.—Killed, none; wounded, 6, including Captain; missing, 2—8.
COMPANY C.—Corporal W. S. Kirk, mortally through right eye; Privates Patrick Golding, shot through right wrist; Hugh Gunning, shot through left side, slightly.—Killed, none; wounded, 3; missing, 7—10.
COMPANY D.—1st Sergt. Xavier Cook, contusion of left breast; Sergt. Sylvan de Prag, contusion near right eye (spectacles shattered by piece of shell); Privates Lejeune, killed; Talma Moret, killed; Villebois, killed; Picard, killed; Rene Rideau, shot through left arm, fracture of ulna; Boulick, shot through thigh; Alex. Laporte, left leg below knee and right foot taken off by a cannon ball, very dangerously; Auguste Brunet, contusion of right shoulder by piece of shell; Vilars, contusion of lower jaw by piece of shell; Chas. Dupas, contusion of shoulder, slightly; Pierre Rudeau, contusion of breast by shell; Theodore Simon, slight wound by splinter of shell near eye. Killed:—wounded, 10; missing, 7—21.
COMPANY E—Privates John Price, killed; Pierre Gaisne, killed; Corporal Henry Bonicelli, shot through leg; Privates Andrew Fielhaber, shot through thigh, near knee; August Muller, shot through finger; Auguste Felinque, contusion of thigh by piece of shell; Joseph Schilling, shot through right thigh; Michael Bastian, shot through right leg, fracture of tibia, lodging in left knee, dangerously; Gottfried Seibly, shot through right leg; Louis Couturiere, glanced shot at head, slightly; Raymond Laussave, contusion of thigh by grapeshot; Ramon Pastor, penetrated wound of chin by bayonet. Killed, 2; wounded, 10; missing, 6—18.
COMPANY F.—Corporal Augustin Cassard, shot through left thigh, not seriously; Private Francis Houlemont, killed; 1st Sergt. J. M. Johnson, glanced shot at right thigh, slightly; Privates Herman Nauen, shot through leg; David Lux, right arm shattered by bomb shell, amputated below shoulder, going on well; Michael McCollif, shot through lower jaw; Martin Evan, shot through calf of leg, slightly; Vieroig, shot through right arm, slightly; Charles Rushford, contusion of right arm and shoulder, slightly; Richard Rafter, contusion of left leg, slightly. Killed, 1; wounded, 9; missing, 7—17.
COMPANY G—Privates Adam Lollford, J. E. Johnston, Patrick Fleming, Joseph Doty, killed; Sergt. B. E. Allen, shot in leg, missing since, acting Lieutenant during battle; Privates Emanuel Mendiza, shot in right knee; Martin Coleman, shot through left leg; James P. Muggah, shot through both eyes and nose, very dangerously; John Torey, shot through both shoulders; Bern'd Karsten, shot through left side, flesh wound. Killed, 4; wounded, 6; missing, 8—18.
COMPANY H—Private Christopher Quinn, killed (shot through head); Corporal Timothy Booth, shot through knee; Privates John Brown, one finger shot off; Thomas Hennessey, wounded in back by piece of shell, slightly; William McPherson, piece of shell through right thigh; Patrick Ward, piece of shell in right thigh, near knee; Charles Terry, cannon ball through membrane glutens, dislocating and fracturing left femoral, very dangerously; Charles Nolte, shot through abdomen, dangerously; Frank E. Ward, shot through thigh; John Welch, shot through left arm; George Geiger, right hand, slightly; Henry Sheers, glanced shot, right forearm; George Weaver, glanced shot, near shin. Killed, 1; wounded, 12; missing 7—20.
COMPANY I—Privates Chas. Burmaster, Eugene Paul, killed; Chas. Jeffrey, 1st Sergt., shot through arm, near shoulder; Privates Jacob Peiser, shot through mouth and shoulder; Edward Craig (under 15 years of age), left foot taken off by exploded shell, amputated above ankle; Patrick Foley, shot through left side; Joseph Dutrot, shot through spine, mortally; Peter Kelly, shot through right leg, fracture; John Ziegler, glanced shot across chin; Anthony Gardener, glanced shot on foot; Wm. Cashry, contusion of left breast by shell; Alvey Sider, left eye blinded by passing ball. Killed, 2; wounded, 10; missing, 3.—Total, 15.
COMPANY K.—George Cammack, 2d Lieut., glanced shot on leg; Privates James Holohan, killed; Wm. Condon, shot through right lung (died April 7); Wm. Swaddell, bladder, mortally, shot through right thigh; C. A. Bellknop, shot through left eye; Daniel Carbury, shot through calf of left leg; Patrick Sweeney, glanced shot near temple; Cornelius Hagherty, shot through right hand; Matthew Casson, shot through left shoulder. Killed, 1; wounded, 8, including 1 officer; missing, none.—Total, 9—157.
SUMMARY.—Killed, wounded, missing, officers and men of 18th Regular Louisiana Volunteers, C. S. A., during the battle of the 6th and 7th April, 1862:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Major.....	0	1	0	1
Capt. Commissary.....	0	1	0	1
Company A.....	5	12	2	19
Company B.....	0	6	2	8
Company C.....	0	3	7	10
Company D.....	4	10	7	21
Company E.....	2	10	6	18
Company F.....	1	9	7	17
Company G.....	4	6	8	18
Company H.....	1	12	7	20
Company I.....	2	10	3	15
Company K.....	1	8	0	9
	20	88	49	157

DR. CHS. LANGENBECKER,
Surgeon, 13th Regt. Lou. Vols., C. S. A.

EIGHTEENTH LOUISIANA REGIMENT.
Names of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Battle of Shiloh, on the 6th and 7th of April, 1862:—
COMPANY A.—Corporal C. C. Gaudin, wounded, missing; Arthur Sheriot, wounded, missing; E. Lambert, missing; J. Brady, slightly wounded; Corporal J. Schexneider, slightly wounded; F. Donaldson, slightly wounded; J. Desroches, slightly wounded.
COMPANY B.—Lieut. C. D. Bullard, wounded, missing; Sergt. T. Dubourdin, missing; Martin Dillon, missing; E. Lurio, missing; Rodolph Deshotel, missing; R. T. Gardine, missing; Hilarie Hilde, missing; Adolphe Marks, missing; Emile de Meche, missing; Michael Prudhomme, missing; K. W. Scott, missing; Louis Vanhille, missing; Felix Wartelle, missing; Oliver Moran, missing; Adolphe Lastrappe, wounded slightly; A. G. Lastrappe, wounded slightly; Lucien Joubert, wounded slightly; Thorne Dupuchan, wounded slightly; Alex. Gnidry, wounded slightly; Christoval Bellard; Thelis Gnidry, wounded slightly; D. L. Godeau, wounded slightly; Marcel Maboux, wounded slightly; B. S. Mudd.

COMPANY C.—Capt. J. D. Wood, missing; J. A. Kille, missing; J. T. Reid, missing; J. H. Reid, missing; T. Harrison, missing; T. C. Rachee, missing; H. C. Goodman, missing; C. M. Case, missing; N. T. Galtien, missing; M. McClaughlin, missing; M. Procelle, missing; Ovide Ray, missing; J. E. Sers, missing; Adolphe Sers, missing; J. N. Rachal, missing; 1st Lieut. Emile Cloutier, wounded slightly; A. Auty, wounded slightly; H. Alexander, wounded slightly; P. Broset, wounded slightly; F. Hertzog, wounded slightly; T. H. Oliver, wounded slightly; C. A. Payne.

COMPANY D.—Lieut. Dudley Ayre, severely wounded; Sergt. E. R. Field, slightly wounded; Corp. G. Howard, slightly wounded; Corporal T. J. Stansbury, slightly wounded; James Brannon, slightly wounded; P. Batman, slightly wounded; J. O. Chery, missing; T. Coleman, missing; E. Daunt, missing; M. Fletcher, wounded; Pat Hallery, wounded; Thomas Foley, missing; W. Hotel, missing; E. Rahoe, missing; T. Meyers, wounded; W. P. Mooney, missing; J. Munch, missing; M. Nolan, missing; W. P. Reiley, slightly wounded; P. H. Sutter, missing; J. W. Shorocks, missing; Phil Soigne, missing; L. Stansbury, missing; J. Fitzly, wounded; John Walsh, missing, and returned since report; James Wilson, missing; John White, wounded; B. Limmernann, wounded; Sergt. A. A. Crawford, slightly wounded.

COMPANY E.—Lieut. E. Lebusf, missing; Sergt. E. Landry, killed, missing; Sergt. C. Melancon, wounded slightly; Corporal A. Trepagnier, wounded, slightly; S. Loris, killed; E. Brand, wounded; L. Mine, wounded, missing; J. Heydel, wounded, missing; P. Phelan, wounded slightly; Leon Burnel, wounded slightly; G. Hymel, wounded slightly; C. Letalle, missing; A. Melancon, missing, but returned since report.

COMPANY F.—Lieut. O. Broussard, wounded; Corporal P. Martin, killed; Privates A. Broussard, D. Broussard, P. Constantin, C. Cotter, A. Murr, J. C. Mounier, J. McGahey, O. Brasseur, L. E. Mounier, killed; Corporal W. G. Butcher, Privates J. Durie, C. Bernard, T. Hebert, wounded, missing.

COMPANY G.—Capt. J. K. Gourdain, Lieut. Gautraux, Sergt. R. Savon, Corporals Thibodaux, V. Knobok, Privates D. Boudraux, W. Burk, J. Delany, W. Geodray, M. Ledet, A. Legume, J. Badoux, A. Vedros, F. Aueoia, slightly wounded; Privates P. Bannon, W. Bourgeois, A. Boudraux, A. Cheramie, J. B. Falgout, G. Girvir, T. Guidry, T. Guillotte, M. A. Danton, N. Fymel, J. Leonard, J. B. Guillote, A. Lombas, W. White, missing; A. Abadie, J. Brodyen, J. A. Devron, D. L. McVerse, V. Paris, E. Rouvert, killed.

COMPANY H.—Capt. H. Huntigton, Lieut. W. H. Newton, slightly wounded; Privates J. Brohen, P. Keigrou, G. O'Keefe, J. Maguire, L. McCormack, J. Noonan, J. Crossan, H. E. King, missing; Privates P. Goffney, L. Dimeraville, R. Malrey, P. J. Murphy, wounded; Privates A. Foray, D. Gleason, J. McNamee, C. Gleason, wounded, missing; Privates P. Hughes, C. Keane, J. Mehan, C. McMullin, J. Newman, T. Aglo, J. Quinlan, M. Burnas, W. Cody, J. Crowley, P. Kenny, M. McCoy, missing.

COMPANY I.—Capt. J. Collins, wounded slightly; Lieut. J. M. Young, Sergt. C. Friel, missing; Sergt. L. Braux, slightly wounded; Corporal J. Watson, missing; Private G. Brown, killed; Privates A. Avrel, A. N. Anderson, P. Dooley, W. Headon, V. Schreiber, E. Prave, F. P. Upton, J. Watson, missing; Corporal Young, Privates P. Connors, D. Cleany, J. Carroll, C. Fredericks, G. L. Hayne, J. O'Connor, slightly wounded; Privates T. Cushman, W. Pierce, J. A. Deguan, J. J. Payan, seriously wounded; Private J. E. Coulon, slightly wounded.

COMPANY K.—Capt. L. Lastropes, missing; Lieuts. J. G. Hayes, W. Prescott, Private V. S. Bourke, slightly wounded; Privates E. D. Daigle, F. Jooner, killed; Privates W. Deraner, A. Wells, missing; Privates M. White, A. Lee, J. Meldrum, and L. Dejean, slightly wounded.

Losses in the Regiment called :—

GARDE D'ORLEANS (ORLEANS GUARD)

At the Battle of Shiloh.

KILLED.—V. Sobit, S. Gerard, L. Forestier, E. LeBlanc, B. Martel, G. Toree, S. Archinard, D. Conturie, P. Dubauchel, Schrempf, A. Gallot, A. Fleury, J. B. Jagnin, C. Boongard, A. Lapaigne, P. Rourke. WOUNDED.—Octave Forstall, T. Arnaud, L. A. Goelland, E. Nalbetat, B. Lavien Delone. WOUNDED AND MISSING.—J. Moreno, P. A. Vienne, P. Gandel, Opendenager, C. Philippi, J. A. Rash, E. Robin, C. Bromer, P. A. Lacroca, Cararor, P. L. Dieloact, J. Dalhonde. WOUNDED, AND ON THEIR WAY HOME.—V. Prados, J. C. Coiron, T. Bienvenno, G. Bryant, Forestees, W. Forestall, R. A. Hebrard, E. Hernandez, G. Pilot, P. Indice, L. Menard, A. D'Heberant, C. F. Labarre, F. Perey, T. Dubois, A. G. Romain, T. Arnaud, E. S. Audlar, E. Arceneau, H. Boisblanc, H. De Mabry, C. Diaro, L. E. Fazende, L. A. Suidard, L. Gregoire, E. Jordan, J. Lepebore, E. Lafour, Paul Daron, Marine, P. Lacoste, Wolcart, E. Villavaso, H. Franchet, P. Sarrazier, H. Farriat, Calery, J. Thibodeaux, L. B. Delahoussaye, C. Gessler, E. Robert, H. Hertzog, E. Ruffier, E. Dalinage, C. Sertron, P. Rabineau, C. Broupard, S. Bienreno, T. O. Champagne, J. Guillebran, J. H. O'Brien, C. Levoir, B. Carclier, A. Witty. MISSING.—P. Leife, C. Carzean, P. J. Lefebvre, F. Marcotte, A. Poche, L. Villaraso, F. Brugier, E. Fagot, J. Alexander, A. A. Fuesher, L. Schmidt, A. Dicoast, H. David, A. Patin—total 87. Dr. M. Guion, Major Domonteil, and H. Pitot will attend the wounded down the river.

The 1st Louisiana went into the fight with 450 men and 35 officers. The total killed was 50 men and 3 officers; wounded, 18 officers and 164 men, and 40 missing. The wounds are frequently quite severe, but few are dangerous. No amputations, it is believed, will be necessary.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

MOBILE, April 30, 1862.

DEAR T.—I wrote you a hasty scrawl on the 19th of last month, and sent it by a vessel running the blockade. Being somewhat doubtful about its ever reaching you, I take advantage of this most excellent opportunity, and send forward another memento of my remembrance.

Things are in a sad state here. The Federal gunboats are in front of New Orleans. The city must be surrendered or shelled, and we, of course, are looking for these most unwelcome intruders in our own waters. Many families have moved to the interior; others are determined to remain and defend their homes. We are among the latter, and will on no account leave unless

the city is bombarded. You have, doubtless, heard of the late battle at Shiloh, near Corinth, Mississippi. The Federals say they "gained the victory," though we drove them to their gunboats on the first day, slept in their camp at night, and on the second day, though they had large reinforcements, it was only a drawn battle. No better proof need be named, than that we still hold our position at that point. A very large force is collecting there. In a few days, a second and more bloody battle must take place—a battle that must probably decide the fate of Tennessee. So many from Mobile are there that we feel deeply anxious about the result. May God be with us, for our cause is certainly just. We lost many from here in the engagement of the 6th and 7th—General Gladden, Robert Armistead, Emile Herpin, Young Ravisses, Spear, Skates, Burns, Jones, Marshall, son of W. P., and many others with whom you were probably unacquainted. Zach. Deas was wounded. John Scott was at Gladden's side when he fell. He and Captain Ketchum were only slightly hurt. Oh, T—, this is such a fearful strife; My heart almost ceases to beat when I hear of the outrages offered our people. The Northern army have the advantage of us in everything *except genuine courage*; our advantage in this cannot be doubted. Our men march into battle with a simple covering of cloth, or homespun, to meet a force clad in *breast-plates of steel*. This is no fabrication got up to excite sympathy, but a veritable fact. We have any number of these Yankee courage-preservers, taken from the persons of wounded prisoners now in our hospitals. The Federals admit they lost 20,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. 2300 of the latter passed through here on their way to the interior—Louisiana and Mississippi were similarly honoured. General Prentiss grew so insolent while here as to say, "There were no honest men in the South, and the women were all prostitutes." Mr. Files, who had charge of him, warned him to make no more such offensive remarks, and told him "His being a prisoner alone saved him from such chastisement as he deserved." It is a wonder to me he was not hung upon the nearest lamp-post, for we have borne so much insolence and outrage that our forbearance is almost exhausted. You must not think, from the fall of New Orleans, or any other seaport city, that we are conquered. No, my dear friend, we are further from it than we were six months ago. We have no navy to compete with their formidable mortar-fleets and numerous gunboats. But just let them meet us in *fair fight*, or an open field, and we will prove our ability to accomplish what we have undertaken.

The Federal boats which passed up the Tennessee River were in search of cotton, which they offered to pay for, assuring the planters, "if they refused to sell, they would take it by force." This threat has doomed our staple to the flames wherever they approach it. 10,000 bales were burned in New Orleans upon the levee, as the fleet came up. The Mississippi River must be quite sweet, from the vast quantity of sugar thrown into it, and the frogs are no doubt fattening upon the molasses which is running through the streets into the swamps in the rear of the city. There is much, very much, I would like to tell you, but must be brief, as I am busy. Your house is shut up, everything, so far, safe. The negroes are all well. Henry lives with —, his wife keeps house for herself. Henry has had an illness, but is getting over it. Gilbert does nothing that I know of. Nancy and the old mamma look well. Everything is very high here, dry goods scarce, bacon 40 cents per pound. Of course your house cannot be rented—scores stand empty in the city.

My eldest brother was badly wounded at Shiloh; the younger one is at Manassas. Without having said one half I wish to, I must conclude, as the steamer leaves for Savannah at once. Pray for us, dear T—, and if your sympathies are with us, which I cannot doubt, pray for our cause.

MOBILE, May 2.

It is hardly possible for you people in Europe to know what is really going on in our country, much less to form a correct opinion of the spirit or animus of the people of the South. European ideas, opinions, and criticisms are sadly at fault on the subject.

The London Times has occasionally approached the truth nearer than any other journal which has come to view, for thus far we have received intelligence from abroad pretty regularly.

Let me say to you that, in my humble opinion, the war has only just begun in earnest on our side. At the commencement of the struggle there was a seeming listlessness among our people, to be accounted for from a looking for foreign intervention. That idea has been got rid of now, and foreign countries are seldom alluded to—the change is a very marked one. I think the vote on Gregory's motion in Parliament, together with the tone of the French Emperor's speech, had a deal to do with this change, and which I consider a good thing for our country; for if the South is to be independent, let her make herself so from beginning to end! Our people are therefore alive to their work, and are in earnest; and the only business—and I might almost add pleasure—is to war against our enemies, to win or die in the struggle for constitutional liberty!

Do not allow yourself to think for one moment that, should every border town and seacoast place—and which, after all, is only another portion of border territory—be taken possession of by the enemy, that that would end the struggle. We expect them to occupy those places; the occupation of them by the enemy may incommode us, it is true, but they are not essential to our national existence just now. The inhabitants of the border and seacoast cities desert them on the occupancy of them by the Federals, and leave them nothing to

profit by; they neither associate nor trade with them, and they are compelled, at great expense of men and means, to keep possession. Meanwhile, everything valuable to the enemy is destroyed, and the strength of the South is concentrating itself for active and earnest action. The vast interior is able to support a large population, and the enemy has not been able to advance from any point where his gunboats are. Their journals are filled with the most astounding falsehoods, in so much, that if the Southern people had the time to spare, they would not attempt to trouble themselves to correct them for the benefit of outside nations. I will just give one example. The Battle of Shiloh is claimed by the Federals as a victory. On the first day's fight the Confederates captured very nearly all their artillery (this some of their journals admit) during the night the Federals were reinforced; however, the result of the two days' fighting was our capturing some four or five thousand prisoners, and a retention of a portion of their artillery; a loss on their side of about 12,000 to 15,000 men, and a heavy loss on our side. The two forces were estimated as follows:—35,000 Confederates, against 40,000, reinforced to 50,000, Federals. Some estimates of the latter have been made at 85,000. I can hardly believe it. Now, how much farther have they advanced, and what have they gained?

New Orleans was evacuated on the approach of the Federal vessels, which steamed past the forts below the city, but their transports with troops are, up to this writing, held in check by the forts. The fall of the city will make an impression, no doubt, on your side, but we do not let it annoy us as much as you might suppose. What cotton was there was burnt before the city was surrendered, together with other articles which might be available to the enemy.

The recent address of General Beauregard, together with the general resolution passed by the Confederate Congress on the subject of destroying cotton, will test the earnestness of the Southern people in their cause. I again beg to impress upon you not to form any opinion of a surrender of our struggle, even under what might appear, at your point of view, a *serious disaster*. When our people shall not be able to form large masses, then they will go into a partizan war, and other methods, which will make the Government of the United States rue the day they began this war.

The writer had the best opportunities for conversing and being among the prisoners taken at Shiloh. They were men from the Western States, and fine looking soldiers. They admitted that our young fellows fought them, to use their own words, "not like human beings, but more like tiger cats; there was no getting away from them, they flew at us like tiger cats." "They fought well, and no mistake; they gave us h—." We treated them kindly. They are tired of the war; they will not stand the war tax, they say, in those States.

Tell our friends in Europe to keep up a good heart, and never to despair of the Southern Confederacy.

MOBILE, May 3.

One thing is sure, that if the *yellow fever*, or other sickness of summer, does not decimate the enemy, *they will suffer by other means*. We are all going to avail ourselves of the new Act of Congress—for partizan and scouting, so much for arms, so much for horses, &c., taken from the enemy; of course, nothing is offered for the killing of the Federal owners! I am of opinion, they are going to have a hard time of it this summer, "down South."

You have no idea of the strong feeling, which has newly broken forth to resist the Lineolnites, and which animates, not only the men and boys, but the women! I really believe they would fight, if they knew how. Like an india-rubber ball, the harder knocked down, the higher it rises; so these Southern people seem to be acted upon in their seeming reverses. The land everywhere is planted in grain. The Yankees are disappointed by the destruction of cotton and other property at New Orleans. Yes, sir, every bale of cotton will be burnt sooner than let them get possession of it. We are preparing for a long and bloody war. Subjugate or conquer the South, they can never do; if they should, it would be at the cost of their own existence as well as ours.

This will be, I expect, the last opportunity I shall avail myself of for a long time, as the defence of our homes and country now alone absorbs all our thoughts, our business, and occupation.

Mobile will not be abandoned without a fight, and if the enemy succeeds, they will only come ashore to a deserted and forsaken city, and will not dare to venture far off from its suburbs.

The following letter was written by an English lady residing in West Florida, and although it has been some time on its way here, and was written prior to the late Federal reverses before Yorktown,—at Williamsburgh, on James River,—and in the West, it may be still of sufficient interest for publication.

W,

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

—WEST FLORIDA.

DEAR FRIEND,—Before the war I was engaged to correspond for a London magazine, and have sent many contributions by various channels within ten months. Probably they were out of date by the time they arrived, or were found congenial to English prejudices.

It is no interested motive, beyond wishing to return home, and know that the war will cease, that prompts me to write for the South. I am detained here amidst privation, danger, great

anxiety, and suspense; supporting myself by teaching, and running the risk of losing all I possess at the North, because I cannot communicate with my lawyer there—and leaving my aged mother in sorrow and care in England.

I often wonder at the strange neutrality of England, which denies her subjects here, the opportunity of communicating with their friends in the mother country; and I must speak and exclaim against the harshness and injustice of our lot, and the wonderful pertinacity with which my country voluntarily blinds herself to the affairs of the Southern Confederacy. I wish I could and might write for the papers now, that England could, at least, know as much of the South as of the North. It seems only a cruel mockery for her to say, "The South must prove herself victorious in arms before she is acknowledged," while she is blockaded and prevented from supplying herself with the means of warfare, except by the arrival of a cargo which, perchance, occasionally runs the blockade. The Southern people have never been a manufacturing people; but now factories, foundries, mills, and resources of all kinds are springing, and have sprung, into action with astonishing rapidity; but even with these, how can she compete with the North, and its open ports and overwhelming population? * * * What a horrid war the North is now waging with powerfully-armed flatboats penetrating into every river and creek, and, at the distance of two or three miles, shelling towns, and cutting down small bands of poorly-armed soldiers, who can only bring against them a few home-made field-pieces and experimental ammunition. Surely my country, England, will never permit this savage and revengeful invasion—these horrid massacres to continue! Surely she will never purchase a bale of cotton procured by vile persecution and robbery—the means now made use of by the North! * * *

"A woman has no right to interfere in politics; what can she know about Government?" you in England may exclaim. But here we are all politicians; everyone must be concerned with what is going on around us. To remain *neutral* here is impossible. I have spent several years in the North, and cannot number fifty people for whom I can feel unlimited respect. I have lived two years in the South, and, though not blind to the weak points and slowness of the Southerners, must confess them an honourable, liberal, truth-loving, and humane people, and religious too. You meet with no "isms" nor "ists" here. They attend their little country churches, and worship God in a simple, primitive manner, and act like Christians towards each other. One is struck just now with the devotional and submissive tone of the public papers—while in one paragraph you find the people urged and encouraged to renewed exertions to atone for the late defeats, you find in another incentives to piety, humility, and a Christian course. How different from the exultant, deceptive descriptions published at the North! * * *

I enclose a few scraps from a variety of Southern papers to show how vain and futile will be the endeavour to subjugate this people. How terrible of Christian Europe to permit the devastation of such a promising territory, and the massacre and sacrifice of so many of its inhabitants?

I entreat you to pardon my enthusiasm, and if there is any means open to enable me to correspond with any of the English newspapers, I hope you will recommend me. My long suffering and experience here will certainly enable me to communicate much useful information.

Yours, &c,

CATHERINE.

NORFOLK, May 18, 1862.

* * * * *

Beauregard has given the Yankees three sound drubbings, the last of which was a terrific slaughter. Johnson has been victorious at West Point; and at Williamsburg, Stone Wall, Jackson was victorious over Banks; and it proved a second Bull Run.

The naval hospital, the academy, all the public, and many of the private buildings, have been seized for their wounded. At the naval hospital alone there are over 800.

Our people are unshaken and unanimous in their loyalty, though bribes and threats are alike used by the Federals to induce perjury among us. No one could be found to fill the public offices. The Federals offered 3500 dollars to the postmaster, 1000 dollars to each of his clerks, 200 dollars a month to an express agent, and 4000 dollars to a collector. When offered to the citizens they were rejected with the most insulting answers.

The Yankee troops are behaving very badly. They have broken into stores, emptied the contents, and when the merchants ask for redress the Provost-Marshal answers, "take the oath, and we may remunerate you after the war."

Because Mr. Wood, a butcher, who has, for many years, had the Government contracts for the victualling of the navy, refused to contract for the provisioning of the Federal troops, they seized 180 head of his cattle, and the next step, the Provost-Marshal says, will be to allow no meat to be sold excepting to loyal citizens, which means those who perjure themselves by taking an infamous oath.

Shortly after taking command here, General Wool assembled the Councilmen and asked them whether the citizens were loyal. Mr. G. W. Cump replied, "Yes, they are, truly and unalterably so, as loyal as the people of New Orleans." General Wool turned away without remark, but a bystander heard him mutter to himself that he would soon teach the Councilmen and the citizens a different meaning of loyalty. He has not taught any of us yet, neither man nor woman.

Foreign Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 23, 1862.

Halleck's army is now directly in front of Beauregard, and on the 21st there was continued skirmishing along the entire line; both armies are suffering from sickness, and the ranks are daily thinning. It would appear impossible that the impending battle could be much longer delayed; but since the publication of the order for the expulsion of all the army correspondents from Halleck's army our accounts are very meagre.

There is still considerable speculation as to the probability of the evacuation of Richmond without any battle; I am prepared to hear of such a result. I can see so many important reasons to induce the authorities of the Confederate Government to adopt this movement; because, beyond the *prestige* of the name, Richmond is of no more value to the military organization of the Confederates than any other point. The principal reason for my doubts of the intended evacuation is, the presence of the army fifty miles north of Richmond which keeps off McDowell; and then, by vigorous movements, Jackson has forced back Banks away up to Strasburg, which is 150 miles north-west of Richmond, and is a retrograde movement of nearly sixty miles; whilst Fremont has been compelled to retire about the same distance, so that neither of these columns,—Fremont's, Banks', or McDowell's—containing, probably, a total of not less than 140,000 men, are at this moment able to assist in the slightest degree in the demonstration of McClellan. As to his force, it is variously estimated; but it is my impression, from all information that I can obtain, that it does not exceed 120,000. Against this army, I should suppose the Confederates have been able to concentrate about 75,000, composed, I believe, of the best drilled, best equipped, and most determined spirits of the Confederate forces, commanded by Johnston, Lee, and Magruder; and, no doubt, if a battle is fought, Davis will be in person on the field.

It will be a terrific contest, as defeat to McClellan will be annihilation. The warm weather is already telling most seriously upon the Federal soldiers, and it is estimated, in reliable quarters, that the loss to the army from sickness and other causes is not less than a *brigade* each day. This weakness, it is now said, has caused the recent retrograde movements of Banks and Fremont, and the necessity of taking Pope from the Missouri to join Halleck, and has compelled Mitchell to abandon all his North Alabama operations, and likewise unite with the commanding-general; the necessity, therefore, of additional troops has become so manifest, that it is said there has been a quiet call made upon the various Governors for 100,000 men. Already notices have been issued in some of the States. I think, under existing circumstances, the recruiting will be far more difficult than it was six months ago. Northern men have a holy horror of the Southern climate in summer; for which they have good reason.

The accounts from New Orleans represent the distress for provisions as very great, and there was very little coming in from the country. A great many vessels were loading with provisions at New York. *No cotton or sugar was permitted to be brought into the city by the railroads*, and all river communication had ceased.

We hear that the Federal naval forces have proceeded up the river as far as Vicksburg; and, it is possible, that they will go up to Memphis. Arrangements have been made for the destruction of all the cotton or other produce that could not be carried away.

There is a report that Fort Wright had been evacuated, and that the Confederates now occupy Fort Randolph, a position about ten miles below, whose natural advantages are much greater than those of Fort Wright, and one of the best points of defence in the river. Unless the Federals can reduce these fortifications, they can obtain no supplies from St. Louis or the West, and New Orleans will be in a terrible position for want of food.

There is a statement, but not yet substantiated, that General Butler has seized the Canal Bank and another bank, and also took from the person of the Consul of the Netherlands the key of a bank vault containing 800,000 dollars, which had been transferred by the Citizens Bank to the house of Hope and Co., of Amsterdam. And further, that he had seized and closed the French and Spanish Consulates. There is great difficulty in obtaining, thus far, any veritable news from this place, but in a few days the truth must be disclosed, and we shall know exactly the condition of things. Evidently, however, the entire city is hostile to the Union cause, and the Government seeks in vain for the expected feeling which was to be developed so soon as the Federal flag was planted on the public buildings.

The whole population feel and act like a conquered

people, who are only restrained by the pressure of a military force; and if the interior be truly represented, it is in vain that the Government can hope for any resumption of commercial relations. They may buy Northern provisions to avert starvation, but nothing beyond that will be done; at least, from the evidence now before us.

The weather has become exceedingly warm. This is quite unusual so early in the season; and, judging from this, it must be terrible in New Orleans and all other Southern latitudes.

I enclose a slip from the New York *Picayune*:—

Office of the *Picayune*, Tuesday evening,
May 6, 1862.

"We hear of some sales of tobacco, comprising, it is stated, from 300 to 400 hogsheds, and said to be at 9 to 10 dollars, but we have been unable to get any definite information in relation to it. We also learn that some small bales of cotton, which were not burned, in consequence of being held on British or European account, have changed hands within a day or two, but none of the particulars have been reported. These are the only indications within our notice of a movement in any branch of trade. The situation of the business community is unchanged. The apprehension of being compelled to sell to the invaders, or having their goods seized, deters many from reopening their stores, and the retail trade appears to be mainly confined to provision dealers and grocers. The counting-rooms of factors and merchants are generally open, and so are the banks, which continue to receive and pay over their counters Confederate treasury notes. If the Federal commander abide by the terms of his proclamation, we can see no good reason why trade should not be resumed, at least among our own citizens. There are thousands who are willing to receive currency for goods and in liquidation of debts, and probably as many who have the currency to spend, but both stand aloof, and nothing is done. In this connection we would refer our readers to the advertisement of parties who offer to sell their merchandise and property at reasonable prices for Confederate notes."

PARIS, June 9, 1862.

The treaty I previously alluded to (as having been passed between the United States and Mexico is now known to be a *fait accompli*). Messrs. Jurien de la Graviere and Dubois de Saligny have addressed to President Juarez a protest against any and all treaties having for object the pledge of any portion of the Mexican territory, and the Baron Mercier has equally notified President Lincoln that, the treaty concluded between himself and the President of Mexico, on the 28th of April last, being in flagrant opposition to all principles of international law, would be regarded by his Government as null and void.

The fact that the negotiations relative to this treaty were carried on by Mr. Seward in presence of the invitation made by France to the United States to join the Mexican expedition, and that it was perfected, since the landing of the French troops at Vera Cruz, is very significant. It shows plainly that President Lincoln has no intention whatever of giving up the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and that his Administration covets more than ever the final possession of Mexico. It indicates also that the Cabinet of Washington has determined to defy France itself, notwithstanding the kindness bestowed upon it by the Emperor.

It is currently reported that the Bureau of the Corps Legislatif, highly incensed at this course of the United States, and at the infamous treatment which the French Consul of New Orleans is said to have suffered at the hands of General Butler, are preparing a petition praying the Emperor to put a stop to the numerous acts of piracy committed in the West India seas by the officers of the Federal navy against the French merchantmen; and to check the arrogant attitude of the United States, which, in their opinion, can but imminently endanger the peace and general tranquility of Europe.

But what is it that has so developed all the vices inherent to Yankee nature—vanity, self-conceit, arrogance, cruelty and avarice—that all sentiment of self-respect and dignity has disappeared from the national councils of the United States? What is it that has blindly led the Washington demagogues to ruthlessly overthrow the free Government of their ancestors, to enthrone in its stead ruffianism, pillage, carnage, and slaughter? What is it that has so suddenly transformed that once proud people into humbled and cowed varlets of the *Yankee Nero* who dishonours the White House with his presence? It must be clear to all sober minds that the Yankees have become the docile tools of a supernatural power which is working their destruction and perdition through their own iniquitous hands. *Quos celi perdere Jupiter dement.*

But who is it that has so infuriated them upon the true worth of their national strength, that they now presume to bid defiance to civilized Europe? Read the newspapers which have never ceased to be devoted ad-

herents to the French monarchy of 1830, and see how they rejoice at the troubles which they think the Mexican expedition pregnant with. Let anyone observe the mischievous smiles of the Orleansists, and it will be no difficult matter for him to detect the working of the Princes of Orleans upon the Lincolnite Administration.

Scattered in England, Spain, and America, the Princes of Orleans, faithful to the traditions of the Bourbon blood, are now pulling the wires which they believe capable of injuring the popularity of the Imperial dynasty. Regardless of consequences, they have, no doubt, promised to Lincoln the aid of Spain and England against France, their own country; and already dream for their native soil the possible return of 1815. But until their selfish, ambitious, and unpatriotic aspirations be for ever thwarted by the powerful genius of Napoleon III., what is the position of the Princes of Orleans?

Driven from the throne of their ancestors, the fallen and degenerate Bourbons wander, like the hero of Cervantes, in quest of military fame, without regard for the principles to which they lend their powerless and ungrateful sword.

Fighting in Italy in defence of liberalism, in America they are found helping despotism and vandalism to smother liberty, freedom, and civilization. But if, as an excuse for forgetting even their own personal dignity in becoming mere snalturns under a Yankee general, it was pleaded in their behalf that they were seduced by the captivating power of humanitarian doctrines, it may be asked, why should one of them, the head of the family, the brother-in-law of the Emperor of Brazil, leave that more natural channel for the exercise of his philanthropic propensities, to join his nephews in America, and become a cool spectator of the flowing blood of those who, sympathizing with the political misfortunes of the Duke of Orleans, accorded him a cordial greeting, offered him a home, and alleviated the exile of his father by a lavish and generous hospitality?

Indeed, it looks as though a merciless fatality continually leads the Bourbons in the very path which must exclude them from all hearts, and estrange them for ever from their own native soil. France will not readily forget, much less forgive, their gratuitous participation in the fall of a great city, bearing their once honoured name, and which was crimsoned with the blood of the descendants of their own great progenitor.

Their plans, already foiled in Europe, will meet with the same fate in America. A nation which has given birth to such patriots as Mayor Brown, of Baltimore; Mayor Monroe, of New Orleans, and Messrs. J. Teakle Wallis, T. Parkin Scott, Charles Howard, T. Key Howard, and George P. Kane, of Maryland; such a nation, when fighting under such a leader as Jefferson Davis, is not to be conquered even with the aid and influence of foreign princes.

If there is a class of men now on earth to whom the appellation of martyrs is applicable, it is certainly that noble, self-sacrificing, indomitable band of patriots from the State of Maryland, who, up to this hour, are held as prisoners at Fort Warren, in the State of Massachusetts.

Illegally arrested, cruelly persecuted, malignantly and falsely accused, these gentlemen, after an arbitrary captivity of six months, are now offered their liberty on terms such as every one of them would at any time have indignantly refused to accept.

What right have their oppressors—what right has this Lincoln Administration to demand, as a condition of his discharge from custody, that Mr. Brown, the Mayor of Baltimore, should resign his office of mayor? Mr. Brown had been elected by an overwhelming majority of the people of Baltimore; he had performed his duties with ability, propriety, and strict impartiality. He is a man of unblemished character—a pure and christian gentleman—above all reproach, and, as it has been now discovered by his foul oppressors, above all fear. He will not resign the office entrusted to him by the will of the people, nor will he desert his brethren in confinement with him on any terms which can separate him from them. The cause of one is the holy cause of all, and they are determined to stand or fall together.

History will do justice to this noble band of patriots. A man could not desire a better fate than that his name should be coupled on the same page with theirs.

The *Constitutionnel*, under the title of "Mediation," has published a very remarkable article upon the ultimate consequences of the American war as connected with the European interests. The situation is so masterly and so ably pictured, that I cannot refrain from quoting its conclusion:—"En dehors this mediation so opportune, if we consider the European interests; so legitimate, if we look to the cause of humanity and civilization,—the American war foretells nothing but catastrophes, the end of which the most penetrating mind cannot foresee.

The fall of Richmond would no more advance the American affairs than the occupation of New Orleans. The South drowned in blood, the North plunged in anarchy and bankruptcy, industrial Europe groaning under its daily increasing sufferings—such are the consequences of the continuation of the war. Mediation, on the contrary, in putting a term to this fratricidal war, and consecrating an accomplished separation, without permitting one of the belligerents to destroy the other, and to spread desolation under the pretext of re-establishing peace, would render a most eminent service both to America and to Europe."

Why does not the *Times* muster the courage to join the *Constitutionnel*, to persuade the British Government to adopt also a policy of prompt and energetic mediation? In doing so the *Times* would better serve the interests of civilization, nay, of England itself, than in losing its time, breath, and talent in expatiating over England's loyalty towards the United States, and enumerating the United States' wrongs and ingratitude towards England.

The *Times* ought to know this day, or it will never know it hereafter, that each act of British forbearance, instead of abating the growing hostility of the United States, has but called forth from them other more violent insults and outrages towards England.

By this unaccountable weakness of her Government, England is fast losing her prestige, without even averting the danger of a war with the United States; for, either triumphant or vanquished, the Lincoln Administration will be under the imperious necessity of throwing the American troops in Canada, as the only means of getting rid of their undisciplined soldiery, whose presence in the States would seriously threaten personal security after the restoration of peace.

Each day, therefore, that elapses but increases this danger. The fortune of war seems now to smile upon the Confederates. Banks' army is annihilated and thrown over the Potomac, M'Dowell is by no means in a safe situation, Jackson and Ewell are hotly pursuing the disbanded and flying Federals. Another victory may soon bring the Southern armies before Washington, and enable them to dictate the terms of peace, thus leaving England solitary and alone to face her deadly foe, both in Canada and on the ocean.

From another Correspondent.

PARIS, June 9, 1862.

Since the departure of Said Pacha from Paris, the high official world speaks of nothing but of the favourable impression produced by the Egyptian Prince upon the Emperor and Empress. His liberality far exceeds that of all the kings and princes who visited Paris before him. On taking leave of the court, the Vice-King has remunerated the attentions extended to him with numerous and costly presents, some of which are valued at no less than 80,000 francs.

The precarious position of the Pope has by no means checked the intolerant dispositions of the high clergy of Paris. It has, on the contrary, provoked on their part an act of religious despotism without example in modern times.

The Italians residing in Paris wishing to commemorate the anniversary of the death of the Comte de Cavour by the celebration of a grand Mass, obtained the assent of M. de Nigra, their Minister-Plenipotentiary; raised the necessary funds, and appointed M. de Ferrari to organize this melancholy ceremony. Having called at the archbishopric to solicit the authorization required in such case, M. Ferrari was put off to the next day, when he was informed that a meeting of the vicars, held expressly to deliberate upon the matter, had unanimously decided to refuse his demand.

The clergy of Paris, in forgetting so readily this first command of the Lord, "Love one another," can hardly benefit the cause of the Pope. This denial to the friends of M. de Cavour evidently emanates from the highest quarters, for it is reported in Paris, upon the most undoubted authority, that the question of pronouncing an excommunication in the highest degree against Victor Emmanuel and his adherents, is now under discussion in the council of prelates assembled in Rome. It is further asserted, that the subjects of the King of Italy are to be freed from their oaths of allegiance to the crown.

The Baron de Rothschild has closed the dancing season with a grand and magnificent ball, given in honour of the bride, Madame Salomon de Rothschild, in his splendid villa of Boulogne. Illuminations, fireworks, flowers, decorations, gondolas, sliding on the Seine, which runs through his pleasure-grounds; nothing had been spared to give to this ball the aspect of an oriental and fairy fête.

The *Moniteur*, of the 5th instant, contains an official notification, to the effect that the Mexican ports of Campico and Alvarado are blockaded by the French navy, from and since the 1st day of last May.

Among the despatches brought to the French Government by the last United States' steamer, figures a most remarkable memoir, emanating from the Baron Mercier, the French Minister at Washington. It is said that the reading of this document has produced a deep impression upon the last Council of State held under the presidency of the Emperor. It enumerates, at length, the commercial advantages which France is to derive from its intervention in Mexico, and from the recognition of the Confederate States—the two wealthiest countries of the American continent. I heard, from a pretty good source, that the article of the *Constitutionnel*, of last Sunday, was but the echo of the sentiments expressed in the memoir of the Baron Mercier.

I understand that several petitions have already been sent to the Marechal Randon, Secretary of War, by individuals, praying to be allowed the privilege of opening several theatres in Mexico. One of the fortunate petitioners is said to be on his way to the Mexican capital with all the materials necessary to establish a magnificent circus. The others are soon to follow.

We certainly live in the age of discoveries; one succeeds to the other with such a rapidity that the scientific world is continually kept breathless.

The celebrated naval combat between the Monitor and the Virginia in Hampton Roads has hardly tested the real value of iron-cased ships; the military and naval officers have scarcely made their reports in the all-important case of gunboats versus fortifications, than out comes a new discovery, which is said to completely overthrow all the principles and ideas so far admitted with regard to the invulnerability of men-of-war.

This discovery is due to a mere artisan. This invention dispenses with iron sheeting. All the floating *materiel* now in use can be made available. Instead of burdening the ships with a heavy coat of iron, the inventor assumes to make them thoroughly impervious by the mere application of a thick coat of electro-chemical composition, to which he gives the name of repulsive coating, on account of its peculiar property to paralyze and deaden the shock of projectiles, even of the largest size.

The Duke of Montebello has left for Rome much earlier than was expected; his sudden departure is said to have been caused by the political character which the consistories are assuming.

Since the candidature of the Archduke Maximilian has been abandoned, it is now asserted that Mexico is to be placed under the protectorship of France. Mexico would thus become a sort of French colony. Whatever be the value of the different rumours now in circulation, one thing is certain—staff and topographical officers are daily leaving for Mexico, and orders have been issued from the War Department to several corps to hold themselves in readiness to embark at a moment's notice. Several regiments have also been ordered back from Africa to Brest and Toulon. The answer of Mr. Lincoln to the French Minister at Washington, with regard to the Mexico-American treaty, is presumed to have determined the French Government to ship to Mexico an army sufficiently strong to meet all future emergencies. Since the orders for reinforcements have been given, the recognition of the Confederate States by the Emperor seems to be generally considered as more and more probable. Indeed, some persons believe that it will be officially announced before the adjournment of the Corps Legislatif.

Nous verrons.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY ROTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1862.

An Opportune Moment for
Pacification.

FOURTEEN months ago, the whole North was effervescing with excitement at the sudden danger in which the capital was supposed to be from a rebel *coup de main*. The telegraphic wires flashed over the land appeals for troops, and the Governors of the States culminated proclamations for volunteers to defend Washington. After fourteen months of war, with hundreds of thousands on either side, we have an exact repetition of the same scene. Again the North quakes with alarm for the safety of its capital: again the wires flash appeal for immediate aid of troops: again the Governors of the States issue proclamations to the young men that may still be left behind to take up arms in defence of the seat of Government.

Is this not the time for the North to strike a balance of its losses and gains in the undertaking in which it so rashly engaged? What has been purchased with this frightful outlay of blood and treasure? A precarious foothold, which can be maintained only at the cost of continued victory, in a few border States of divided allegiance, and a few widely remote towns, the possession of which affords no promise of any political or commercial advantage. The main armies of the Confederates are still in the field, selecting their own vantage ground to inflict decisive blows. The main armies of the invaders are in a more critical situation than at any previous time during the war. Their very existence depends on the chances of a battle. After more than a twelvemonth of unparalleled efforts, the North is further from its goal than it was at the beginning. It is weaker in actual strength and recuperative resources; it is weaker in self-confidence, and its energy is rather that of despair than that of hope. It has burdened itself with a debt which it is alike ruinous to pay or to repudiate. It has sacrificed its own liberties in the vain attempt to subjugate those of others; and has undermined its political institutions as effectually as its material prosperity. The first symptoms of exhaustion have appeared, and the commercial barometer indicates, with unerring certainty, that the laws of finance and trade cannot be longer violated with impunity.

At this distance, we can only judge from aggregate results of the progress and prospects of the war. The accounts from the North have long since ceased to be a guide to an intelligent opinion. The accounts from the South, when they do come, come only when the interest felt in any particular event has been transferred to another. It is in the nature of all wars, and especially of a war on so exaggerated a scale, that there should be alternate successes and reverses. Armies advance and retreat according to the exigencies of their positions or strategic combinations, which are not intelligible to the imperfectly informed spectator thousands of miles away. As the North has the exclusive monopoly of furnishing us our periodical quantum of war news, we shall continue to hear of brilliant victories by the Federals, and disgraceful "flights" of the Confederates. Every Northern reverse which cannot be wholly concealed will be

palliated by some Northern success, which needs but a slight foundation in truth, and this it can never be difficult to find on so vast a theatre of operations. Thus, by its own voice, the North will always be proclaimed victorious, always marching onward, though never nearer to the end. It is only by some such lightning flash, as at rare intervals breaks through the darkness, that Europe can obtain a momentary glimpse of the relative position of the combatants. Such a glimpse is afforded by the recent panic at the North. Not that the capital was in any danger, though it soon may be by the defeat of McClellan; but it shows the consciousness of the Northern Government and people of the want of solidity of their past successes and the precarious chances of the future. They feel and are like a chess-player whose opponent is within one move of check-mating him, and whose sole hope is in constantly giving check to that opponent. McClellan and Halleck not only attack the South, they at the same time defend the North. Behind them lies no reserve. No bulwark remains should they be swept away, to stay a retaliatory invasion. To what amount the boasted victories of the North so long as its fortunes are so perilously pendent on the chance of a battle? The additional levy of 50,000 men will not fill up the gaps in the regiments already in the field. Can it hope now to accomplish, with diminished strength and vigour, what appeared hopeless when its energies and credit were unimpaired?

The opportune moment, so often allowed to pass, has now recurred. Europe has it in its power by a single word firmly spoken, to stop the clash of arms. Surely Europe has the right, nay, it is a solemn duty, to speak that word. Let the united voice of the Great Powers say to the Government of Washington, "After fourteen months of sanguinary strife by which we were the patient sufferers, you still tremble for your capital before an enemy whom you represent to us as on the very brink of annihilation. The event has proved, beyond a doubt, that you are not warring against a body of rebels resisting a lawful authority, but against a brave and determined people with the same rights as yourselves, and with the same claims upon our humanity and justice. Humanity revolts at a causeless and resultless war; justice is outraged by the attempt at conquest of one people by another. The Confederate States have won the title to admission into the family of nations. That title you cannot longer dispute, except against the unanimous verdict of all Europe."

There are those who attach sufficient weight to the silly boasts of the Northern press to believe the North mad enough to defy the power of Europe, and challenge her to resort to force. This assumption is not worthy of refutation. The true friends of the North might well pray, and, no doubt, do pray, for an intervention that might stop the country in that headlong career to ruin in which it is powerless to stop itself. There are those, also, who believe that the more complete the ruin of both North and South might be, the more secure would be the peace of Europe. These forget that the true political interests of Europe lie in the formation of two States, each powerful enough to check the other, but its material interests demand the prosperity of both. We have heard the argument advanced that the North would be a more formidable foe if its vast armies were suddenly withdrawn from the South, than if a perfect conquest compelled the expenditure of those armies in a wholesale military occupation. It is suggested in the former case that the North might seek to compensate itself for its Southern losses by the acquisition of Canada. It is a somewhat bold stretch of the imagination to suppose that a government which has just failed in an attempt which no European Power opposed, would follow up that failure by a new attempt upon a territory equally vast and impenetrable, upon a people equally numerous and determined to resist, and against the most powerful monarchy in Europe. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the North dearly cherishes this chimera, and if successful at the South would undoubtedly lose no time in venturing upon the dangerous experiment. But the military strength

of the South has proved itself, despite enormous disadvantages, a fair match for that of the North. With the South for her ally, England need fear nothing for her American dependencies; the more vulnerable these possessions are, the more necessary do they render the only alliance which can permanently ensure them against danger; the more pressing the danger, the greater the reason for seizing the opportune moment to enable the South to form the alliance.

Evacuation of Corinth.

THE War Department at Washington is ingenious and inventive. Every defeat sustained must be counterpoised by a victory; and if a real one is not obtainable, fictitious triumphs are always to be manufactured to order. The army of Halleck was long screened with extraordinary precautions from the inquisitive gaze of the public eye, in the vain hope that the expected disaster in that quarter might be counterpoised by some success in the East. Banks' defeat was known to leading banking firms in London and in Paris by the steamer preceding that which gave the news to the public. Nothing having "turned up" in the East to palliate the reverses there, a sudden change of tactics has become necessary, and it is from the West, from the distrusted army of Halleck, that comes the glorification in which the people of the North are to drown the mortification, and Europe to forget the disgrace, of yesterday's panic for the capital.

Halleck's despatches are proverbial. He reported "Island No. 10 is ours," a full month before the Federal gunboats dared venture within full range of its batteries. He reported the capture of a whole army at that place, with immense warlike stores; when the island had been quietly evacuated, all that was valuable removed or destroyed, and his prisoners numbered a little less than 400 sick and wounded. More recently he reported a naval victory near Fort Pillow, with glorious details, when the Federal fleet had been repulsed, with the destruction of two of its vessels. He now reports a tremendous victory of his own; the Confederate army, with Beauregard at its head, fleeing before his redoubtable presence without striking a blow, and strewing the roads with knapsacks and muskets from mere fright, though no one pursued. Strange that the valiant General does not even know where the fleeing army is, and has no thought of pursuit.

These evacuations are becoming familiar to us. They resemble each other as one egg another egg. They always take place when the Federal commanders have spent months in elaborate siege works, "fortifying as they advance," (*vide* Halleck's own despatches a few days previous to the evacuation becoming known, and McClellan's before Manassas, and afterwards before Yorktown); and when they have thus fortified themselves, ready to fall back within their trenches at the slightest reverse, they suddenly find the enemy "fled," without having given the slightest sign of his intention, or left word of his present whereabouts. His outpost fighting, it is then remembered, had of late become feeble. Strange, that the Federal generals should never have suspected the truth, until days after the retreat had taken place, and the outposts themselves followed the main body. It was so at Manassas, at Island No. 10, at Yorktown; and the event at Corinth proves that Halleck is not more acute than McClellan. Are there, then, no deserters from the Confederate army to betray the important secret—no stragglers to reveal whither the retreat has been directed? Perhaps those knapsacks and muskets which strew the road might indicate the way to Halleck, but he evidently distrusts that sign.

By a perverseness altogether their own, the "rebels" will never fight when the Federals have made up their minds to fight them, and industriously prepared themselves for the deed. So soon as the eye of the North is anxiously bent on a chosen battle-field, so soon as they have cautiously advanced, "fortifying themselves as they advanced," so soon

as the heavy guns have been dragged to the spot, everything is ready for the spring—the mouse is gone,—“fled.” To an impartial spectator it does not appear wonderful that the Confederates should decline battle where victory would be fruitless, and only lead into ambushade; that they should delay their enemy by faint resistance, and evade him when all his preparations are complete, to meet him again on a more favourable ground; these tactics are not new, though they have never before been so successfully executed; but the North always affects on such occasions to go into frantic ecstasies of delight and triumph, and only interrupts its pœans to hurl threats and insults at Europe.

We considered Halleck doomed before; we have now arrived at absolute certainty. Just as a series of Confederate victories followed upon the evacuation of Yorktown, so will a series of victories follow that of Corinth. As in the former instance, the evacuation is the signal that the train is laid, and the match applied.

The Errors of the Past.

DURING its brief existence, it has been the object of this Journal, to the exclusion of many other topics with which we should gladly have shared our space, to prove, not by mere assertions or violent declamation, but by sober argument founded upon incontestable facts, that every motive of self-interest and of public policy combined to make England the friend and ally of the Southern States, that her attitude as a passive spectator of the contest in America was unworthy of her position among the nations of the earth, and that foreign Powers were impatiently awaiting her signal to add their moral and material weight to hers. We believe that public opinion is rapidly approaching, if it has not already ripened into, a concurrence with these views. The most influential of our British contemporaries a few days since spoke in terms of unmistakable significance. We quote from the *Times* of Saturday, 7th inst.

We have, to our own great and heavy loss, to the impoverishment of our revenue, to the crippling of our manufacturing interest, to the grievous want and misery of an innocent and heroic population, maintained between North and South a strict and honourable neutrality. Everybody knows that had we been disposed to interfere we should not have lacked the aid of the most valiant and powerful ally; that the wrong which we did would, for the moment at least, have been attended with the most perfect impunity. Everybody knows that for many years it has been the policy of the United States to compose their domestic difficulties by fastening a series of unprovoked quarrels on England. The Civil War offered us an opportunity to avenge the past and to invest ourselves with ample security for the future. It cannot be denied that it rested with this country to perpetuate the division of America into two Confederacies, and thus, in case of aggression from the one, to provide ourselves with a perpetual ally in the other. Pecuniary interest, resentment for past injuries, and the desire for security against future wrongs, all summoned us to intervene, and the misconduct of an American officer, and the culpable approbation given to his acts by Congress and the Government, furnished us with a complete pretext, according to the morality of the law of nations as hitherto practised and understood. But England seemed to avail herself of any such pretexts, and her moderation has enabled the North to gain those victories which have raised her people from despondency to the highest state of exultation.

The *Times* finds the reasons for the inaction of this country in a generous forbearing to the heavy misfortunes of a kindred people, and takes pride in what it considers the self-denying magnanimity of British policy. It concludes, however:—

We may possibly live to repeat our generosity. We may possibly live to find that our moderation has been displayed towards those who have no power to appreciate it. It might have been wiser to take security for ourselves instead of putting so much confidence in the fairness and good feeling of others. If this fact be established the error is still reparable. The North cannot see that we have done anything to entitle us, we do not say to gratitude or goodwill, but to abstinence from hatred and reviling. A change of policy on the part of this country would very speedily alter their opinion, and convince them of that which they seem now unable to conceive, that they have been treated by England as they never have treated her, and as, if she had thought more of her own interests and less of their misfortunes, she never would have treated them.

It is not our province to question the motives, though to us inexplicable, which have actuated the Government in remaining deaf alike to the appeals of obvious self-interest, and of that “most valiant and powerful ally,” who is even now reiterating his remonstrances against persistence in the same policy. If magnanimity was one of these motives, it seems strangely misplaced and misdirected. That magnanimity, our contemporary admits, has had for its effect to strengthen the strong and to weaken the weak. It has encouraged aggression, and would, but for a firm reliance in God and His justice, have disheartened the victim of that aggression. If the North is a kindred people, so is the South, and if favours could be claimed by that title, the South has a much better one than the North. Great Britain could be magnanimous in forgetting her own interests and declining to resent injuries done to herself, but she cannot be called magnanimous in permitting a great wrong to be perpetuated upon others.

It is strange how wholly the moral considerations involved in this American war have been kept out of the public view. Either the people of the Confederate States are mere riotous disturbers of public peace and order, whom it is a right and a duty to put down by force of arms; or they are a unanimous and determined people, asserting rights which they never forfeited by word or deed, which the British nation has often asserted, and which have never been disputed to any people in modern times. If the former, they should never have been recognized as belligerents, and the whole moral and, if necessary, the material force of Europe, should have arrayed itself on the side of order and of right. If the latter, then the North is engaged in an unholy undertaking, in which, for the sake of humanity and justice, it should be forbidden to proceed. The Great Powers are the constituted guardians of the world's peace. They are the supreme tribunal before which all international causes of right or wrong must be tried in the last resort. Their moral jurisdiction is not bounded by their political frontiers; but they have the right, and it is their duty to interfere to protect the weak, and to restrain the strong from usurpation. A country which confines itself wholly to its own material interests, and neglects this right, abdicates its pre-eminence as a first-class Power. Now, there has not been for 300 years, an international question on which the decision of the Great Powers of Europe has approached so near to unanimity. France, after long waiting for her tardy ally, has already taken the preliminary steps. Prussia and Austria are for once agreed in policy. Russia is ready to follow. England alone, the Power most interested, most competent for a decision, hesitates and retards the others.

It is now said, upon good authority, that the Government at last concurs with those of the other Powers about the necessity of intervention, but still differs as to the time and manner. Further delays, then, are to be interposed, and again they come from England. The errors of the past are thus to be repeated. The often-falsified promises of Mr. Seward are still to outweigh the evidence of facts. The insidious diplomacy of the Washington Government is, for the hundredth time, to prevail over the dictates of common sense and the counsels of all Europe.

The Productiveness of the South.

A CAREFULLY prepared and most instructive paper, under this title, was read before the Social Science Congress, on Monday last, by Mr. John B. Hopkins, of London. We give it elsewhere *in extenso*, with a summary of the discussion which ensued, and the result of which appears to have been a general assent to the correctness of Mr. Hopkins' figures, though not to all his deductions from them.

Mr. Hopkins has evidently studied, with conscientious care, the Census and Trade Returns of the late United States, and the fruit of his labour is a

compilation, within a compendious form, and in striking juxtaposition, of most valuable and important statistics, which go far towards explaining the superhuman efforts of the North to retain within its grasp so invaluable a possession. This is probably the first time that an English audience has heard from the lips of an Englishman the full truth as to the relative position of the North and the South, as contributors to the wealth and grandeur of the American Republic. It had been commonly supposed that the North played the only really important part, and that its feverish energy and untiring activity were the sole causes of the progress which amazed Europe, while the South was considered as an inert and comparatively insignificant appendage.

Mr. Hopkins' undisputed and indisputable facts, which he states without colouring, with the dry mathematical logic of the statistician, prove the truth to be almost the precise opposite of this supposition. He shows that not only has the South furnished the great bulk of exportable productions which made the foreign commerce of the North what it came to be, but that she formed the chief basis of that lucrative internal commerce to which the United States were even more indebted for their material prosperity. He explodes the almost universal error that the South is as dependent upon the North for food, as the North is on her for the cargoes of her ships, and proves, by simple figures, that the Southern States—thanks to a more genial climate, or to a more economical system of labour, or to both—actually produce largely more food per head of its population than does the North, and is an exporter of grain, as well as of cotton, and tobacco, and naval stores.

The South has never been a large direct importer of European goods, because she naturally derived her foreign importations through the same agency which disposed of her exports. To what an enormous extent the North has, by a cunning commercial legislation, supplanted European goods in the Southern market by its own at higher price, we can only conjecture by our knowledge of the wants of a purely agricultural country almost wholly destitute of manufactures. Mr. Hopkins finds in the Census Returns the data for an approximate estimate, which the Trade Returns, devoted to foreign commerce alone, do not adequately afford. The Census proves, in a striking manner, the difference in the vocations of the two peoples. At the South certain trades are almost unknown, which abound in the other section. The number of shoemakers, tailors, hatters, cabinet-makers, and other artisans, is insignificant in the former, and vastly below the needs of the population, judged by known proportions. In the population of the North these crafts are unduly represented, and enormously beyond its own requirements. He therefore concludes, and rightly—as everyone will admit who is practically conversant with the facts—that the North in the past has not only been the general factor and banker of the South, but its tradesman and artisan as well. Hence every class of the Northern population, from the highest to the lowest, has a direct material interest that the South should not become a foreign country in the only sense in which it has not long been so to them.

But it is not to the Northern States of America alone that the South is a source of wealth; the whole of mankind have an interest in its peace and prosperity. Mr. Hopkins directs attention to the fact that in the products of which the South is the principal producer it also enjoys a peculiar excellence over all competitors. Its tobacco is not the most delicate in flavour, yet its flavour is that best adapted to the tastes of the mass of consumers. Tobacco is grown in almost every part of the world, yet every effort to imitate American tobacco, and thus to contest with it the place it now occupies in the world's commerce, has proved futile. Its wheat is the only Transatlantic grain the flour from which can be transported undamaged to tropical countries. The persistent efforts of twenty-five years, and a lavish expenditure in costly experiments, have demonstrated the fact that its monopoly of cotton production is as confirmed in regard to quality as it is in regard to

quantity. Of all these great staples of commerce the South produces an immense surplus over its own wants, and this surplus, Mr. Hopkins rightly argues, enriches not itself alone, but all mankind. Suppose this region, on which nature has so bounteously bestowed her favours to lie waste and unproductive for even a series of years, can anyone point out what great interest of humanity would be the gainer thereby, or which one would not be a loser? Is there a branch of commerce or of industry which would not feel the shock, the chief source of supply of its principal staples being thus suddenly dried up?

Without adverting to the humanitarian aspects of the labour system of the South, Mr. Hopkins throws considerable light upon a question which has often puzzled the political economists. How is it that a country with a system of labour admitted to be the most wasteful can excel all other countries in the aggregate productions of its labour? Mr. Hopkins argues that the economy of consumption more than counterbalances the waste; that slave labour, if not cheaper to the individual employer, is cheaper to the community at large. Where the labourer receives his wages in money, a large non-producing class must act as the intermediary between himself and capital, to bring the necessities of life within his grasp. Slave labour, if it has no other merit, has at least this, that it dispenses with this non-productive class of petty traders in the necessities of life, since the labourer receives his wages in kind, and on the most favourable and economical terms. Besides, the community at large is saved from the burden of pauperism, unknown where the labourer receives according to his needs, and not according to his earnings, and where the sick, the aged, the crippled, the helpless, must be fed and clothed by the same hands which feed and clothe the young and strong. That Mr. Hopkins' idea is not an illusory one, is demonstrated by the rapid progress which the so-called co-operative system is rapidly making in various forms in every country of Europe.

We invite perusal of this paper, as sober and moderate in its statements, reliable in its facts and figures, and sound in its reasoning. Mr. Hopkins deserves the thanks of all who honestly desire the truth, whether it goes with or against preconceived opinions, by his painstaking and well-timed labour.

THE Federals endeavour to conceal the glorious Confederate triumph at Shiloh by asserting that comparatively few prisoners were captured. The number of officers taken is an excellent criterion of the number of men. We presume that Federal officers, like the officers in other services, do not give up their swords whilst they have men to command. First on the list of prisoners is Brigadier-General Prentiss, who said he would dine in Memphis, and has done so. The General was accompanied by quite a nice little corps of brother officers. The Confederates took into safe keeping four colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, three majors, three adjutants, thirty-seven captains, fifty-nine lieutenants, an orderly sergeant, a quartermaster, and a sergeant-major. The list we have summarized is not complete; but still it is large enough to show that the victory of Shiloh involved the capture of a large body of Federal troops.

NONE are so blind as those who will not use their eyes. Some weeks since, when the most absurd rumours were in circulation as to the object of M. Mercier's visit to Richmond, we gave a true and simple version of the affair. As we recited the main incidents upon the highest authority, it is not a matter of surprise that so far our statements should be verified by subsequent revelations; but it is somewhat curious that, in reference to details, and which were to some extent deductions, if not speculations, we were verbally accurate. On the 22nd May we published a leader on "French Diplomacy in America," in which occurred the following passages:—

We have a theory of our own, which seems to us the only one that can make these apparent absurdities intelligible. According

to this theory, M. Mercier acted upon instructions received direct from the Emperor, and not transmitted through the usual diplomatic channels. This would enable M. Thouvenel to reply truthfully to the inquiries which could not fail to be made by the English Ambassador at Paris, that he knew nothing of M. Mercier's object or intentions, and that no instructions had been forwarded to him from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. M. Mercier's report would necessarily go to the same quarter from which his instructions were received.

So far, our theory of the play is consistent with the known characters of the *dramatis personæ*. To apply it to the second act, we must endeavour to borrow a little Scotch second sight. Let us then imagine M. Mercier, having received his instructions, to cast about for a plausible pretence to carry them out. He has an interview with Mr. Seward. With true French candour, he represents to the Federal Secretary of State that Europe begins to entertain great doubts about the speedy termination of the war; that the accounts from the South are unsatisfactory and contradictory; and that he is seriously meditating to ascertain in person what the true condition of the "rebels" is, and what the real policy of their leaders. Mr. Seward, putting the best face on a disagreeable matter, assures the French Ambassador that the Government of the United States can have no possible objection to his giving himself so much unnecessary trouble.

A semi-official Washington despatch has been published, which says:—

Permission has been given to state the facts in regard to the French Minister's visit to Richmond. M. Mercier had no instructions from his Government, nor had it the least knowledge of his intention to go to Richmond. M. Mercier, in conversing with Mr. Seward, expressed his regret that he could not see Richmond, and judge for himself the views and expectations of the insurgents. Mr. Seward said he could go without any objection from this Government; that he wished every foreign Minister would go and see for himself how hopeless the insurrection was.

We were correct in assuming M. Mercier's course of action; and we could hardly have been more precise if we had been present at the interview between the French Minister and Mr. Seward.

As to our assertion that M. Mercier received his instructions direct from the Emperor, we quote the following from the *Savannah Republican* of May 14:—

Various and conflicting are the speculations with regard to the object of the French Minister to the United States in his recent visit to the Confederate capital. From a source higher, perhaps, than any from which the various remarks afloat have been drawn, we learn the following:—

"The visit of M. Mercier to Richmond was at the instance of the French Emperor, and its object was to bring about a pacification between the Confederate States and the United States."

We may further remark that the *Times* looks upon the semi-official article on "Mediation," which has appeared in the *Constitutionnel* as a result of M. Mercier's mission.

IN our notes will be found the text of an order issued by General Butler, licensing the Federal soldiers to treat the ladies of New Orleans as prostitutes if their "words, gestures, or movements" are displeasing to Yankee taste. Language is too poor to adequately stigmatize conduct that has caused a universal thrill of disgust, that degrades humanity, and that would be deemed execrable by savages. Why did General Butler promulgate such an edict? Not to increase the animosity of the South, for he knows as well as we do it needs no stimulus. We can suggest no other motive than the gratification of an insane, fiendish malignity. The Northern press, on the first intimation of the order, denounced it, and we believe the Federals will unanimously condemn the diabolical proceeding. We trust it may be promptly annulled, and its author degraded, for otherwise, it will call for deadly, lasting, and yet sanctified, vengeance on the part of the men of the South.

IN the Paris correspondence, in our last issue, the name of the French translator of Mr. Spence's admirable book, "The American Union," was misprinted. It should have been Mr. Edmond Begouen.

"**THREE** Months in the Confederate Army" will be continued next week. The publication of "The Cruise of the Sumter" is, for the present, unavoidably postponed.

The South in the Social Science Congress.

THE following Paper, by Mr. John B. Hopkins, was read at the meeting of the Social Science Congress on Monday last, in the Sixth Department. Dr. Travers Twiss, the eminent Civilian, presided:—

I believe in this paper I have written nothing but the truth, but I cannot add the *whole* truth. If any Southerners are present, or any persons acquainted with the resources of the South, I shall, doubtless, be accused of grave sins of omission. I unhesitatingly plead guilty. The time I am privileged to address you is necessarily so short that I cannot even allude to many matters having an important bearing on the subject. Still, despite the vastness of my theme, and the imperfectness of my treatment of it, I doubt not I shall be favoured with your earnest attention, seeing that I have to discuss a question which concerns all classes of all communities, but which in a special manner concerns the welfare of English artisans and of English commerce.

The area of the Southern States is equal to 1,094,571 square miles. Putting aside the Border States, now held by military occupation, I may observe that the Confederate States—having an area of 833,144 square miles—are rather more than seven times larger than the United Kingdom. I have heard persons, who, perhaps, were looking at America through her population, speak of the States as though they were comparable to English counties or French departments. Yet surely with regard to their territorial claims to sovereignty there can be no dispute. Alabama and Florida are severally as large as England. Texas is nearly five times as large as England, three times the size of Great Britain, and nearly twice the size of the United Kingdom. The smallest of the States, as to territorial proportions, is equal to an important European kingdom. And let it be remembered that this vast area does not include sterile wastes and arid deserts. The proportion of unprofitable land is unsurpassedly small. The uncultivated lands teem with latent plenty, and only wait for the labour of man to yield abundant harvests.

The population of the Southern States is about fourteen millions. Unfortunately, the census for 1860 has not been published, and therefore I can only give the probable population. Taking the census of 1850, the census of some of the States made since then, and allowing for the usual rate of increase, the estimate exceeds rather than falls short of thirteen millions and a half. I may here observe that the special fecundity of the South extends to the human race. The population of the South increases more rapidly than that of the North, excluding, of course, the hordes of emigrants that are attracted to the latter. The population of the territory under the sway of the Confederate Government, has been variously stated. I estimate it at ten millions and a half, of which rather more than seven millions are whites, and rather less than three millions and a half are negroes. Two hundred millions must be added to the population of the Southern States before it equals in density the present population of the United Kingdom. We marvel at the wealth of the South, yet it is in the infancy of its development.

I need not dwell on the variety of climate in the South. For example, since the commencement of the war, the South has supplied herself with ice, and she can, and does, produce all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life abundantly, and in a high degree of perfection.

It has been supposed, because the South grows so much cotton that she produces little else. It has further been assumed that the South depended on the North for her supplies of grain and other articles of food. These conclusions are completely false, as I propose to show by a reference to the United States' census for 1850, and before doing so, I should remark, that the absolute and relative productiveness of the South has wonderfully increased in the last twelve years.

In 1850, the population of the South was nine millions and a half, and of the North (I include the West), thirteen millions and a half. In that year the South produced grains which constitute food to the value of 307,328,112 dollars; of other produce (not including cotton) 46,305,950 dollars; value of slaughtered animals, 54,398,015 dollars; giving a total value of 408,030,077 dollars. The North and West produced in grains which constitute food to the value of 305,769,963 dollars; that is, 1,557,149 dollars less than the South; but, allowing for the difference of population, the North and West produced of grains which constitute food nearly 50 per cent. less than the South. The consumption per head of bread-stuff's in the North and West is equal to, if not rather in excess of, the consumption per head in the South. What, then, becomes of the surplus of the South, or how is the Northern deficiency supplied? Why, instead of the South being dependent on the North, the latter section receives sufficient from the former to supply its deficiency for home consumption, and to enable it to do a considerable export trade in grain and flour.

Of other agricultural products, the North and West raised, in 1850, to the value of 178,904,527 dollars, being 132,600,577 dollars more than the South, which, even allowing for the difference of population, is a large excess. But observe, that hay is included in this return, of which the Northern and Western production was valued at 127,008,580 dollars, and the Southern at 11,377,846 dollars. At the same time, the number of head of live stock in the South was 40,823,727, and in the other sections, 36,409,134. That is, the value of hay in the North exceeded the value of hay in the South by 132,600,577 dollars, whilst the South had 4,414,000 head of live stock more than the North. Animals in the South do not eat less than in the North, but in the South there is no need to make hay, in consequence of the continued mildness of the seasons and the unceasing verdure. I therefore maintain, hay ought not to be estimated as wealth by the Northern States. The necessity of haymaking is a heavy tax upon Northern labour, which the South escapes. Deducting, then, from both sides the value of hay crops, the agricultural produce (excluding grains which constitute food) of the South (excluding cotton) was 34,426,104 dollars, and of the North and West, 46,303,950 dollars. Correcting these results by population, it makes the return of North and West deficient by about 16,000,000 dollars. The value of animals slaughtered in the North and West was 56,990,237 dollars, being 2,592,222 dollars more than the South. Correcting these returns by population, the North and West show a comparative deficiency of about 21,000,000 dollars. Permit me now to sum up these statements and treat them in the aggregate. The total value of the agricultural products of the South (not including cotton), was 408,030,077 dollars; of the North and West, 541,663,717 dollars, being nearly a dollar per head of the population in favour of the South. But these returns are inaccurate until we have deducted the returns for hay, or allowed an equivalent for Southern grass, that needs neither mowing nor storing. Well, then, less the hay, the returns are;—for the South, 396,652,231 dollars; for the North and West, 409,063,140 dollars, giving for the latter an average of thirty dollars per head, and to the former forty-two dollars per head. The average for the North alone is twenty-four dollars, and of grain which constitutes food only fifteen dollars per head. These figures are, I presume, conclusive. Allow the absurd fallacy that the necessity, the compulsion, to make hay is a source of wealth, and making no allowance for the winter food, the perennial grass of the South, not taking into account the cotton crop, which, in 1859, sold for 233,500,000 dollars, still the South is more productive than the North and West. It is true, for the convenience of transit, the West supplies the South with grain, but the South, to a much greater extent, sends grain to the North.

The North is a manufacturing, trading country; and it is idle to pretend to the character of an agricultural country. The North has not only done the shipping and brokering of the South, but it has been its bootmaker, its hatter, its tailor, its cabinet maker, &c. It has not only been its factor, but its tradesman. The South, of course, has had to pay an import profit; and the Southerners are periodical absentees, and when away from home, are profuse in their expenditure. They have also managed to build 9000 miles of railroad without getting into debt. I think, besides, the productiveness of the South, there is another reason for the rapid accumulation of wealth, despite her extravagance. Slave labour is undeniably the most wasteful of all labour. If white men could be employed on cotton plantations, they would accomplish, at least, twice as much work as negroes, and the work would be better done. A cotton field after being picked by negroes, looks white with harvest, and, I am told by planters, the waste is serious. On the other hand, slave labour is economical in consumption. In the South the remuneration of the labourer does not include the profits of shopkeepers, who are *de facto* non-producers, and stand between the merchant and the consumer. The planter buys his pork, whisky, and tobacco, &c., at the wholesale prices; and in the South, sweet potatoes, melons, and other articles of food, are produced abundantly, on land and with labour, that would otherwise remain unemployed. Slave labour, then, I repeat, is wasteful in production, but economical in consumption, because it does not need or foster a large non-producing class. The establishment of co-operative stores in this country is an attempt to effect a like saving.

The United States exports, in 1859, amounted to 278,392,080 dollars. The following were of Southern origin:—

	Dollars.
Cotton...	161,434,923
Tobacco ...	21,074,038
Rice ...	2,207,148
Naval Stores ...	3,695,474
Sugar ...	196,735
Molasses ...	75,699
Hemp ...	9,227
	188,693,496

Leaving the exports of Northern origin equal to 89,698,584 dollars. That is, with a population nearly 50 per cent. greater, the exports of the North are more than 100 per cent. less than those of the South. If I am asked what becomes of Northern industry, I reply that it finds a market in the South. In 1850, the sales of domestic manufactures to the South exceeded 146,000,000 dollars. Since then the manufactures of the North have risen 50 per cent., and the demand of the South has made equal, if not superior, progress. It is, then, not hazardous to put down the Southern consumption of Northern manufactures in 1859 at 240,000,000 dollars. Still it must not be supposed that the South does not manufacture. According to the census of 1850, the value of Southern manufactures in that year amounted to 164,579,937 dollars. It must also be remembered that high protective duties have given the Northern manufacturers the monopoly of the Southern market.

I now come to Cotton, the great staple of the South. We have lately been pressed with these questions—"Is Cotton King? Can we make ourselves independent of the cotton-fields of the Southern States?"

What is the genius of modern civilization? What is its motive power? What has covered the seas with ships, the land with railroads and telegraphs, and made heretofore distant nations near neighbours? What has caused the vast difference between the state of society in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries? I reply, commerce. I say, reverently, that commerce is the chosen apostle of Christianity and civilization. And have you reflected on what is commerce? It means the

trade in cotton, sugar, tea, coffee, and tobacco. Our forefathers did without these articles, and so there is reason for saying they are not prime necessities of life; but they are the necessities of modern commerce and civilization. Do away with them, and the world must return to the *status* of the sixteenth century. Cotton, sugar, tea, coffee, and tobacco, are the kings of commerce—and the greatest of them is cotton. Bread is the staff of life, and cotton is the staff of civilization. We might exist without one or the other, but not without deterioration. Cotton is a king whom it is difficult to depose, and impossible to replace.

Can we make ourselves independent of the Southern States of America? Can we give up that source of supply without permanent detriment to our manufacturing interests? There are two things that prevent an affirmative reply. The first is the quality, and the second the quantity, of cotton produced in America.

The South is remarkable for the specialty of its products. The Carolina rice has never been reproduced in other parts of the earth. The wheat of Virginia, besides yielding more flour than any other American wheat, has a quality that preserves it sweet in warm climates. So with tobacco. It may be grown almost anywhere. It is grown in the East Indies, in Germany, and but for the excise laws it would be cultivated in England. But do what you will, you cannot reproduce the Southern States' tobacco. You get much finer tobacco at Havannah, but Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky tobaccos suit the taste of the million, and, whatever their price, they command a market. It is precisely the same with cotton. I know it can be grown in the East Indies, in the West Indies, in Africa, and other places; but I also know that till now, despite the most costly and painstaking experiments, cotton similar to the cotton of the Southern States has not been produced out of the Southern States. The Jamaica Cotton Company has lately shown specimens of cotton which they say is peculiarly fine. That does not solve the difficulty. They have not reproduced the American cotton—the cotton that meets the requirements of the million.

But quantity is a still stronger barrier than quality against the world ever becoming independent of the cotton fields of the Southern States. The Southern States only produce more cotton than they consume. Those who talk about a supply of cotton from India, to compensate for the loss of the supplies from America, do not read or consider those invaluable statistics—trade returns. In 1857, Great Britain received from the United States 654,758,048 pounds of cotton, and shipped to the United States 154,818,134 yards of plain and dyed goods. In the same year Great Britain received 250,338,144 pounds of cotton from the East Indies, and shipped to the East Indies 791,537,041 yards of plain and dyed goods. That is, Great Britain received 150 per cent. more cotton from America than from India, and yet exported five times as much cotton fabric to India as to America.

In 1853, our receipts of cotton from India were 132,722,575 pounds, and the same year we sent to India 223,000,000 pounds of cotton fabrics. So that cotton producing countries, as well as those countries that do not grow cotton, are dependent on the American supplies.

A very singular suggestion has been made in reference to the surplus production of the Southern States. It has been hinted, rather than argued, that we should be gainers if the States consumed a much cotton as they grew. To state the proposition is enough to refute it. Our manufacturers may reasonably regret and complain that the Southern markets have been closed against them by prohibitory tariffs; but I am at a loss to understand how we should be gainers if the South produced no more cotton than she consumed. We certainly should not have a pound of cotton more to manufacture, and we should not get more profit by selling to America than to India and China. Besides, the foundation of commerce is an exchange of over-productiveness. The business of

the merchant is to exchange surplus productions. However large the quantity of cotton produced by the South, it will be bartered for the surplus productions of other countries; for the gold that pays for it is only the representative of those surplus productions. Would it be better if countries that now export wheat grew no more than they consume? The more cotton or the more wheat produced, the better it is for the whole world. Supply, as well as demand, governs price, and abundance means cheapness.

I see no objection to extensively cultivate cotton in India, or elsewhere, but it appears to me absurd in the last degree to think that it is possible to alter providential arrangements, and I think we cannot avoid the conclusion that the South is the destined cotton field of the world. I say this not only in regard to the quality of cotton produced, or even with regard to its present immense production; but because the productiveness of the Southern States is practically unlimited. The area of the cotton-growing States (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas), is 452,024,320 acres, and it is estimated that at least half is suitable for the cultivation of cotton. The average production of cotton is 250 pounds per acre. If, then, the whole of the available area was cultivated, it would yield a crop of 56,506,000,000 pounds of cotton. The consumption of cotton in England is not quite ten pounds per head, and in France it is about four pounds per head. Assuming, then, that there are 1,200,000,000 of people on the earth, and that the general consumption of cotton equalled the present unsurpassed consumption of England, it would only require about a fifth of the produce of the Southern States to supply the whole world. I repeat, that one-fifth of the cotton lands of the Southern States, being cultivated, would supply the demands of the whole world, even if the consumption was everywhere equal to our large consumption in England.

Make ourselves independent of the Southern States! Rather let us return hearty thanks to the Creator for His goodness in so abundantly supplying the needs of His creatures. Imagine the Southern States, by some means or other, reduced to an unproductive waste; or, if you will, engulfed in the ocean. What then? Why, man would lose one of the fairest portions of his patrimony. Mankind at large would become poorer. The sun would not rise on a homestead that did not suffer from the catastrophe. Commerce would dwindle; the onward course of civilization would be rudely stopped.

You cannot imagine the Southern States being permanently lost to the world? Well, suppose for ten, or even five, years the Southern States do not yield their harvest. What, I ask, would be the consequence of five years eclipse of the Southern States? I cannot adequately answer the question. It would mortally wound the commerce of this country, of Europe, and of the world. We should have in our midst a large army of paupers. We should see an end to the prosperity with which we have been so greatly blessed. In the train of poverty would come demoralization and anarchy. May God avert the dire calamity, of which we have even now a terrible foretaste! Five years of cotton famine, and no Egypt to assist us! We may well pray for the end of a sanguinary conflict, which harms the whole world, but especially afflicts us.

The Rev. E. LACHLIN TAYLOR, Toronto, Canada, said he would be very willing to speak for a few minutes on this subject, but the ground was somewhat dangerous, as the people of Canada felt very strongly on the present American differences, and he was afraid to trust himself on an occasion like this, lest he should be tempted to diverge into politics, which he knew were foreign to the objects of the department.

Dr. MACCOWAN, M.D., expressed his opinion that the integrity of the Union would secure to England a better supply of cotton than the dismemberment of

the Union. He knew that Mr. Hopkins would not adduce statistics that were not reliable. He presumed that in the returns of tobacco, &c., Mr. Hopkins included the productions of the Border States.

Mr. POLLARD URQUHART, M.P., understood the scope of Mr. Hopkins's observations to be that the productiveness of the North was much less than that of the South. South America might produce more raw material than North America; but the North, by exchanging the products of their manufacturing industry, could procure more raw material than if they attempted to raise it themselves.

Mr. J. H. RAPLE, Manchester, wished to know from Mr. Hopkins to what extent slave labour was cheaper than free labour. The Manchester people were all of opinion that it would be a desirable thing if every man was free; but it was also very desirable to know how much a pound additional this freedom would cost the Manchester men for their cotton.

Mr. HOPKINS said that from the calculations he had made, which he thought were very near the truth, slave labour would be 15 per cent. cheaper than free labour.

Mr. J. H. RAPLE believed that was a fair calculation.

A GENTLEMAN wished to know if free labour was possible in the Southern States of America?

Mr. HOPKINS: White labour is utterly impossible in the South American cotton fields. He was not, however, prepared to say whether free black labour could not be made available.

Several speakers alluded to the capabilities of India to supply Europe with cotton.

Mr. HOPKINS was surprised to hear a gentleman speak of the cultivation of cotton in India being in its infancy. Such a remark, in point of time, was more applicable to America. Admitting that there was an immense area in India fitted for the cultivation of cotton, and that cotton suitable for the English market could be grown; that there was an abundant supply of labour at hand, and, as Mr. Raple had stated, the water communication of India was as good as in the Southern States, how was it India had not, ere this, produced the requisite supplies? There had been no lack of encouragement. There had always been the premium of high prices, if India could produce the article. As with all the means, India had not, it was but reasonable to conclude she could not, and would not, supply Europe with cotton.

After a brief conversation, Mr. Hopkins received the thanks of the meeting.

ACCOUNT OF THE GUNBOAT FIGHT AT FORT HUGER.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*, May 10.)

FORT HUGER, HANOR'S BLUFF, May 8, 1862.

Three of the enemy's gunboats, two of them iron-clad, came up at eight o'clock this morning to Fort Boykin (commanded by Captain John U. Shivers), and opened fire, discharging about 300 rounds of shell and rifle shot. The fort, which had only five mounted guns, returned the fire until ten o'clock, when orders were given to spike the guns and burn the quarters. A fine company of light artillery and infantry had started from Smithfield, Isle of Wight county, to participate in the fight; but learning that the above orders had been given they returned. The three gunboats then moved up the river eight miles to the fort on Hardy's Bluff, and at eleven o'clock the guns at this fort opened fire, which was returned by the boats continually until two o'clock. After firing over 200 rounds of shell and rifle, they passed up the river out of range of the guns at the fort, we having fired the first and last gun. Our flag waved gloriously throughout the engagement. Not a man was killed in the fort, and only three were wounded.

Captain J. M. Maury (Captain of the Fort), during the entire engagement of three hours and a half, was as cool and collected as if only performing the daily practising of his guns on the fort; also, Captain J. H. Aikin, of the Varina Artillery, and Captain Branch, of White's Artillery, and their respective officers; all their names I did not learn; nor can too much praise be given to the men in each company, obeying every order from their officers bravely and cheerfully, as if they had faced a hundred battles instead of this their first battle. It would have pleased their friends to have witnessed how gallantly they fought. After the battle, Captain Maury caused the men to be drawn up in a line in the fort, and stated if there was a man that did not wish to remain in the fort and fight with him, to step out of the ranks, and he would allow him to leave the fort and get out of the range of the guns. Not a man moved, not an eye quivered; but they replied with one universal cry of "No! no! no! we'll fight!" Can such men be conquered?

Reviews.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL. *

No. iv.

IN 1575, there was an abortive attempt to put an end to hostilities. Philip was heartily tired of a war from which he derived no glory, and which was a heavy and continuous drain upon the Imperial Exchequer; and, therefore, his Majesty would consent to the departure of the Spanish soldiery, provided the Estates would simultaneously disband their own foreign troops; but his Majesty would not concede liberty of conscience, and bargained for the exile of dissenters. In short, the King would make peace, provided the people would give up the liberty for which they had been so vehemently contending. The States declined the royal terms, and the negotiations were closed. When a nation determines to be independent, a peace that does not include independence is impossible. A rebellion may be compromised, but when the political union between distant races is severed, reunion is an idle dream; for reunion implies the serfdom of one side or the other.

The same year the Spaniards possessed themselves of Duiveland, and laid siege to Zierikzee, thus cutting off the communication between Walcheren and the rest of Zeland. The position was harassing, and William determined to make another effort to get foreign aid to contend against the enormous power of Spain. To do this, it became necessary to throw off their allegiance to Philip. It was resolved unanimously by the nobles and cities "that they would forsake the King, and seek foreign assistance; referring the choice to the Prince, who in regard to the Government was to take the opinion of the Estates." Even this step was singularly conservative in its character. It involved no change in the form of government. The King was abandoned, because he was "a tyrant who sought to oppress and destroy his subjects, and that it behoved them to seek another protector." The severance from Spain was not the result of a desire for new privileges, but for the preservation of old privileges. So with the Southern States of America. They left the Union because the Union had proved unfaithful to the Federal compact. The seceded States, in the due exercise of their Sovereignty, formed a Confederacy for the maintenance of their rights. As long as possible secession was delayed, perhaps too long; and when it came, so far from being regarded as a revolution, so far from being a conspiracy, it was looked upon as such an unmistakably constitutional proceeding that warfare was not contemplated, and no preparations were made to defend the sovereign independence of the States. If the Southerners had contemplated the probability of a Northern invasion, they might, by organization and by furnishing themselves with the munitions of war, have prevented hostilities. It was the unpreparedness of the South that suggested to the North the scheme of spoliation. A dastardly advantage has been taken of constitutional and generous confidence.

Philip, being discarded, there was witnessed the curious spectacle of a kingdom going begging. The Queen of England would not give a decided answer. The sovereignty of Holland and Zeland was tempting, but then the wrath of the King of Spain was not to be incurred for the sake of a dominion that must at first be a source of expenditure. But for the jealousy lest France should accept the sovereignty, the Queen would, in all probability have granted the prayer of Requesens, "to give no heed to the prayers of the rebels, to enter into no negotiations with them, and to expel them at once from her kingdom." Finally, all the States could get from Elizabeth was the promise of reconsidering the offer if she found it impossible to reconcile the provinces to Philip; and at the same time she gave them "permission to defend Holland at their own expense, with the privilege of surrendering its sovereignty, if they liked, to Queen Elizabeth—and this was all."

And, in our opinion, enough for the provinces; the Queen of England, not Holland, lost honour and strength by the non-success of the negotiation. The little provinces had to win their independence, and it was better that, for awhile, they should stand alone.

In 1576, a new and stronger union was formed by the Estates of the two provinces.

Those Estates, consisting of the knights and nobles of Holland, with the deputies from the cities and countships of Holland and Zeland, had been duly summoned by the Prince of Orange. They as fairly included all the political capacities, and furnished as copious a representation of the national will, as could be ex-

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands*. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

pected, for it is apparent, upon every page of his history, that the Prince, upon all occasions, chose to refer his policy to the approval and confirmation of as large a portion of the people as any man in those days considered capable or desirous of exercising political functions.

And we venture to add, that if William the Silent had lived in these days, and been called upon to form a Government for his country, he would not have resorted to universal suffrage. He would not have consulted men who were *incapable*, however desirous, of exercising political functions. He would not have thought it wise to give ignorance a voice in the Government of the country. Mr. Motley admits that the provincial liberties "were practical and substantial," and we presume such liberties are better than a charter of freedom which consigns a country to the tyranny of the mob.

We now come to an event which deserves the serious consideration of Mr. Motley's countrymen.

No sooner was Zierickzee captured than a mutiny broke forth among several companies of Spaniards and Walloons, belonging to the army in Schouwen. A large number of the most influential officers had gone to Brussels, to make arrangements, if possible, for the payment of the troops. In their absence there was more scope for the arguments of the leading mutineers;—arguments assuredly not entirely destitute of justice or logical precision. If ever labourers were worthy of their hire, certainly it was the Spanish soldiery. Had they not done the work of demons for nine years long? Could Philip or Alva have found in the wide world men to execute their decrees with more unhesitating docility, with more sympathizing eagerness? What obstacle had ever given them pause in their career of duty? What element had they not braved? Had not they fought within the bowels of the earth, beneath the depths of the sea, within blazing cities, and upon fields of ice? Where was the work which had been too dark and bloody for their performance? Had they not slaughtered unarmed human beings by townfuls, at the word of command? Had they not eaten the flesh and drank the hearts' blood of their enemies? Had they not stained the house of God with wholesale massacre? What altar and what hearthstone had they not profaned? What fatigue, what danger, what crime, had ever checked them for a moment? And for all this obedience, labour, and bloodshed, were they not even to be paid such wages as the commonest clown, who only tore the earth at home, received? Did Philip believe that a few thousand Spaniards were to execute his sentence of death against 3,000,000 of Netherlands, and be cheated out of their pay at last?

Neither expostulations nor threats could allay the mutinous spirit of the soldiery. The officers were imprisoned. Alost, in Flanders, was captured; the inhabitants were butchered, and, of course, the town was pillaged. At length the Spanish officers began to side with the mutinous troops. Jerome de Roda assumed the governorship of the Netherlands, until the arrival of Don John; "being called upon to choose between rebellious Netherlands and mutinous Spaniards, he was not long in making up his mind." The consummation of the mutiny was the capture of Antwerp, and such a massacre as defies description.

Never was there a more monstrous massacre, even in the blood-stained history of the Netherlands. It was estimated that, in the course of this and the two following days, not less than 8000 human beings were murdered. The Spaniards seemed to cast off even the vizard of humanity. Hell seemed emptied of its fiends. Night fell upon the scene before the soldiers were masters of the city; but worse horrors began after the contest was ended. This army of brigands had come thither with a definite, practical purpose, for it was not blood-thirst, nor lust, nor revenge, which had impelled them, but it was greediness for gold. The fire, spreading more extensively and more rapidly than had been desired through the wealthiest quarter of the city, had unfortunately devoured a vast amount of property. Six millions, at least, had thus been swallowed; destruction by which no one had profited. There was, however, much left. The strong boxes of the merchants, the gold, silver, and precious jewellery, the velvets, satins, brocades, laces, and similar well-concentrated and portable plunder, were rapidly appropriated. So far the course was plain and easy, but in private houses it was more difficult. The cash, plate, and other valuables of individuals were not so easily discovered. Torture was, therefore, at once employed to discover the hidden treasures. After all had been given, if the sum seemed too little, the proprietors were brutally punished for their poverty or their supposed dissimulation.

On the morning of the 5th of November, Antwerp presented a ghastly sight. The magnificent marble Town-house, celebrated as a "world's wonder," even in that age and country, in which so much splendour was lavished on municipal palaces, stood a blackened ruin—all but the walls destroyed, while its archives, accounts, and other valuable contents, had perished. The more splendid portion of the city had been consumed; at least five hundred palaces, mostly of marble or hammered stone, being a smouldering mass of destruction. The dead bodies of those fallen in the massacre were on every side, in greatest profusion around the Place de Meer, among the Gothic pillars of the Exchange, and in the streets near the Town-house. The German soldiers lay in their armour, some with their heads burned from their bodies, some with legs and arms consumed by the flames through which they had fought. The Margrave Goswin Vreycck, the burgomaster Van der Merre, the magistrates Lancelot Van Urselen, Nicholas Van Boekholt, and other leading citizens, lay among piles of less distinguished slain. They remained unburied until the overseers of the poor, on whom the living had then more important claims than the dead, were compelled by Roda to bury them out of the pauper fund. The murderers were too thrifty to be at funeral charges for their victims. The ceremony was not hastily performed, for the number of corpses had not been completed. Two days longer the havoc lasted in the city. Of all the crimes which men can commit, whether from deliberate calculation or in the frenzy of passion, hardly one was omitted, for riot, gaming, rape, which had been positioned to the more stringent claims of robbery and murder, were now rapidly added to the sum of atrocities. His-

tory has recorded the account indelibly on her brazen tablets; it can be adjusted only at the judgment-seat above.

How long will the Government of the United States be able to restrain the license of its soldiery? Already the most savage edicts are issued by Federal commanders, and which must utterly demoralize the Federal soldiers. The most ruthless Spanish general in the sixteenth century would rather have cut off his right hand than have signed such an infamous proclamation as that issued by General Butler, authorizing his soldiers to treat the Southern women as harlots. The whole history of Spanish cruelty in the Netherlands does not afford such an instance of cold-blooded infamy. Well, when the war is over, what will the Federal Government do with its soldiers, who are being thus made as inhumanly savage as it is possible? There cannot be a statesman in the United States who believes that they can be quartered on the South. If the three millions in the Netherlands could not be subjugated by the power of Spain—a power which at that period overawed the world—there cannot be the most distant prospect of the seven millions of the South being subjugated by the Yankees. A foreign war will be tried, but that, though the only, will prove but a temporary expedient. In the end there will be the clamorous, mutinous demand for pay and plunder. And what guarantee is there that the mutiny will not end by the conquest of the civil Government, and the erection of a military despotism—not, as some of the Northerners are prepared for, the military despotism of a successful commander, but the despotism of soldiery? But when men's passions are excited by unjust war, there is no chance of their listening to warnings, be they ever so significant.

Whilst Antwerp was in the power of the insurgent troops, the Congress at Ghent, which had been brought about by the Prince, was stimulated by the massacre at Antwerp, and forthwith a treaty was concluded between all the States.

This important instrument, by which the sacrifices and exertions of the Prince were, for a brief season, at least, rewarded, contained twenty-five articles. The Prince of Orange, with the Estates of Holland and Zealand, on the one side, and the provinces signing, or thereafter to sign the treaty, on the other, agreed that there should be a mutual forgiving and forgetting, as regarded the past. They vowed a close and faithful friendship for the future. They plighted a mutual promise to expel the Spaniards from the Netherlands without delay. As soon as this great deed should be done, there was to be a convocation of the States-general, on the basis of that assembly before which the abdication of the Emperor had taken place.

The arrival of Don John gave rise to fresh intrigues. The new Captain-General adopted a conciliatory tone, and, to some extent, succeeded in impressing the people with the conviction that his aim was peaceful, and that the troubles of the Netherlands were over. But he could not impose upon the Prince of Orange, and therefore he felt that his work was incomplete. William warned the Estates not to trust Spanish pretences, and ultimately Don John was obliged to consent to the departure of the Spanish troops by land instead of by water as he had ardently desired, in furtherance of his own romantic schemes.

All obstacles having been thus removed, the memorable treaty called the Perpetual Edict was signed at Marche en Famie, on the 12th, and at Brussels on the 17th of February, 1577. This document, issued in the name of the King, contained nineteen articles. It approved and ratified the peace of Ghent, in consideration that the prelates and clergy, with the doctors *utriusque juris* of Louvain, had decided that nothing in that treaty conflicted either with the supremacy of the Catholic Church or the authority of the King, but, on the contrary, that it advanced the interests of both. It promised that the soldiery should depart "freely and frankly without delay, by land, never to return except in case of foreign war"—the Spaniards to set forth within forty days, the Germans and others so soon as arrangements had been made by the States-general for their payment. It settled that all prisoners, on both sides, should be released, excepting the Count van Buren, who was to be set free as soon as the States-general having been convoked, the Prince of Orange should have fulfilled the resolutions to be passed by that assembly. It promised the maintenance of all the privileges, charters, and constitutions of the Netherlands. It required of the states an oath to maintain the Catholic religion. It recorded their agreement to disband their troops. It settled that Don John should be received as Governor-General, immediately upon the departure of the Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians from the provinces.

By the end of April 1577, the Netherlands were cleared of Spanish soldiers. The struggle was not yet concluded, but the people had won a victory, the moral effects of which were mighty and durable.

(To be continued.)

THE Corinth correspondent of the Memphis Appeal deplors the death of Colonel Ingraham, of Van Dorn's staff, who was, it says, inhumanly butchered by the Federals in a skirmish on the 9th inst.

THE same correspondent says that General Beauregard is about to confer the Order of the Southern Cross of Honour on the privates of the 9th Texas regiment for gallant conduct. They will be the first to receive this coveted badge of distinction.

SOUTHERN PROSPECTS.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The more one has the more one wants, is a rule of human desires, and the daily nutriment supplied to the appetite of curiosity has been carefully apportioned to this known axiom. New York is fed from telegrams, and by the authorities who, in addition to the labour of creating and paying an army of nearly a million of men, have undertaken to arrange the public information allowed to be given by the press. We all know what the result of that arrangement has been—the public in England look upon every single line telegraphed for transmission to Europe as *a lie*, until confirmed by subsequent facts, which, as we have seen in numberless instances until quite lately, has never been the case. However, the late information accorded to us has been so justified, and upon that is founded all the reasoning which pervades both the press and the general public at present. It is unfavourable to the success of the South, there is no doubt; but I am firmly persuaded that in this, as in all other cases, what is called public opinion, when influenced by powerful party bias, means only the expression of a majority of noses, and not heads. The heads wait till they are better informed, and when they are so, act. Sometimes at once and palpably, but more often gently, and, as it were imperceptibly, public opinion veers round, often to the very opposite point of the compass. Now that an undue bias has been and is powerfully evinced in England, there is not the shadow of a doubt the overlaying of the great causes of quarrel between the North and South by the question of slavery, which has nothing to do with it, the peculiar reticence of her Majesty's Government, and the general endurance of the present inactivity of foreign nations, notwithstanding the sympathy with the cause of the Confederacy, and still more, the crying necessity of relieving the awful suffering prevailing in the Northern Districts, from the consequences of this wicked internecine war, are all chargeable to the emissaries of the Cabinet of Washington, who have poisoned, as it were, the head waters of the fountain of public information. It is only the man who calmly views the bearings of the solemn questions involved in this great constitutional struggle for freedom, and digests the various facts as they arise on the theatre of events without bias or undue prejudice, who can arrive at a safe conclusion. I do not pretend to such philosophical powers and acumen; but, in common with you, Sir, I hope to be humbly instrumental in laying before the British public some means of forming a sound opinion amidst the universal declamation and abuse which is poured out upon the cause we have both so much at heart. In England, all parties have given up the idea of any possible reconstruction of the Union; so far that is a point gained, for the material and physical argument must naturally draw after it the moral. It is so repugnant to British views of constitutional government to compel men to endure a rule they abhor, that the wickedness of this monstrous attempt to enslave nine millions of freemen cannot long remain without signal repudiation from all who are just and honourable. It remains only to combat the fears and to reanimate the hopes of those who are cowed by the overwhelming accounts of the victories achieved by the Northern arms. What do they amount to? We, who are used to matches are careful to guard, in the most cautious manner, against the preponderance of one over another in any contest. So, in horse-racing, weights are carefully balanced to age; in yachting, time is arranged proportionably to tonnage, and so on through the whole round. Now the weight and the tonnage are incontestably on the side of the North. Can we wonder, therefore, that the South has been careful to withdraw from those contests where the balance would tell against her? To have done so without a struggle would have been unlike the brave and noble hearts who direct the energies of the Confederacy. They have yielded to pressure, but in doing so have shown all the qualities of daring, of industry, and strategic ability, which those who knew them expected. The check of the full tide of the first Northern invasion at Bull Run—the onslaught of Corinth, or rather Shiloh, the full details of which were so long concealed from European cognizance, show the vigour of action—the masterly retreat from Manassas, when, for three days, McClellan's outposts were totally ignorant that the great hosts which had confronted them for months had only left their quaker guns to guard their positions, and now the cautious and unflinching front that the retiring Southern army at Richmond shows to its exultant foe, evidence, to my mind satisfactorily, that there is no reason to fear, but much to hope from men who can fight so well and retire in such order, when commanded by generals like Beauregard and Lee. It is the fashion to look to Generals Fever and Heat. They are much in the consideration—but I, for one, do not despair—may,

I am ashamed of the word—I confidently expect that the men of the South will not belie their ancient lineage; that at the proper time, and on the field chosen by their leaders, they will face this horde of German and Irish refugees, and in the sight of sympathizing England—

Their fathers' blood before their fathers' face
Boils up, and proves them truly of their race.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

THE SEIZURE OF THE BERMUDA AND CIRCASSIAN.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—I have been waiting for the people of England, and the House of Commons, to express their indignation at the seizure of the Bermuda and Circassian, and other steamers, when in their legitimate voyages from England to neutral ports, and before these ships had in any way deviated from their course, and when within a few miles only of such port of destination; and when, steaming along in perfect security, believing they were under the protection of the British flag, they were captured by American captains.

The Bermuda was actually within five miles of a British island, directly en route for Nassau, forty miles distant, on her way from England; and the Circassian twenty miles from Havannah. Now, whatever may have been the ultimate intention of these vessels after reaching the ports for which they had cleared from England, or the ultimate destination of portions of their cargoes, it cannot be stated that these ships were attempting to run the blockade at that time, as they were hundreds of miles from the American coast, and they could only have been proceeding to their respective ports at that time, by all the laws of maritime experience. Now, I have no interest in these vessels, and I understand their owners assert they were truly intended to be really discharged at Nassau; and as it is now a place of large commerce in such articles, I can well believe it to have been so intended; and I wish to know if the English nation intend tamely to submit to such interference with British commerce? Are British ports in the West India Islands to be blockaded? Are British vessels to be intercepted in their legitimate voyages to British possessions and neutral ports? Is British trade generally, and especially the trade of our West India Islands, to be suspended at the will of a few American captains anxious for prize-money, or, it may be, of a Government relying upon her pusillanimity, and unscrupulous as to what private interests they may ruin, provided they can delay, by illegal acts, for a short time the receiving of any stores by their Southern opponents at a most critical time in the campaign? If these presumptuous interferences with British commerce are to be permitted, what, then, is to hinder an American vessel from being stationed outside of our principal ports, and capturing, on suspicion, any vessels indicated by the spies of the American Consul as possibly intending, some day or another, to carry arms for the Confederates? And if this is tamely submitted to, I suppose we shall have our ships overhauled in our navy docks, and rifles stopped on their way from Birmingham to the outports, upon the mere suspicion of an American Consul or his spy. There is an infamous spy system in all our ports, endeavouring to learn what goods are going to the South. Clerks, sailors, and stewards of ships have been suborned and bribed to betray their employers, and it only requires to be known in free England to meet with universal execration. What is to hinder such base tools, or their masters, from insuring a doubtful vessel in Lloyd's room for a few hundreds, to run the blockade, on the chance of sharing in the prize-money. It might be done by an enemy, or a spy, or any interested party, and would give a colour for her detention, and, perhaps, condemnation. If our dealers in England had only supplied war stores to the South, it might be said it was not a perfect neutrality; but when statistics will prove that British dealers have actually supplied far more than ten times the quantity of arms, &c., to the North, than they were enabled to the South, this shows our neutrality, as all being in favour of the North.

It seems to me, the people having before heard of the Bermuda's exploits at the beginning of the blockade, hesitate to speak, supposing it would shut her out from their protection; but such is not the case; and it is asserted they have orders to stop every steamer bound to Nassau.

It is not a wicked thing to run the blockade; a man is not a malefactor for so doing, and the odium does not stick to him for ever. It is only a hazardous game; you try to catch me within certain bounds, and I try to get past you. Out of these bounds I am free, and no penalty attaches to me for having outwitted you, if the

game is played fairly. But is it to be permitted, before a ship has even reached the port after leaving which she would play this game, or, it may be, before she has left Liverpool docks on some future occasion—I, who am really a shipper sending part of her cargo to the neutral port of her primary destination, am I to be injured, and my property seized, and my market ruined—I who am sending goods to my own house at Nassau—simply because certain parties suspect that, after reaching the port of Nassau, part of her cargo may be valuable to the Confederates, and may be intended to run the blockade, when it may have changed hands? No! If our English people are what they used to be, and our English flag gives the protection to an English subject it used to give, and each English ship is an integral part of the British Empire, we shall have no more over-riding of our commerce by the insolent officials of the most arrogant nation in the world.—I am, Sir,

A BRITISH MERCHANT.

Liverpool, June 1862.

HONOUR TO THE DEAD AND LIVING.

THE battle-field of Shiloh will be memorable in the annals of Mobile, because it has been stained by the blood and illustrated by the gallantry of her sons. That name, like the music of Carroll, will be sweet yet mournful to her soul, and when the appointed pen shall come to weave the strands of its stirring incidents into the enduring cord of history, the laurel and the cypress will be found closely blended. Alas! that military fame must be dappled in the blood of the brave! Alas! that the shouts of victory and the noble exaltation which stirs generous minds to praise and admiration of heroic action, should be mingled with the wail of bereaved hearts over their loved ones lost!

The bright and bloody record stands before us, and names "familiar as household words" in our community are engraved upon it in deathless characters. Martyrs and heroes stand side by side. Armistead, Shepherd, Skates, Burns, Stone, Marshall, Ortella, Herpin, Carlen, Connel, Ledyard, and McGuire; Deas, Smith, Hagan, and Ketchum, the dead and living representatives of Mobile's patriotic chivalry. We note their names as they come uppermost in our passing thought, as the exemplars of a class. The roll of their comrades in death is long and sad, and of their companions in honour bright and glorious. Kind friends, through these columns, have pronounced merited eulogiums upon the patriotic virtues of the dead—full justice yet remains to be done to the deeds of the living.

Col. Zach. Deas bore a distinguished part in the field and fought his regiment with the greatest gallantry. His hat and clothes were riddled with bullets, and he now lies disabled at his father's house in this city from a severe wound in the knee.

Major Hagan, of Colonel Wirt Adams' Cavalry Regiment, led the Twenty-first Infantry in one assault, and on Tuesday rode at the head of a brilliant cavalry charge, dispersing a corps of the enemy, horse and foot, and taking fifty prisoners.

Captain Ketchum, of State Artillery, Co. A, was in the thickest of the fight, and received the compliments and thanks of General Bragg, in the midst of the action, for brave and meritorious services.

Captain R. W. Smith, with his "Crocheron Dragoons," acted as the body-guard of General Bragg, and was by that General's side during the whole battle. He was his special aid, and his conduct drew from his chief a marked and special compliment. The day after the battle General Bragg sent for him, and said:—"Sir, I address you as Colonel of Cavalry, a position you have won by meritorious conduct on the field of battle. Your company has done noble service to our cause, and you must have it kept together." Colonel Smith was appointed Civil and Military Governor of Corinth immediately after the battle.

We delight to record these honours fallen so suddenly and richly upon our old friends and acquaintances. Long may they live to enjoy them!—*The Mobile Register.*

FRANCE AND AMERICA.

The *Constitutionnel* on Tuesday published the following article as its first leader:—

MEDIATION.

Battles, great battles, are about to be fought in America, and perhaps have been fought already at the very moment we are writing. It is impossible, in fact, for the armies of the North and the armies of the South, in presence of each other at Corinth and at Richmond, not to come to blows. Deluges of blood will be shed, and what is more sad to contemplate, whatever the issue may be, these terrible encounters do not promise a solution to the actual crisis either for America or for Europe. The victory, no matter on what side, will not be attended with any final result.

Violence, hatred, passions of every description, of which the first war of independence has given us the recital, are nothing compared to the hatred which now animates the South against

the North; but they may give an idea of the resistance, and of the obstacles which the Federal armies will have to meet from the Confederates. Let history, whose lessons are so rarely listened to, serve at least in some measure to give a material eloquence under such circumstances. We are willing to grant to those who do not share our opinion anything they wish; we will grant to the Federals superiority by land and by sea; we will accept proximate triumphs for the North. The question which the positive spirit of modern civilization is so fond of putting, still remains: "And what afterwards?" Will the triumph of the Federal arms produce miracles? Will it change the seasons? Will it dissipate the hot weather and the sickness which must ensue? Can it manage that the extent of territory conquered, and consequently to be occupied, is not equal to the whole extent of France, England, and Austria put together? Where are the armies to occupy such an extent, and where is the moral strength which could dispense with occupying them and hold the place of soldiers?

We simply wish to touch upon facts—nothing but facts. What do we see on the side of the Confederates? They burn their produce; they burn their provisions; they destroy their railways; they blow up their dockyards, their arsenals, and their ships; they leave their wives and children to fight in battle. When, in a proclamation of savage energy, General Beauregard recommends the planters to destroy their crops which are within the reach of the enemy, and to apply the torch to them without delay or hesitation, it is not simply a captain excited by the drunkenness of war who speaks—it is the general sentiment loudly expressed. Had not numerous meetings already expressed their opinion? Once again, let us observe, we do not wish to express our own ideas on such acts; we simply wish to give facts.

On the other hand, what are the Federals doing? What at once strikes us is, that the country of freedom *par excellence* has commenced by suppressing freedom. Military directors have seized upon all the telegraphic lines which traverse America in every direction. The same censorship compels the newspapers to publish only what is favourable to the North and unfavourable to the South. And what is the result of this? The North speaks to the whole world by the electric wires, while information from the South, when it does come, comes tardily. In fact, the journals and correspondence from the South, which reach us by way of the Havannah or St. Thomas, are sometimes five weeks behind hand, and thus lose all interest.

The North proclaims martial law with all its severities; it suppresses every independent voice; it threatens the suspected with death. In presence of such despotism the English press has not been able to remain silent.

In the midst of such a struggle between such desperate opponents, who dare say that a spontaneous or likely pacification is possible? Peace can only come from without, and the word which we have placed at the head of this article can alone put an end to a war which has desolated, steeped in blood, and decimated America already too long, and, what is more, caused Europe to suffer too long. The word we allude to is "Mediation!"

But whence is this mediation to come, and on what basis can it be founded? Whence it will come we have already stated. As regards the basis it may easily be found.

First of all, it is evident that as "mediation," in principle, must be accepted by both belligerents, it can only represent ideas of justice and of moderation, and that consequently it cannot be addressed to those who would like to engraft a slave war on a civil war, or to those who consider the institution of slavery as an institution of Divine right.

This mediation, a point most singularly overlooked, corresponds not only to the most vital interests of commercial Europe, but also to the most sensible minds that represent the interests of America. Let us remember that President Lincoln has pronounced himself in the same sense as, before him, Generals Burnside and Butler did, against an excitement to a slave war, and that, in his last proclamation, he called to mind his special message, quoting the following resolution, adopted by large majorities by both Houses of Congress:—

"The United States must co-operate with that State which might adopt the gradual abolition of slavery, by giving to such State, in its judgment, such a compensation as required for public or private inconveniences resulting from such a change of system."

Let us bring to bear upon this passage another solemn declaration made by President Lincoln in his inauguration address of the 4th March, 1861:—

"I have no intention to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the question of slavery where it exists; I do not think that I have the right to do so legally, and I am by no means inclined to do so."

It is thus that the North speaks, in the spirit of moderation and of justice. Will the South be less accessible to this spirit of conciliation and of wisdom? We do not think so, and we have a proof at hand. A man of consideration of the South, Mr. Yancey, a Commissioner of the Southern States, at a banquet given at the Fishmongers' Hall, on the 9th November last, at London, spoke as follows:—

"When our adversary shall have become sufficiently calm to treat us as belligerents, the aura of peace will appear in the horizon. When that hour has struck, I think I may say that the Confederate Government will not show itself inflexible, except upon one point: the care of our honour and of our independence. As regards the great interests of peace and of humanity, our Government will know how to make concessions in everything simply material or of secondary importance."

Those words were hailed with immense applause; and here, evidently, are to be found the basis of a possible arrangement—of an arrangement such as may be proposed in the name of Europe by a great and free nation.

Beyond this—beyond this most opportune mediation is the point of view of European interests; so legitimate is the point of view of humanity and civilization, there remain only catastrophes the extent of which no human eye can penetrate. The capture of Richmond would not advance the affairs of America one whit more than the capture of New Orleans. The South bled in blood, the North plunged in bankruptcy and anarchy, commercial Europe seeing its sufferings increase—such are the consequences of the continuation of this war.

Mediation, on the contrary, by putting an end to a fratricidal struggle, and by consecrating a separation already accomplished, without allowing one of the belligerents to crush the other, and cause desolation instead of peace, would render the most eminent service to America as well as to Europe.

One year ago, when the war broke out, France offered her mediation to America. That offer was not accepted. What an immense amount of bloodshed, what sad catastrophes, what desolation across the Atlantic, what suffering in our own homes, might have been spared if the voice of France had then been listened to!

THE FALL OF NEW ORLEANS—GENERAL LOVELL IN HIS OWN DEFENCE.

(From the *New Orleans Delta*, May 1.)

NEW ORLEANS, April 29, 1862.

TO JUDGE WALKER:—

DEAR SIR,—In the *Evening Delta*, in an article headed "Fallen, but not Disgraced," this expression occurs:—"The lack of energy and earnestness on the part of the agents of the Confederate Government," &c.

This includes me in its sweep, and I think unjustly. When I came here, but a few short months since, I found the State defenceless, its ports blockaded, and its young men gone to other parts of the Confederacy in the army. Without anything but what was created, every inlet was put in position to offer a protracted and gallant defence. Forts were armed, powder and munitions of every description were made, and a gallant body of troops organized and drilled. Guns were cast and materials of all kinds extemporized by incessant labour and activity. The river at the forts was twice bridged by obstructions which would have resisted anything but the formidable rush of the great Mississippi in its swollen wrath.

My troops, at the call of their country, rushed to Corinth, and the deeds of the Louisiana regiments, on the 6th and 7th of April, indicated their courage and their training. Our foundries were beginning to turn out heavy guns of the best quality, and a newly-erected arsenal furnished us with various implements of war. All this has been done since October, besides preparing sixteen vessels for river defence, eight of which are now defending the upper river, and eight have been destroyed in the vain attempt to keep back the enemy's fleet of war vessels below. This has been done with no host of generals and staff officers of experience to assist.

In a short time more I should have had guns enough and men enough to defend the numerous approaches by that element on which the enemy is so pre-eminently powerful; and I therefore beg that you will do me the justice to say to the people of New Orleans that I did all that one man could do to preserve them from an insolent and powerful foe. When their fleets passed all our batteries, I withdrew my infantry forces beyond the city limits, in order to permit the people of New Orleans to decide whether they would subject themselves and their property to bombardment, in the endeavour to maintain their freedom intact; and returned to the city to-day to learn their decision, and to offer myself and my command to stand by them to the last moment in case they should decide to undergo a bombardment.

I know that there are many gentlemen here who will bear me witness that all that is here set forth, and much more, has been done to avert this sad disaster. An examination of my letter and order-books and telegraphic despatches will show that no stone has been left unturned by me to save New Orleans from this humiliation; and I feel well convinced that a few short weeks would have rendered the position impregnable. All I ask is simply justice, and nothing more. In conclusion, I will add that, terrible as the blow has been, I am neither disheartened nor in despair. This war of independence is not yet fought out. Our ancestors struggled against the massive power of Great Britain when Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah were all in possession of the enemy, and gained their liberty.

It is a moral and physical impossibility that we can be conquered. Let us be true to ourselves and our cause—never tiring, never despairing—but rising, Actæon like, with renewed vigour from every fall, and we shall yet be rewarded with success. Above all, we should not crush down the spirit and the energies of those who are using all the faculties, mental and physical, that God has given them, by making light of their labour, because, with limited means and under adverse circumstances, they have not been successful in resisting at all points a great, wealthy, and powerful enemy, with all the appliances of modern warfare, both military and naval, in dark abundance at his control. We have never yet seen such dark days as those which environed George Washington at Valley Forge; and should such be our lot, I trust that the same spirit will animate us to work out the same successful results. Respectfully, your obedient servant,
M. LOVELL, Major General, C. S. A.

THE DEATH OF A TRUE MAN.

A correspondent of the *Mobile Register*, from the battle-field of Shiloh, thus writes of the death of a well known Mobilian:—

MAJOR R. B. ARMISTEAD.—Among the many gallant dead who gave their lives to our struggling country at the great battle of Shiloh, none were more conspicuously brave than Major Armistead. Up to the time of the reception of his fatal wound, he coolly sat on his horse, encouraging and cheering his men, while the enemy's balls flew thick around him. He seemed unconscious of personal danger, and bravely exposed himself to the death-dealing missiles of the enemy's artillery, while his men were lying down, impatiently waiting for the order to charge a battery. About half-past ten on Sunday morning, during the fiercest of the fight, he was struck by a grape-shot in the body, which passed through from side to side, believed to be fired from the same battery that wounded General Gladden. The Major coolly dismounted from his horse, and walked leisurely back to the hospital, making no complaint of the terrible wound he had received. After calmly taking off his sash, sword, and coat, and exhibiting his wound to Captain Turner, surgeon of the regiment, he inquired of him what he thought of his condition. The surgeon replied, "Major, you are going to die." He then said, "I thought so," and called for pen, ink, and paper, sat down and wrote his will, signed and handed it to the surgeon, with the request that he would give it to his brother, Captain Armistead, if he should come out of the battle alive.

From that time he never spoke of his wound or complained of the terrible agony he was enduring, but seemed quite cheerful, and made constant inquiries of the wounded as they were brought into the hospital one by one, of the progress of the fight, and expressed much joy and gratification at the intelligence that our army was everywhere victorious on the field. About ten o'clock on Sunday night, twelve hours after he received this mortal wound, he breathed his last.

When the first intelligence reached us that hostile armies were about to tread Southern soil, Major Armistead was among the first to seize his arms and rush to the defence of our young Confederacy. He left Mobile in April, 1861, a private in the Mobile Cadets, which was subsequently attached to the Third Alabama Regiment, stationed in the vicinity of Norfolk. He served there for about seven months, and then obtained a Major's commission from the Confederate Government, and in connection with Col. Deas and others, raised the 22nd Alabama Regiment which fought so nobly and gallantly in the battle of Shiloh.

By the untimely death of Major Armistead, the country has lost one of its chivalrous and gallant defenders—Mobile one of her most beloved and cherished young men, and the profession of the law one of its most gifted and promising followers.

AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

The grand prize for which the South is struggling in this deadly conflict with a powerful enemy is the right of self-government. The secondary prize is that she may enjoy the full privilege and results of her intrinsic power to create wealth. That, with her independence achieved, the South will enter upon a grand and unexampled career of progress, and an unprecedented existence of substantial wealth is no Utopian dream, no bright, intoxicating fallacy, all who have pursued a common sense investigation know beyond a peradventure. The main staple of our agricultural industry will always make the world our tributary. Cotton has betrayed our too overweening confidence that it would fight our battles promptly, but we may nevertheless confidently trust that it will always fill our pockets. Our cotton fields are mines of wealth from which we will always dig gold by the hundred millions annually—enough to far overpay our indebtedness incurred with the outside world, and leave a grand balance to be poured into the cornucopia of the nation's accumulating wealth. It was the agriculture of the South which was the chief agency in bearing the whole country onward and upward in its splendid career of progress. It created the foreign commerce and sustained the navigation of the North, which through these mediums succeeded in securing the larger share of the profits of our industry, leaving us still, however, ample returns for our support and moderate increase. As an independent nation, none will share with us what justly belongs all to us, and if that could render the whole country prosperous and progressive as never a country was before, how much more will it do so when its benefits are confined to the South alone.

This war, too, is teaching us valuable lessons—at a present extravagant price, it is true, but which, in the end, may not prove so expensive. It is teaching us to subsist within ourselves. How much money we have been in the habit of paying out for the necessities of life is now taught us by the extra prices we have to pay when depending upon our own resources. The bitter lesson, learned amid toil, privation and blood, will not be lost, and in this war we shall achieve not only our political but our industrial or material independence. This latter will be of twofold value to us, for it will retain a great amount of wealth in the country, and render the provision supply steady and assured amid all chances and changes; and it will tend to cripple those whom this war will leave our hereditary enemies, the people of the provision producing sections of the West, as well as the whole North. With the Southern market cut off, their bacon sells at four cents per pound, and their corn at ten cents per bushel—our bacon at forty cents per pound, and our corn at prices as much beyond what it should. Destroy its produce market, and you sap the vital strength of the powerful West, and assure a rupture between it and the Eastern States, whose high protective system will be too oppressive for the West to bear without the support of the Southern market. The disunion of the Northern and Western States will alone relieve us of the disagreeable awe with which we must recognize the power of a United North. We may not fear it, but we must dread the trouble to which it can put us, and must be in some sort deferential to its management of the affairs of the continent.

There are those, doubtless, who are apprehensive that the cost of war for our independence will be a terrible drawback on the future prosperity of the South. We set aside the truism that liberty is priceless at any imaginable cost of blood and treasure, and come down to figures, but briefly. It is feared that this war will leave the nation oppressed with such a debt as will be an effectual incubus upon its progress. Let us see: suppose that peace finds the Confederacy with a debt of five hundred million dollars worth of paper out, which will be funded into eight per cent bonds; the interest on this public debt will be forty million of dollars per annum. To pay this interest a tax of perhaps one-third or one-half of one per cent on all property usually considered within the term taxable property would be necessary. This would be no great burden for a nation to bear which has such intrinsic sources of wealth as ours. These national debt bonds, indeed, paying their attractive interest would be a valuable item of national wealth, and being made taxable property themselves, would pay their share of the tax for their interest. A light additional tax would regularly sink a portion, and in a few decades extinguish the whole war debt which we are incurring so cheerfully for so inestimable an object. It is to be hoped that the whole amount of these bonds will remain in the hands of our own people, and thus the money disbursed for their interest will be retained in the country. So soon as our independence is accomplished, there will be an eager rush for securities so undoubted, and paying an interest so munificent in the eyes of European capitalists. But possibly the national debt may become a thousand millions ere the war is closed. In that case, our rough estimate of the tax would be doubled, and it will then be no very terrible matter. The payment of the tax will become easier and easier with every year of peace and prosperity.—*Mobile Register*.

SEIZURE OF ST. CHARLES HOTEL.

(From the *New Orleans Delta*, May 4, 1862.)

General Butler sent an officer yesterday to secure rooms for himself and staff at the St. Charles Hotel. The agent of the proprietors, who are absent, informed the officer that the hotel was closed—that the proprietors and all their boarders had left. He was informed that if he opened the house willingly to General Butler and staff, that they would take care of the property, and compensate the proprietors for what they used; that if they did not, General Butler and staff would occupy it anyhow. We do not know what was the conclusion of the agent, but at two o'clock General Butler and staff, accompanied by H. M. Summers, formerly of this city, but who, for some time past, resided on the Jackson Railroad, rode up to the hotel in carriages, accompanied by a guard. They went into the hotel and took possession. Meantime, an immense crowd of persons assembled around the hotel, and hurraed for "Beauregard," "Davis," "the South," and groaned various parties who seemed obnoxious to them. A Federal officer left the hotel and proceeded to the Custom House, the chief rendezvous of the United States' troops, and returned with a squad of soldiers, who formed a cordon around the hotel. Several arrests were made by the Federal soldiers of citizens in the crowd for giving expression to their feelings. Among those was Mr. Daniel Edwards, an old citizen and proprietor of the large foundry on the levee.

We seize the occasion again to counsel and urge upon our citizens the impolicy of large assemblies, and of all violent manifestations of feeling. They should remain as much as possible at home, and afford no provocation for severe and violent proceedings on the part of those who have military occupation of the city.

PERMANENT GOVERNMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES. FIRST CONGRESS.

Jefferson Davis—PRESIDENT.

Alexander H. Stephens—VICE-PRESIDENT.

J. P. Benjamin, Louisiana—SECRETARY OF STATE.

C. G. Memminger, South Carolina—SECRETARY OF TREASURY.

Geo. W. Randolph, Virginia—SECRETARY OF WAR.

S. R. Mallory, Florida—SECRETARY OF NAVY.

John H. H. Reagan, Texas—POST MASTER GENERAL.

Thos. H. Watts, Alabama—ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SENATE.

ALABAMA—Clement C. Clay, William L. Yancey.

ARKANSAS—Robt. W. Johnson, Charles B. Mitchell.

FLORIDA—James M. Baker, Augustus E. Maxwell.

GEORGIA—Benjamin B. Hill, Robert Toombs.

KENTUCKY—Henry C. Burnett, William E. Simms.

LOUISIANA—Thomas J. Semmes, Edward Sparrow.

MISSISSIPPI—Albert G. Brown, James Phelan.

MISSOURI—John B. Clark, R. L. Y. Peyton.

NORTH CAROLINA—George Davis, Wm. T. Dortch.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Robert W. Barnwell, Jas. L. Orr.

TENNESSEE—Langdon C. Haynes, Gustavus A. Henry.

TEXAS—William S. Oldham, Louis T. Wigfall.

VIRGINIA—Robt. M. T. Hunter, William Ballard Preston.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

ALABAMA. MISSOURI. (continued)

1. Thomas J. Foster

3. Casper W. Bell

2. William R. Smith

4. A. H. Condon

3. John P. Ralls

5. George G. Vest

4. J. L. M. Curry

6. Thomas W. Freeman

5. Francis S. Lyon

7. John Hyer

6. Wm. P. Chilton

NORTH CAROLINA.

7. David Clopton

1. W. N. H. Smith

8. James L. Pugh

2. Robert R. Bridgers

9. Edw. L. Dargan

3. Owen R. Keenan

ARKANSAS.

4. T. D. McDowell

1. Felix I. Batson

5. Thomas S. Ashe

2. Grandison D. Royston

6. Arch. H. Arrington

3. J. P. Johnson

7. Robert McLean

4. Thomas B. Hanly

8. William Lander

FLORIDA.

9. B. S. Gaither

1. James B. Dawkins

10. A. T. Davidson

2. Robert B. Hilton

SOUTH CAROLINA.

GEORGIA.

1. John McQueen

1. Julian Hartridge

2. W. Porcher Miles

2. C. J. Munnerlyn

3. L. M. Ayer

3. Hines Holt

4. Milledge L. Bonham

4. Augustus H. Keuan

5. James Farrow

5. David W. Lewis

6. Wm. V. Boyce

6. William W. Clark

TENNESSEE.

7. Robert P. Fripp

1. Joseph T. Heiskell

8. Lucius J. Gartrell

2. William G. Swan

9. Hardy Strickland

3. W. H. Tebbs

10. Augustus R. Wright

4. E. L. Gardenhire

KENTUCKY.

5. Henry S. Foote

1. Alfred Boyd

6. Meredith P. Gentry

2. John W. Crockett

7. George W. Jones

3. H. E. Read

8. Thomas Meneese

4. George W. Ewing

9. J. D. C. Atkins

5. James S. Chrisman

10. John V. Wright

6. T. L. Burnett

11. David M. Currin

7. H. W. Bruce

TEXAS.

8. S. S. Scott

1. John A. Wilcox

9. E. M. Bruce

2. C. C. Herbert

10. J. W. Moore

3. Peter W. Gray

11. Robt. J. Breckinridge

4. B. E. Sexton

12. John M. Elliott

5. D. M. Graham

LOUISIANA.

6. Wm. B. Wright

1. Chas. J. Villere

VIRGINIA.

2. Chas. M. Conrad

1. M. R. H. Garnett

3. Duncan F. Kenner

2. John R. Chambliss

4. Lucien J. Dobre

3. James Lyons.

5. Henry Marshall

4. Roger A. Pryor

6. John Perkins, J.

5. Thos. S. Bocock

MISSISSIPPI.

6. John Goode, Jr.

1. J. W. Clapp

7. J. P. Holcombe

2. Reubin Davis

8. C. D. de Jarnatt

3. Israel Welch

9. Wm. Smith

4. H. C. Chambers

10. A. R. Boteler

5. O. R. Singleton

11. John B. Baldwin

6. E. Barksdale

12. Walter R. Staples

7. John J. McRae

13. Walter Preston

MISSOURI.

14. Albert G. Jenkins

1. W. M. Cook

15. Robt. Johnston

2. Thos. A. Harris

16. Chas. W. Russell

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES-GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consignors of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C. S. A.
Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS,
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Demies, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron-street, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent
of Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HOGGTON, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—
1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law,
&c.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books.—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAPS. Catalogue of Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee merchant. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cause of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.
We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.
THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Association
for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaisance, will take place in
London from the 1st to the 14th of June.
The Departmental Meetings of the National As-
sociation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Science will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirees, &c.
Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.
As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.
For every 45 subscribed to this fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Leadenhall-street, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Keanard,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.
GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.
and Chairman of Executive Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Lohs.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
N. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Behn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 88
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,808 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHIER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 609,925 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 806,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1862.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrip of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Puck.
G. H. Ward.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Siocomb.
B. F. Voorhies.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 30th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to the weight and bulk of the Goods.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the proper
Freight.
Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquarioris, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty of one-hundred pounds; and the master or
owner of any ship who refuses to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to VII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexed subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable in-
dications of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havana. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—June 12, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 8.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 19, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	113
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET	115
Liverpool Letter	115
Manchester Letter	115
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letters and Extracts	115
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Washington	110
Paris	117
LEADERS—	
The Recent Battles	120
Recognition versus Mediation	120
The Defence of Canada	121
The French Defeat at Mexico	122
Editorials	123
REVIEW OF BOOKS—	
A Historical Parallel, No. V.	123
Precis of the Wars in Canada	124
SPEECH OF THE HON. BENJAMIN WOOD, OF NEW YORK, ON THE STATE OF THE UNION	125
LETTER TO THE EDITOR—	
General Butler	127
THE MEXICAN ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH DEFEAT	127
ADVERTISEMENTS	123

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE BATTLE OF RICHMOND.—The brilliant tactics of the Confederate generals, and the heroism of the Confederate soldiers, have again been crowned by a glorious triumph. The advantages of the enemy in numbers, in resources, and in ammunition, are more than balanced by that resolution which is inspired by the consciousness of fighting in a cause, that appeals so strongly to the favour of Heaven.

Our summary of facts is mainly derived from Northern sources. There is something ghastly, as well as ridiculous, in the Federal general, the Federal newsmongers, and the Federal Secretary of War, vividly painting a Federal defeat, and calling the picture a Federal victory; but the favourable testimony wrung by force of circumstances from an enemy is reasonably [and universally accepted. A very peculiar feature of Northern intelligence is, that it is not only false, but it is self-branded with falsehood. By the time constant exposure has taught the Federal Government how to fabricate plausibly and consistently, Europe will no longer be dependent on, or pay the slightest heed to, Northern intelligence.

The Federal army was between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey Rivers, both of which pass Richmond to the north. With one wing resting on the Chickahominy, the Federal line was extended in a north-westerly direction. So that, instead of being *vis a vis*, one wing was more westerly, as well as further north, than the other. The Confederates, crossing the Chickahominy to the north of Richmond, would find themselves opposite to one of the enemy's wings, and which, from the slanting direction of the Federal lines, was probably, to some extent, isolated from the main supports.

It must be remembered that, except under peculiarly advantageous circumstances, an entrenched and besieged army does not offer battle; but, whenever an opportunity occurs, makes a sortie on the weak points of the enemy. This is exactly what the Confederates did on the 31st of May. The weakness and

partial isolation of the wing under the command of General Casey, was perceived, and it was determined to make an attack at that quarter. If the sortie had led to a general battle on advantageous terms, it would not have been declined; but the direct object of the movement was to operate against a particular division of the enemy's army, to disperse it, and, if possible, capture its guns, ammunition, and baggage.

The following is General McClellan's account of the battle. A more unintelligible despatch was never penned; and familiar as we are with Federal bungling, we have found it difficult to fathom its meaning. At present "the Young Napoleon" has given no proof of his vaunted generalship, but he has demonstrated his utter inability to write an intelligible despatch:—

FIELD OF BATTLE, Sunday, June 1, Noon.

We have had a desperate battle, in which the corps of Generals Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers.

Yesterday, at one, the enemy, taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy, attacked our troops on the right flank. General Casey's division, which was in the first line, gave way unaccountably and disunitedly. This caused a temporary confusion, during which the guns and baggage were lost, but Generals Heintzelman and Keyes most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy. At the same time, however, I succeeded, by great exertion, in bringing across Generals Sedgewick's and Richardson's divisions, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead.

This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed. We have taken many prisoners, among whom are General Pettigrew and Colonel Loring. Our loss is heavy, but that of the enemy must be enormous. With the exception of General Casey's division, the men behaved splendidly.

Several fine bayonet charges have been made; the 2nd Excelsior Regiment made two to-day.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, Major-General Commanding.

The Confederates advanced along three roads to the attack, and after a very short contest General Casey's division was utterly routed. It "gave way unaccountably and disunitedly," which in plain English means it was beaten, and fled in disorder. The guns, baggage, and camp of the division were captured. The object of the attack had been brilliantly attained. We are then informed "that Generals Heintzelman and Keyes most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy." The sortie had succeeded in routing a wing, and capturing the guns, baggage, and camp; that is, a complete victory had been gained. What, then, was there to check? The Confederates contemplated no further advance, and all that is signified by "checking the enemy" is, that the victory of the Confederates necessitated some movements to protect the rest of the Federal army.

The next paragraph of this memorable despatch is the *pièce de resistance*. It is susceptible of more constructions than there are days in a month. "At the same time, however, I succeeded, by great exertion, in bringing across Generals Sedgewick's and Richardson's divisions, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead." The word "however" means that Heint-

zelman's and Keyes' divisions could not check the enemy, and therefore other troops were brought up; or it means nothing.

General McClellan says, "I succeeded." We will not comment on the generalship that needed so much exertion to check a sortie but are we to understand that General McClellan was present with the divisions of Generals Sedgewick and Richardson? If so, we do not hesitate to charge him with gross misrepresentation, or with idiotic obtuseness. Anyone reading the passage we have last quoted can only assume that General McClellan intends it to be understood that on the Saturday, as soon as he brought up the fresh divisions, the Confederates were driven from the ground they had gained. We defy even Mr. Stanton to invent a more unadulterated falsehood. Not less than nineteen guns, all the baggage, and ammunition were conveyed to Richmond. Such operations could not have been carried out by troops retreating at the point of the bayonet. We have, too, superabundant evidence from Northern sources that the Confederates kept possession of the Federal camping ground during the night succeeding the battle. The correspondent of the *New York Times* says:—"Besides the guns, General Casey lost all his camp equipage." "The rebels ran a train down near Fair Oak Station, and carried away our commissary stores, guns, &c., to Richmond. The rebels destroyed what they could not conveniently carry away, including the new tents of Casey's and Couch's divisions." "I rode out upon the battlefield on Sunday afternoon at four o'clock. The scene witnessed here baffles all description. Caissons, with horses shot dead in their traces, ambulances, waggons, &c., filled the road in front of Casey's camp. There were about 200 of our wounded still lying where they fell on Saturday. Some of them spoke kindly of the rebels, saying they treated them very well." These statements and facts give the lie direct to the despatch of General McClellan.

Of course, as soon as the division of General Casey was routed, and its ground possessed, skirmishers were thrown out by the Confederates, and these were checked by the Federals and fell back on the main body. We gather, too, from the report of the correspondent of the *New York Times*, that the advance of the Confederates was not arrested until seven p.m.; that is, nearly six hours after the attack.

General Sumner was obliged to depend upon a single shaky structure for the passage of his troops, who nearly all, however, succeeded in crossing that night, the head of the column reaching the Nine-mile road, along which the rebels were pressing our troops, at about seven o'clock; holding the enemy in check for the night, and preventing them from following up in that direction the advantage they had gained during the day.

We trust we shall be forgiven a little recapitulation. A sortie was made by the Confederates; a Federal division was routed; at least nineteen guns, baggage, ammunition, stores, &c., were taken and conveyed to Richmond; what could not be conveniently removed was destroyed; the wounded of the enemy received kindly attention; during the night of the battle the camping ground of the Federals was occupied by the Confederates. And the Federals

claim, or perhaps claimed, a victory. May they have many such victories!

On the next day, Sunday, the Confederate forces withdrew to their entrenchments. The idea of their attempting a second attack is monstrous. A weak point was surprised on the Saturday, and they knew that next day McClellan would concentrate a large force on it. The affair of Sunday was a skirmish kept up by the Confederates to cover their homeward movement. As soon as the Confederates were without the lines of the enemy, the skirmishing was discontinued.

We have no particulars as to the Confederate losses. General McClellan says, "they must be enormous," and for no better reason than that the Federal loss was heavy. The correspondent of the *New York Times* asserts that "the enemy's dead left on the field amounts to 1200." This definite statement is not very trustworthy. The correspondent did not count the dead himself, but either recorded a mere rumour, or gives the estimate of the Federal commander; and it is strange—at least, it would be strange if it were true—that though the number of Confederates killed was known to a man, yet only a guess could be hazarded about the Federal loss. "Our loss in two days' engagement, in killed and wounded, will amount to about 3000." Even this reckoning is rather wide of the truth, for by June 7, it was discovered that, "the late engagement before Richmond was more severe than was first reported, the Federal loss being now estimated at 7000 men."

The latest advices from New York state, "the Confederates claim the victory;" and we submit, with very good reason. We have not the slightest objection to the arrangement of the Federals being defeated in the battle-field, and the Confederates being defeated in the Northern newspapers. However, we confess we are curious to know what the Yankees understand by a Confederate victory, since routing the wing of an army with terrific slaughter, carrying away at least nineteen guns, capturing a large booty of stores, baggage, and ammunition, and burning the enemy's camp, is considered a Confederate defeat.

The mail that brought the news of the Battle of Richmond informed us of some gallant doings on the part of General Fremont. The *New York Shipping List* stated:—"The triumph of the Confederate forces under General Jackson, in the Shenandoah Valley, has proved short-lived, and the prospect is now brighter than ever. General Fremont's forces, after a forced march of over 100 miles across the Shenandoah Mountains, have occupied Strasburg without resistance, having encountered the main body under Jackson, who refused battle." Simultaneously, we were informed General Jackson had made a successful retreat. Before the news is a week old we hear that General Fremont "came upon General Jackson, fell into an ambuscade, and suffered heavy loss." This is another Federal *left-hand* victory. For "suffered heavy loss" read "completely defeated."

General Halleck does not know the whereabouts of General Beauregard, but he "reports that General Pope is thirty miles south of Corinth, and is pushing the enemy hard. He had captured a large number of prisoners." General Halleck is not a great commander, but it would be unfair to deny that he has a very glowing imagination.

Once more we are informed that Fort Wright is evacuated. We also learn that Vicksburg has not been taken.

It is reported, *via* New York, that

A naval engagement has taken place on the Mississippi, near Memphis, resulting in the destruction of the Confederate fleet.

All the Confederate vessels were destroyed but one.

Memphis surrendered immediately afterwards, and is now in possession of the Federals.

Remembering that the naval engagement at Fort Pillow was reported by the North as a Federal victory, and that the Confederate gunboats were sunk and injured, and as it turned out it was a Confederate victory, and that the Federal gunboats were sunk and injured, we are very sceptical about the destruction of all the Confederate vessels but one.

The evacuation or surrender of Memphis will neither surprise nor dishearten the South. The temporary loss of cities within reach of the enemy's gunboats is looked upon as a probable contingency.

It is rumoured that Fort Morgan was attacked on the 4th instant.

The Southern papers record another Confederate victory. It appears 2000 Federals landed on James Island, opposite Charleston; that an engagement ensued, and the invaders were defeated.

The infamous edict of General Butler has not been disowned by his Government. The report of his recall is false. He has appointed General Shepley as commandant of New Orleans, and the reasons are thus stated by the correspondent of a New York paper:—

"The appointment of a military commandant of this city has become a necessity, owing to the numerous amount of business devolving upon General Butler, aside from the movement of troops in and about the city. General Butler's time is almost constantly employed in arranging matters of public policy, in conferring with prominent citizens, and in attending to the requirements of his position as Commander of the Gulf Department. The selection of General Shepley as the commandant of the city is heartily applauded."

In another part of our impression will be found an account of the arrest of British subjects, and of the insults offered to the Dutch Consul.

It is rumoured that Mr. Seward has proposed an amicable settlement of affairs between General Butler and the Dutch Consul at New Orleans. It is possible the Federal Secretary may find that the amicable settlement of outrageous insults is not an easy task.

At length the United States' Senate has passed the Tax Bill. It is anticipated that in some of the States the collection of the taxes will not be very readily effected, even if the Bill passes the House of Representatives.

Cotton has been taxed by the Senate at one half-cent per pound. The European manufacturers may learn by this how necessary Secession was for the interests of commerce. Not content with a duty on the import of cotton fabrics, a tax is likewise levied on the raw material. This is not likely to be productive, because very little cotton will pass through Federal hands; but the act shows the avarice and greed of the Yankees.

The assertions about the speedy termination of the war are not now so frequent or so positive. Indeed, it tries even Yankee assurance to reiterate such predictions when the Government has called for more men, and ordered the construction of more gunboats.

Mr. Sumner has offered a resolution in the Senate, that the appointment of military governors for Southern States was contrary to the Federal constitution and laws.

We have printed in *extenso* an interesting speech of the Hon. Benj. Wood, Member of Congress for New York, upon the state of the Union.

The grain prospects of the North are not favourable. In summarizing the commercial advices from New York, the *Times* remarks:—

There were discouraging accounts from some of the principal grain districts in Ohio of the prospects of the wheat crop, the damage from fly in several instances being such that the farmers were ploughing up the wheat to sow Indian corn.

In the House of Lords, on Friday last, the Earl of Carnarvon questioned Earl Russell as to General Butler's proclamation, and as to the authenticity of the rumour of mediation in the American war.

Earl Russell denounced the edict of General Butler, and hoped the United States' Government would disavow it. The noble Earl (Carnarvon)

had asked him a question with reference to a rumour which had obtained currency, that the two Governments of France and England intended to offer their mediation between the belligerents. The spreading of these rumours might do a great deal of mischief, and therefore he was glad the noble earl had put the question, as it gave him an opportunity of informing the House what was the true state of the case. Her Majesty's Government had made no proposal of the kind to the Government of France, and the Government of France had made no such proposal to them. Moreover, the French ambassador in this country had stated that he had no instructions on the subject; and he (Earl

Russell) need not say, therefore, that there had been no communication between the two Governments of the tenour which had been alleged. Without giving any opinion as to the propriety at some time or other of offering the good offices of her Majesty's Government, he must say that he thought the present time was most inopportune for such mediation. He thought that no good could come of it, and in the present state of the war, and in the present embittered state of feeling on both sides, such an offer would rather tend to prevent any good result from being attained if a similar step should be hereafter taken. Certainly there was no intention on the part of her Majesty's Government to interfere at the present moment.

In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Hopwood, Lord Palmerston said:—

Sir, her Majesty's Government have received no communication from the Government of France on the subject of mediation, and we have no intention at present to offer mediation between the combatants.

Sir James Elphinstone inquired whether the Government had received any information that an English and two French steamers had been fired into by American vessels on the coast of America, and that the captain of the French vessel was killed. Lord Palmerston, in reply, said the Government had not received any information of the kind.

Sir John Walsh, after expressing a strong opinion in reference to the recent proclamation issued by the Federal General Butler, asked whether any official information had been received authenticating the proclamation. Mr. Gregory also commented upon this document, which he characterized as repugnant to common sense, and the greatest outrage that had been perpetrated against decency, civilization, and humanity in modern times, and called upon Lord Palmerston to unite with the chivalrous Ruler of France in denouncing the outrage.

Lord Palmerston rose, amidst loud cheers, and said:—

Sir, appealed to by my hon. friend, I am quite prepared to say, that I think no man can have read that proclamation to which notice has been drawn without feeling the deepest indignation. (Loud cheers.) It is a proclamation to which I do not scruple to attach the epithet "infamous." (Loud and renewed cheers.) Sir, an Englishman must blush to think that such an act has been committed by a man belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race. If it had sprung from some barbarian tribe that was not within the pale of civilization, one might have regretted, but no one could have been surprised at it. But that such an order should have been issued by a soldier—(cheers)—by a man who had raised himself to the rank of general—is a subject undoubtedly not less of astonishment than of pain. Sir, I cannot bring myself to believe that the Government of the United States will not, when it has got notice of the fact, of its own accord stamp it with its censure and condemnation. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") We have received yesterday a despatch from Lord Lyons, communicating to us, from an American newspaper, the paragraph which has been read by the hon. baronet, and the general order of General Beauregard, aimed at giving the text of the order. There can be no objection to produce that paper. With regard to the course which her Majesty's Government may on consideration adopt, I trust the House will see that that is a matter for reflection; but I am quite persuaded that there is not a man in England who will not share in those feelings which have been so well expressed by the hon. baronet and by my hon. friend. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Hopwood has given notice that on the 1st of July he will move the following resolution:—"That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to use every means consistent with the maintenance of peace, either in concert with the Great Powers or otherwise, as they may think it expedient, to endeavour to terminate the civil war now raging in America."

Reports from Key West, to the 30th ult., state that a Federal frigate from Vera Cruz had brought information that the French had been repulsed by the Mexicans, and were retreating on Vera Cruz, with heavy loss. We need hardly remind our readers that all Northern reports likely to be unpleasant to France, must be received with reservation.

The French force in Mexico is to be largely reinforced.

The report of the committee on the credits for the Mexican expedition was read on Tuesday in the Corps Legislatif. The committee "identifying itself with the patriotic sentiment which dictated the demand of the Government," proposes voting the bill for the necessary supplies. The conclusions of the committee were unanimously adopted by the Chamber.

Lord Lyons is on his way to England.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 18, 1862.

The buoyancy noted in our last report received a momentary check, on Thursday and Friday last, in consequence of revived discussion in the press on the subject of mediation. The report has originated in Paris that France and England had agreed to address overtures of conciliation to the Washington Government, and though little credence was attached to it, it served to damp the tone of our market slightly. On Saturday, however, this suspicion was set at rest by the declaration of Government in the House on the previous night. Both Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston disclaimed any intention of mediating in American affairs at present, while the former pronounced the present time most inopportune for acting. The Scotia's news were also to hand that day, reporting a severe engagement at Richmond, without decided result, and no important change in the relative position of the belligerents, and our market, under this double stimulus, resumed its buoyancy with sales of 12,000 bales at fully $\frac{3}{4}$ d. advance. On Monday, the trade attended in large numbers, and a very extensive business was transacted, both by spinners, speculators, and exporters, the sales reaching 18,000 bales, at a further advance of fully $\frac{1}{4}$ d. On Tuesday the excitement continued, and the sales again reached 18,000 bales, adding another $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to the price. In Manchester, that day, considerable transactions occurred, and extensive orders to buy cotton were telegraphed in the afternoon, increasing the dearthness of the market. To-day, a very active demand again prevails at higher prices, the news by the Hibernian sustaining the confidence of speculators; the sales amount to 15,000 bales, and the quotations for middling American may be given at $13\frac{3}{4}$ d. for Uplands, $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. for Mobiles, and $13\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $13\frac{1}{2}$ d. for Orleans.

The chief feature of the week's business has been the enormous demand for Surat cotton, about two-thirds of the daily sales have been in that class, and the returns on Friday will probably show that two-thirds of the stock in the port has changed hands within the week. The advance has in consequence been very heavy, amounting in Dhollerahs and cotton generally below $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. since Friday. The market is now almost swept of desirable parcels of Surat cotton, and is worse supplied than has been known for years. It is curious to observe that the scale of prices ruling to-day is $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to $\frac{1}{2}$ d. above the highest point reached on January 9th, whereas the middling and better grades of American Cotton have just returned to the point touched then. Our quotations for Surat Cotton on the spot to-day may be given as $9\frac{1}{4}$ d. for fair Dhollerahs, $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. for Omrawuttees, $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. for Comptahs, $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. for Broach, and $11\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Lawginned Dharwar. "To arrive," a very large business has again been done, the sales on some days probably reaching 10,000 bales, or more. For new Broach of early shipment $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. has been paid, and possibly $10\frac{1}{2}$ d., though it has not transpired; $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. has been paid for March shipment of Omrawuttee, sample guaranteed; and $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. may be considered the value of the first shipments of that class, guaranteed fair.

April and May sailing are worth $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. The first shipments of Dhollerah are nominally worth $9\frac{1}{2}$ d., though it is doubtful whether that price has been obtained; but May sailing is not saleable at more than $9\frac{1}{4}$ d., and business has been done to-day at $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. Old crop Comptahs, close at hand, are worth $9\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In the last few days a strong speculative demand has sprung up for Egyptian, the sales of which, yesterday and to-day, reach 6000 bales, and prices are fully $\frac{3}{4}$ d. up since Friday. This description of cotton has long been below its relative value to American, and is now attracting much attention. It is believed that from three-fourths to seven-eighths of the last crop has now been received, and therefore comparatively little can be expected till near the end of the year. Brazils have been equally cheap in sympathy with Egyptian, and are now moving up along with them.

The latest news from America is not supposed in commercial circles to throw any light on the question of cotton supply; gentlemen arriving in town, who left New Orleans on the 20th May, report that no cotton had reached that city, except a single parcel of 400 bales, under very exceptional circumstances.

It seems that it belonged to an Englishman, and had been brought in the interior and transported by him to his sugar plantation a few miles above the city, and being in a region where no other cotton was stored, it escaped the general destruction that ensued at the taking of New Orleans, and as soon as the Federal forces entered the town it was placed under their protection and brought to market.

The general impression there was, that no cotton worth mentioning would arrive while the war went on, and the amount already destroyed was variously estimated at 250,000 to 500,000 bales.

MANCHESTER, June 17, 1862.

Notwithstanding that Whitsuntide holidays involved a partial closing of the warehouses during the past week, there has been a large speculative business done in our leading staples for India and China, and considerable quantities of cloth have been cleared off at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per piece advance, and of yarn $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. higher for all markets, induced in a great measure by the better accounts from the East, reporting large sales both in Bombay and Calcutta at advancing prices.

The extensive transactions in cotton, founded on views of protracted warfare, aided by the clearance of goods now effected in the East, have also inspired general confidence. Shirtings made from the old American material, some of which had been bought on speculation some ten months ago, have been sold at an advance of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb. more money than the previous week.

Our market to-day has been influenced by the large business doing in Liverpool, establishing an advance in the raw material of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., and a general and decided rise in the quotations for goods and yarns has been the result.

Yarns, as compared with this day week, are fully $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. dearer, and in some instances an advance of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. has been paid; but this applies more especially to higher counts, from 60s. upwards.

Although at these extreme rates very little business has been done.

There has been a fair inquiry for India Mules from 30s. to 50s., and transactions to a moderate extent are reported; but in continental spinings buyers still hold back from purchasing anything beyond immediate wants. This has been a characteristic feature amongst our continental buyers since the commencement of the American struggle, as the German merchants have generally held an opinion of some sudden termination of hostilities, and consequent influx of cotton, they have thus acted with great caution, and do not wish to be caught with heavy stocks on hand. The cloth market,

although very firm, does not keep pace with that of yarn, and in this department only a limited amount of business seems to have been done.

India shirtings are now very firmly held; stocks are not heavy, and holders will not sell except at an advance of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per piece.

Some few transactions are reported in printers on rather better terms, and the lighter makes of T cloths have been in more request for the home-trade at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per piece advance on last Tuesday's prices.

For long cloths and domestics the demand is slow, and the business doing is very limited.

The following have been exported from Liverpool, London, and the Clyde for six months, ending June 17, 1861-62:—

	Plain cotton	Coloured cottons	Printed cottons.	
1862	136,419,992	11,596,679	15,501,443	yards.
1861	159,677,888	15,262,232	9,783,798	"
Bombay				
1862	62,272,275	7,792,500	4,271,596	"
1861	111,082,065	9,103,765	7,219,179	"

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE intelligence received by recent arrivals from New Orleans estimates the quantity of cotton destroyed along the banks of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, as well as along the navigable water-courses in the interior, as not less than 500,000 bales, or nearly one-sixth of the entire crop of 1861. This estimate will not appear exaggerated to those who know that the most productive cotton plantations of the South lie in the "river bottoms," that is, the alluvial deposits of the Mississippi and its vast ramifications of tributaries.

A large quantity of cotton in all parts of the country had been destroyed by the exposure to the weather, as the greater portion of the crop is neither ginned nor baled, but simply stowed in heaps on the plantations.

Two other names, George C. Swanson and Judge John W. Andrews are added to the list of arrests by General Butler, which we gave in our last.

General Butler had appointed a Military Governor over the city to relieve himself of the onerous task of personally governing the unruly women and children of New Orleans; but at last advices retained the command of his department.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

— CONFEDERATE STATES, April 29, 1862.

You will see by the date of this that I am once more at home, where I arrived on Sunday evening, the 27th. I wrote you from Nassau, that I had taken passage by the —. We sailed on the 22nd; on the 23rd were chased by a steam-ship of war, but outran her; got off the coast at — (I think it best not to insert the name), on Friday morning, but could not cross the bar. As there were no blockaders in sight, put the ship in a position to run, if necessary, and waited for the next tide. At four on Friday afternoon attempted to run in, but got ashore on the breakers, and lay there all night. During the evening a large sailing man-of-war ran within three miles of us. We expected every moment that she would fire into us, but for some cause unexplained, she tacked about and ran off without doing so. If she had fired and hit us, it would have put an end to the —, as she had, amongst other stores, 1000 barrels of powder on board. In the course of the night we got a small steamer alongside, and transferred as much cargo as she could take, and at high tide on Saturday morning the ship was afloat and was towed in. I got to — late in the afternoon, delivered my despatches, and at nine started for home.

CONFEDERATE STATES, THE OAKS,

May 1, 1862.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Were I only certain that my letters would reach you, without passing through the hands of our detestable foe, I should write you often, and at length. I know that now your anxiety is so great to hear from our beloved home, and also to hear from T—, that, though I am such a poor writer, I feel constantly a desire to tell you of all that is passing here. Soon after I wrote you the great Battle of Shiloh took place, and though the Yankees claim it as a victory, every day brings proof how dearly-bought it was for them. On Sunday, the 6th of April, we whipped them all day, and, though on Monday we were compelled by their immense reinforcements of fresh troops, and in the vicinity of their gunboats to retire from the field, it was anything but a victory to them. The attack was made by us, and we only retired from the ground that we had taken from them the day before, to our old position. When we consider how they outnumbered us, the superiority of their equipment, the profusion of their provisions, and every other comfort, the ease of their transportation, so that their troops came into the battle perfectly fresh, it is as great a victory to us as ever a nation won. T— was there, and Mr. W—, who was on General Gladden's staff, says that he acquitted himself most gallantly. I have had two letters from him since, and in the last, which was written hurriedly, he asked me to write you, and tell you as much of his whereabouts as I deemed prudent. He has been made Assistant-surgeon to the celebrated Colonel Jack Morgan's command, and when he wrote would leave Corinth in an hour, on a secret expedition, entrusted to Colonel Morgan by the President. I am afraid to write you the number of horsemen in the expedition, or the direction which they have taken, for fear this might fall into other hands than

yours. But should they be successful, you will probably see some account of it first in the Northern papers; and you will know that T— was with them. They have learned to fear Captain Jack, as he is called, and I hope this will give them cause to fear and hate him still more. You must not believe what you see in their papers, if it is anything bad for us, till you hear from our side. Our men fought with the greatest bravery at Shiloh, and numbers of them were killed or wounded; but the loss of the Yankees was much greater than ours in number—and how far greater our loss when the noble Southern men are compared with their hireling hosts! General Gladden, our much loved friend, was wounded, lost an arm, and died a week after from the effects. We cannot estimate his loss to our army; and General Bragg, in his order to the soldiers concerning his death, expressed the general feeling in most beautiful language: "His country has lost a hero, his commanding officer a general, and his soldiers, a father." His loss as a friend is great to Mrs. B— and myself, and his daughter is broken-hearted. I do hope you will receive my letter written in March, but fearing you may not, I must repeat how much pleased we all were with T—'s frank and affectionate manner. We know that your anxiety will be great about him, but you must bear it bravely; and rest assured that he is as earnest in his country's service as you could wish him to be. If it is in our power to serve him in any way we will certainly do it, and I know he will not hesitate to call upon us. I know you will feel discouraged when you find that we have to give up so much of our land, but you must not feel disheartened till you find that we are defeated in the interior. Wherever their gunboats can get, they have us in their power; but I cannot believe that they ever will be able to make a stand out of their reach. I have been sick in bed for ten days with one of my bad attacks of rheumatism, and I find it very difficult to write now, so that you must excuse the quantity and quality of this. * * * * *

Before this reaches you, you will have heard of the occupation of New Orleans by the Federals, or rather of the river by their boats. The Mayor would not pull down the Confederate flag, as they ordered him, and told them that there was no man there who would do it; they then threatened to shoot it down from their gunboats, but at last accounts it still floated in defiance of them. It will take a large force of theirs to hold New Orleans, and even then they will find it a hard task. I cannot begin to tell you of our friends who were at Shiloh. * * * * *

I do not think of any others, except Rob Armistead, who were killed, in whom you feel a personal interest. A great many of the wounded have been sent here, and the women all over the country are doing all in their power to alleviate their sufferings. I never have seen such patience and fortitude as these men exhibit. I never have seen one who was not earnestly wishing to get well and go back to the army. It would make your heart bleed to see boys hardly fit to leave their mother's hearths bear themselves as if they had been in many a hard fought battle. And you say each of us, judging not N— was in the fight ten days, but was unhurt, also B—'s husband. I am looking for her every day. I still hope we may hold this place, but if the worst comes, we shall retire to the country. We look for stirring events in the next few weeks. * * * Everything is in its spring beauty now, flowers, birds, and fruit in abundance; and to think that it may all soon be in the possession of the invader! But the day will come when we will drive them from our soil; and though there may be mourning in almost every house for some loved one, it will be consolation that our country is free! * * * * *

Once more, I say, no matter what happens, be of good cheer, and remember that the darkest hour of night comes just before day. Give my best love to all your family. Ever and truly yours.

HELEN B—.

NEW ORLEANS, April 23, 1862.

DEAR MR. —,—Knowing the anxiety you will feel to hear from us after the news of the great Battle of Shiloh reaches you, I have been desirous of writing to tell you that though six members of our family were in the fight, each and all have escaped with life, and — alone was wounded; he received a Minié ball in his left thigh, just above his knee, which will disable him for a few weeks; but [we are only proud of that, so deep is our thankfulness that they have all been spared. A long letter to you a few weeks ago informed you that our forces were gathering at Corinth for a great battle, and that all of our sons and brothers were at that point. Generals Sidney Johnston, Beauregard, Bragg, Polk, &c., &c., decided to attack the enemy on the 5th five or six miles on this side of the Tennessee River, where they had encamped in great force, before they were joined by Buell's heavy column, which was marching down on the other side of the river. The tremendous rains which had flooded the country rendered it impossible for Beauregard to get our heavy guns into position by the 5th, and the attack was not made until daylight on the 6th. It took the enemy completely by surprise, many being at the breakfast tables. The force taken into the field on our side was 38,000, and that of the enemy was supposed to be 65,000. The battle raged furiously for ten hours, leaving us with a complete victory, though a heavy loss. Our men slept on the battle-field, occupying the Federal tents; 5000 or 6000 prisoners, arms, ammunition, &c., were captured; but a large force from Buell's command was thrown across the river during the night. The attack was renewed by them on the 7th; we had no reinforcements worth speaking of, and our exhausted troops fought a second battle against fresh men, and held their ground so firmly, that three o'clock

ended the contest as a drawn battle—both sides so worn down and exhausted that it was impossible to do more. — says, never was so desperate a battle fought on this continent—surpassing Manassas infinitely for obstinate resistance and daring valour. I knew it would be so; for the men that encountered each other on that field were Southern men, standing before their own threshold, against a hardy and stalwart race of Western men. Oh, if I could tell you the many deeds of valour done by our friends and brothers you would be proud of them, as we are; but this little scrap of paper, and the little snatches of time which I only can command over here, are quite inadequate for doing justice to so full a subject, I can only write to tell you they are safe. Col. Deas was brought down to Mobile as soon as he could be moved, and I left him at —'s, under his wife's care, to recover, while I ran over here to bring home your runaway child, whom her good friends will not allow to return to me. I am using the words of others when I tell you that he "covered himself with glory" again yesterday; I listened to it from a letter from Corinth. His regiment, with that of Colonel Adams's of this city—one of the finest officers of the service—was in General Gladden's brigade. About ten o'clock the first day, poor Gladden fell mortally wounded, his arm shattered by a shell, from which he has since died. Colonel Adams then took command of the brigade which he had until about eleven o'clock, when he fell, a ball striking his head just over the eyes, and, strange to say, not killing him; then he, as next eldest colonel, took command, and led the brigade through that day and the next, not being wounded until about twelve o'clock the second day; but being able to keep his saddle, retained his command until the second contest was over. He had both of his horses killed under him, both being shot first and killed later; he was struck on his hip by a spent ball, on the hand by another, the inside of his glove was cut out, and his hand cut by a piece of shell, his hat shot twice off his head, the feather cut in two, and a large hole in the top of his hat big enough to thrust my fist through, his bridle reins cut off just below his hands, and with all this he is safe and sound alive in —'s own nice comfortable bed in the breakfast-room, now recovering in sight of her bright little flower-garden. Is it not little short of a miracle how he has escaped with life and limb? He calls the wound on his knee nothing, and hopes to return to his regiment in two or three weeks. We hear that no one behaved more gallantly on that day than Deas, and are proud to believe it. N. fought desperately, and much praise has been given to the 21st Regiment, which is his, under Colonel Crauford. Henry has been complimented for his desperate bravery also; he had his canteen shot through twice, and his pantaloons riddled. Both escaped untouched; and have gone home for a few days, and I am most anxious to return and see our heroes, and hear all they have to say of that, the greatest battle of this war. Shiloh, the name given, is a little country church about sixteen miles from Corinth, and five or six miles from the Tennessee River. From our town there were many wounded, but few lives lost. — lost a son, also —, and some other names I cannot recall. You will be sorry to hear that poor Armistead was killed early on the first morning, and died on the battle-field without being able to be moved—shot through the body just above the hips. We had no heart to rejoice in our victory, coming to us as it did saddened with the loss of friends, and many who were sufferers. General Gladden's remains were brought to Mobile to be buried. A's taken to his sister's, at Montgomery.

We are annoyed to see, by the Northern papers, that they claim a victory, but you may judge how little true this can be—their loss was admitted to be very heavy—some say eighteen or twenty thousand, upwards of 4000 prisoners have passed through Mobile; General Prentiss among them, and many officers.

I do not expect this to fall into the hands of the Federals, still if it should, the most patient of postmasters would never read through all this stuff, so I need not hesitate to tell you of one loss much to be regretted—Sidney Johnston was killed on the first day. This left and still leaves Beauregard first in command. We must look for another battle soon, but when it will take place it is impossible to tell. I dread to think of it. Both Mrs. — sons are safe and untouched. There has been a severe bombardment of the forts within the past week, but with little effect. The enemy have thrown upwards of 390,000 pounds of powder and upwards of a thousand ton of iron into Fort Jackson, and the result on our side is ten men killed, seventeen wounded, no breach in the walls, and only the combustible within burnt. The enemy's boats have retired since yesterday morning—two were destroyed and several crippled; this is General Duncan's official communication, therefore true.

The new iron-clad steamer Louisiana is finished, and went down to give assistance on the 20th. Of course all this keeps us very anxious and miserable, but we are hopeful that our good cause must triumph; that we cannot be defeated ultimately or subjugated, is firmly believed. If we could only have peace, and see our dear family once more safe at home, how thankful we would be. If you can see or write to Mrs. —, do tell her what I write you. I fear she never gets my letters, though I write constantly. — was unhurt, and — not in the battle; he is at Cumberland Gap, higher up in Tennessee, so is —. I could write volumes if I had time to give, but I write always in a hurry, for which you must make allowances. I hear there is a letter for me from you at home; I shall thank you for it after I see it. I expect to return to Mobile on Friday.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, Saturday, 27th.

After writing the above we were taken entirely by surprise on the 25th, to hear that the Federal boats had passed the forts, and

would be at the city (New Orleans) in twenty-four hours. I left with my daughter the following morning by the first train; we are thus far on our way home, and I add these few words, though everything is still in uncertainty. It was feared the city would have to surrender, the commanding officer (Lovell) inclined that way, though the influential citizens were trying to induce a stand being made. We heard from an operator, at some point on the cars during the night, that Porter had demanded a surrender of the city in eight hours, and the answer was No. If this be true, God only knows what this day has brought forth; if the city is shelled, think of my poor sister and her daughters. Mr. H. is at Corinth. All the cotton is ordered to be burnt—every bale was burning when we left, all along the road.

MOBILE, April 28, 1862.

MY DEAR —,—With scarcely collectedness enough of thought, of feeling, I must attempt a letter to you, in reply to yours from Liverpool of the 15th of March, which I received in the cars from the hands of Mr. —, whom we met near New Orleans on Friday last, as we were flying from that city with the Federals in sight. I know how shocked you will be to hear that, but it is, true. After a vigorous bombardment of Forts Jackson and Philip of several days, the gunboats succeeded in passing the forts, and were on their way to the city. This intelligence reached the city about nine o'clock on the 24th; the alarm bell was rung to give notice to the citizens, and the startling news soon spread over the town, producing consternation, as you may imagine; for up to that hour all the information from the forts was of the most cheering character. The bombardment had been terrific, and the forts made such good resistance that the officers thought they could keep the Federal boats at bay, as they had done for several successive days. The accounts received were so meagre that I hardly dare attempt to give you much of a description, but will tell what we were able to hear. The Federal boats were supposed to be forty-two in number, to which we had about seven to offer resistance, under cover of the forts, which were said to be well garrisoned, and containing 300 guns. With such an armament of guns, they supposed they could prevent their reaching the city; but a desperate dash about four o'clock in the morning; and a sharp fight from our boats, was all unavailing to keep them back, and they sailed by. As soon as we heard this, I procured my passport, and left by the first train, glad to escape with my daughter before they actually reached the town; of course, all we know since is telegraphic; and amid a variety of conflicting reports, I think the facts are, that a certain number, from seven to thirteen of the boats reached the city, a flag of truce was sent to the Mayor demanding the surrender of the city. General Lovell said he would evacuate the city, but not surrender it, and did withdraw himself and the forces to Camp Moore, about fifty miles above the town. The Federals then sent to demand that the flag from the City Hall and other buildings should be taken down, or they would shell the city: and the reply of the Mayor was, it should not be removed from a single public building, and they might shell if they chose, which has not been done; neither has the city been surrendered, as far as we can learn up to this evening, this is how the whole matter stands;—a despatch says General Duncan "still holds the forts, and they are as strong as ever"; the transports are still below; and without their forces to land and attack the town, I don't see what they can do but make an empty demand of the city. After the severe bombardment of many days, they can't be in condition to shell a city of that extent, I should suppose, without fresh supplies of shells and ammunition. It seems a curious position, and what will be the result we have yet to see. You may imagine the anxiety with which we shall wait the events of the next few days. All the cotton in the city was ordered to be burnt immediately, and the bright blazes, and heavy columns of smoke soon attested the truth of the threat—that every bale should be destroyed, sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy. The sugar and molasses were rolled in the river, and I saw piles of burning cotton as I drove out of the town and along the railroad, at several plantations. Let there be no doubt on this point. I saw it burning with my own eyes, and heard gentlemen say the same was going on on the Levee. I was very glad to get your letter from Liverpool, and am truly sorry you seem not to receive any news from here. I had written a long letter from New Orleans, telling you of the Battle of Shiloh, and before I sent it my departure became necessary, and I brought it with me as far as Jackson, being detained there for a few hours. I attempted to add a P.S., but the cars arrived, and I scribbled off a few lines and gave it to Mr. —, who was going to New Orleans, and promised to send it from there; also a newspaper, giving the latest intelligence about the city. — was here this morning, and offered to send this for me, so I have been obliged to write at the table this evening, with the family bothering around me, which will account for all my omissions, mistakes, &c.

THE FAITHFULNESS OF THE NEGRO.—The Times observes: Hitherto the whole experience of the war supports the view that, as a rule, the Southern negro is warmly attached to his master, and that he would not only obey his orders with the utmost faithfulness and docility, but fight for him to the last extremity. And should the war last for another year, or be protracted far into the present summer, it will not surprise those who know the negro character best to learn that not 20,000 negroes only, but 100,000 have been enrolled in the South, and they will hate the "Yankees" quite as intensely as their masters do, and fight against them with as much determination.

Foreign Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1862.

I added a postscript in my last in regard to the evacuation of Corinth, although the news had just been received, and treated at first as unquestionable *canard*, yet I saw so many advantages to the Confederates in this movement, that I had no difficulty in believing it. We have now not only the confirmation but some of the particulars. When Halleck took possession, he found the place entirely deserted, except by the old men, women, and children. Everything of value had been carried away, not a gun was found, and such had been the deliberation and success of the retreat that every sick man had been removed. When we remember that the sick are an incumbrance to an army, it will be seen that their movements must have been made with abundance of time; and it is now known that the movement has been progressing for a long time. The works were found to be quite weak, and might have been carried at any time by storm, and it is now said there were never more than 60,000 troops at the place. Where they have gone is not known. The Union army is said to be greatly mortified at the result, as the success in getting the position is now neutralized by the lateness of the season, the approach of the hot and sickly season, and the comparative worthlessness of any mere occupation of points like this. It is true that it cuts off the communication on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad; but so long as they have the Northern Central, they can still pass to and from Western Tennessee. I think it is very likely that the bulk of the Confederate army may have retired to Grand Junction, a position in the Northern Central Road.

The entire gain, therefore, that has been made by Halleck in his campaign of two months, with great suffering from sickness to his men, has been the occupation of a village on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, which gives him at that point the command of the railroad; he will probably move off towards Memphis, but he will not be likely to reach there without encountering some opposition.

The Confederate army, under Johnson, Ewell, and Jackson, which made so brilliant a dash up the Shenandoah Valley, driving everything before them, is now retreating. I gave you my views as to their probable movements when the first accounts of their success reached us, and those views appear to be realized. Fremont has crossed the Shenandoah range of mountains with a considerable force, and is now pressing them on the west, whilst a force from the east is also approaching them. Front Royal has been reoccupied by the Union forces, as well as Strasburg and Winchester. Jackson will now probably rapidly retreat to his original position, having accomplished the capture of several thousand prisoners, and large amount of war material, but unable to hold his position; and certainly he would have been unwise to remain so far distant from the main Confederate army. I think that the numbers of this force have been, as usual, greatly exaggerated, and that it is probable it never exceeded 15,000, all told. With the present Federal force—now so largely augmented—so close to them, it may be very possible that we shall hear of a battle.

This steamer will carry you accounts of the desperate battle fought near Richmond, on Saturday, May 31. We have, as yet, no details. The despatches received have been most remarkably meagre and unsatisfactory. But at the present time, after carefully reading over all the particulars that have come to us, I arrive at these conclusions:—The Confederates determined to make an effort to surround McClellan and cut off his rear communications. At the outset they were entirely successful, driving before them in full retreat Casey's division, and capturing all the artillery and baggage of the entire division; but after pursuing them a short distance, the reserves of Heintzelman and Keys came up, checking the pursuit. And later in the day two additional divisions were brought up to sustain and help them, and night coming on the Confederates abandoned further action. Next morning there were some offensive demonstrations on the part of the Confederates, but being repulsed, there was nothing particularly accomplished on either side. The artillery and baggage of Casey's division remained in the hands of the Confederates.

The loss of both sides must have been very heavy. We have not yet heard any estimate of the loss, but I am prepared to hear that not less than 10,000 have been killed and wounded on both sides in the battle, as it appears to have been, thus far, the most desperate contested affair that has yet taken place.

This battle, that of Williamsburg, other skirmishes, and sickness, must reduce the strength of McClellan's army fully 20,000; but he will soon be reinforced by a

portion of M'Dowell's force, which will now reach him from Fredericksburg.

The flight of Casey's division in the battle of Saturday has overthrown the idea that the men under McClellan could not be induced to do any running. The fighting must continue now almost continually at and around Richmond until its fate be decided.

I have already written you something with reference to the state of affairs at New Orleans. I shall not be surprised to hear of some dreadful outbreak there. The city is now held under the most rigid administration of martial law, and the people dare not utter a word, except such as may be approved by their military rulers, under penalties of the severest nature. If this method can create any love for the Union, I am greatly mistaken; but I begin to believe that the total absence of the expected development of Union sentiment throughout the South, will, perhaps, determine the Government to occupy the cities as conquerors, and treat them as a conquered people.

General Butler proposes to pass the summer at some of the points on the Gulf Coast,—Bay St. Louis, Pass Christian, or Belloci, and has turned over the Military Governorship of the city to one of his officers—namely, Shepey.

HAVANNAH, May 24, 1862.

The fall of New Orleans was a sad and unexpected blow to us; but the noble exhibition of patriotism by the inhabitants—men, women, and children—should, in the estimation of the world, be worth more than a victory. 18,000 bales of cotton were consigned to the flames, and the owners themselves applied the torch, while their wives and daughters stood by urging them on to further destruction of property. From Lafayette to the lower wharf of the city there was a sheet of flame, caused by the burning of steamers, ships, lofts, rams, and of all things that could be useful to the enemy. New Orleans fell, but the Federal victory was barren. The people remain true to their cause, preferring the fate of martyred patriots to a political or social intercourse with their invaders. The 30,000 Union people, spoken of by the Northern papers, had vanished into thin air, and when the conqueror summoned the people to take the oath to support the Federal Government none appeared; the Mayor and Common Council were ordered by General Butler to subscribe to the oath, and their reply was, "We submit to the rule of the conqueror while he holds this city, in all that pertains to its military government, will do nothing in violation of his proclamation, which says, 'the rights of persons and of property will be protected during his occupation of the city;' but we will not take an oath by which we become perjured traitors;" and instantly they were hurried off to prison. The Foreign Legion, an association formed for the protection of private property, laid down their arms and refused to co-operate with General Butler; and some Englishmen were seized, a ball and chain hung to their legs, and all placed at menial work on one of the fortifications. It is natural that the inhabitants of a captured city should suffer some annoyance, privations, and hardships; but General Butler, exasperated at the barrenness of his dearly-bought victory, has committed monstrosities unparalleled in the history of civilized warfare. Armed squads of soldiers are sent from store to store—all of which are closed—the doors are forcibly broken down, and the demand made, by order of General Butler, that all the money in the establishment be delivered up. Samuel Smith, an old-established merchant, was in this manner robbed of 60,000 dollars, and others of smaller amounts, under threats of personal punishment and imprisonment. The Consul of the Netherlands was applied to for 800,000 dollars, which General Butler learned was deposited in his Consulate; he refused to give up the money. The keys of his iron safe were then demanded; these he also refused to surrender; when he was seized, searched, and stripped. His vault was then forcibly entered, the money (800,000 dollars) found, and taken from him.

I now come to an atrocity which must cause all the world to blush at the thought that there could live a people so debased as those from whose association we recoil with horror and disgust. The people of New Orleans refuse to affiliate in any manner with the Northern invaders; the merchants will not open their stores—decline to sell to, or buy from, the enemy; the small shopkeepers observe the same rule, and mechanics and labourers fully enter into the general feeling of the community. This is natural; and it is natural, too, that the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of the patriot soldiers who have flocked to the camp of the invincible Beauregard, should refuse to notice in any manner the officers or soldiers of the Federal army. Not equal to a contest with men, the Federal commander wages a war upon the ladies of New Orleans—his das-

tardly, brutal attack is found in his general order, No. 28, published in the New Orleans *True Delta*.

The news from the South is excellent, though the Northern papers herald forth great Federal victories, as usual; the abandonment of Yorktown, Portsmouth, and Norfolk, was a part of a plan agreed upon by the President and the officers in command in Virginia weeks before it occurred. As at New Orleans, every particle of property which could be seized by or made available to the enemy was destroyed by our troops at these seaports. When the Confederates meet the enemy on land, out of reach of their gunboats, they will certainly defeat their armies. It is a notable fact that the Southern armies have been victorious in every single land fight which has occurred since the beginning of the war, except at Sommerset. Recently, and I write from reliable information, the Confederates have gained three important and decisive victories.—Johnson defeated McClellan at West Point and at Williamsburg, and Bragg defeated Pope near Corinth. Speaking of the first engagement, a friend from Baltimore writes me,—“Nearly 800 wounded Federals are here in one boat from West Point, 1500 have arrived at New York, and 600 are on their way to Philadelphia; and yet the Government declares its loss in killed, wounded, and missing, to be less than 1000.”

The sham plea of releasing Union people of the South has exploded; the Northern army find Union sentiment in Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana, as scarce as cotton bales after they have taken a cotton port. There is but one feeling prevailing the entire population of the South—victory, or the surrender of a depopulated country.

The Mexican question naturally excites considerable interest. I never hear any difference of opinion as to the necessity of restoring order in that unhappy country, and though the task may be more difficult than some persons imagine, it is certain France can and will accomplish it. Of course France will incur the hatred of the North, but that will be amply compensated by an alliance with the South, for the South is not only willing but able to assist France in her effort to promote the progress of civilization.

PARIS, JUNE 18, 1862.

The almost simultaneous adoption of the Confiscation, or rather Spoliation Bill, and rejection of the Emancipation Bill, by Congress, coupled with the late startling events, as developed by the progress of the American War, have worked a powerful change in the public sentiment of France. The largest portion of those who had so far adhered to the North only, because they believed its philanthropy sincere, have, with an eloquent unanimity, turned their admiration into scorn. Even the *Presse* and *L'Opinion Nationale* seem to be wavering and looking for a decent mode of abandoning their Northern friends to their ominous fate.

Though the well known unscrupulousness of the Government of the United States, and the bare-faced villainies of its agents, had prepared the better informed classes of French society to expect still greater villainies at their hands, Paris has literally been stunned with horror by the last proclamation of General Butler. All honest and gallant men, all pure Christians, stand aghast in presence of this fiendish and demon-like perversity.

Not content to have plundered the banks and the Netherlands Consulate, not satisfied with having attempted to smite the chivalrous people of New Orleans by a first proclamation, evidently intended to convert the lower classes of that unfortunate city into a regular band of Federal assassins, the heartless Butler now invites his infuriated soldiers to the most savage licentiousness, he condemns prisoners of war to be shot and drives the faithful from the temples, thus upraising the darkest crimes of the darkest ages—plunder, rape, and sacrilege.

France, I assure you, remains no longer a cool and indifferent spectator of such atrocities, perpetrated in the name of "liberty and union." Her chivalry has lost no time in stigmatizing and branding with infamy the barbarian Butler, who wallows in mud, blood, plunder, and lust.

But it may be as well for France and England timely to bear in mind that many of their own daughters residing in New Orleans are alike exposed to Butler's indignities; for no apparent sign distinguishes them from the native ladies of New Orleans; and England, especially knows that under Yankee rule, no protection attaches to the folds of neutral and friendly flags.

Without pretending to suggest what course it becomes Europe to pursue in the present instance, it may, perhaps, with propriety, be remarked, that only two years ago France and England, guided solely by a high sense of humanity, have thought it their bounden duty to inter-

vene in Syria under somewhat similar circumstances.

Be this as it may, Europe can no longer plead ignorance. The Union mask, which for the past year has so successfully hid the ultimate designs of Lincoln's Administration, has just been cynically thrown off; and the foul purposes of the Northern fanatics appear in all their naked hideousness.

Butler and Wool, the Federal *Wallensteins*—worthily pro-consuls of the American *Attila*—proclaim to the civilized world that the South is to be placed under the stern rule of military conquest, its population spoliated, the sanctity of their homes polluted, and their mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, to be treated and dealt with as common harlots plying their avocation.

Will the mere condemnation of such an infamous proclamation be found sufficient by Europe to avert the perpetration of crimes which would cast universal disgrace on humanity? France, at least, does not think so; for the exasperated cry of vengeance uttered by the South, through the patriotic voice of the glorious Beauregard, has found an echo in its very heart. France, resenting the insult offered to her own dependants at Louisiana, feels that between them and Butler the war must now be a war to the hove-knife. She now understands that between the patriot, Jefferson Davis, and the brutal Lincoln, between the South and the North, there exists a greater abyss than that which separates honour and virtue from dishonour and crime. Hence her desire to use her moral influence, even her military power, to compel the United States to respect the laws of humanity and Christianity, I can give you the most positive assurance that the Count de Persigny's visit to England has no other object but to rouse the slumbering pride of the British Cabinet, and to decide Earl Russell to act in concert with France to improve their joint mediation to the United States. Lord Palmerston has no doubt been correct when he stated in the House of Commons that the French Government had thus far made no official communication to the English Government respecting the American affairs; but his lordship might have added, with just as much correctness, the British Cabinet have, again and again, refused to entertain every overture made to them by the Emperor upon the subject.

The news of the battle which took place before Richmond, on the 31st of May, though transmitted in the usual apocalyptic form, are generally construed into a decided Federal defeat. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand why McClellan, if victorious, should have made no further move towards Richmond up to the 4th of June, which is the last date heard of.

Every man, woman, and child on this side of the Channel, have cheerfully received the news of this Confederate victory. Since the proclamation of Butler, and the murder of the coloured people of Norfolk by the soldiers of Wool, every one prays ardently for the success of the South, and anxiously looks towards Richmond. Indeed, I heard a lady attached to the Empress's suite, say:—"The South must now conquer her independence or die. Much preferable would it be for the last son and daughter of the Confederate States to fall unstained in defence of their honour and virtue, than to sully their new escutcheon by forming another political association with a people who have brought upon themselves universal condemnation." Severe as may be this rebuke, especially when it emanates from one of the gentler sex one can hardly think it too bitter after reading the remarks made in the United States Congress but a few days before the last battle before Richmond, by Mr. Whorries, of Indiana. The Confiscation Bill, under consideration on the 21st of May last, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Whorries said—"I abhor treason, and could stand here during my whole hour, denouncing treason in the seceded States; but why do that, while we have treason all around us? Simon Cameron, the late Secretary of War, has been tried and convicted by this house of fraud, peculation, and corruption of the grossest character—and what follows? Simon Cameron is clothed with fresh power; he goes from glory to glory, and with a resolution of this house branding him with crimes, he will represent this country at the court of Russia.

"Fremont has settled down in St. Louis, with a horde of speculators, committing fraud and plundering the public treasury, and now he is promoted, and once more ruling honest people."

Unfortunately for this once honoured country, both the administration and the people of the United States, are on a par with Simon Cameron and Fremont. Congress passes Confiscation Bills to enable the North to plunder the South, and the people endorse the outrageous proceedings of their rulers, anxiously waiting the time when Southern spoils are to be divided among them the price of their own personal degradation.

Now that it is no longer possible to mistake the

malignant and perverse policy of the Northern States, it is to be hoped that Europe—true to its elevated sense of honour—will exalt the noble determination of the South to defend to the last extremity their fire-sides against the ruthless aggression of their invaders, to maintain—cost what it may—their autonomy, and admit the Confederate States into the great family of nations.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have read a letter dated New York, the 4th of June, and addressed to a gentleman of the highest standing, who resides in Paris, which states unequivocally that, up to that date, the Government had neither disowned the proclamation of Butler nor intended to do so; that, inasmuch as the citizens of New Orleans had refused to take the oath of allegiance required from them, they had to be treated as conquered nations, and starved into passive obedience if necessary. This last means has already been resorted to by General Wool, for the purpose of famishing the people of Norfolk into Union sentiments. General Wool, says the letter, has announced to the city authorities that no provisions should be permitted to enter Norfolk until the people had taken the oath of fidelity to the United States.

Such a course needs no comment. You have heard that Mrs. Lee, her two daughters, and a daughter-in-law of General Lee, had been made prisoners of war. This outrage upon humanity was still to be aggravated. It is now ignominiously suggested that they should be retained by the Federal authorities as hostages.

From another Correspondent.

PARIS, June 18, 1862.

Notwithstanding the favourable news said to have been received from the French army in Mexico, a general anxiety seems to prevail about its actual safety. Its defeat and route near Puebla are controverted by the official organ of the Government; but its present situation must be quite precarious, for orders have been issued to hurry the departure of the troops designed to reinforce the French corps. It is further stated that General Forey, the Montebello hero, goes out with them.

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his Excellency Lord Cowley, Sir Charles Phipps, Colonel Kappel, and Major Teesdale, has spent the day of the 14th with the Emperor and Empress, at Fontainebleau.

The Emperor went to greet the Prince at the railroad depot.

After breakfast, the Court took the Prince to ride through the forest, and hence accompanied him to the railroad, where the Emperor and the suite bid to the young Prince a most affectionate and cordial adieu.

No diplomatic invitations have as yet been made by the Court since it has taken its abode at Fontainebleau, and none are expected to issue for the present. It is believed that the Empress has resolved to visit the London Exposition as soon as the apartments of Clarendon House will be ready to receive her Majesty and suite.

The Protectionists seem not to have lost the hope of bringing about the repeal of the commercial treaty which now governs France and England. The industrialists of the manufacturing city of Rouen have petitioned M. Thiers to represent their interests in the Corps Legislatif. It is said that M. Thiers has accepted the mission to attack, during the next session, the new commercial system lately adopted by the Emperor.

The clergy of France are also at work to elect a representative of their own. The Count Montalambert, their chosen candidate, is to canvass the Department des Doubs.

The financial world has been put quite in a flurry by the unexpected failure of the Italian banker, Barattelli, whose assets are said to show a deficit of ten millions of francs. This disaster, which as yet remains unexplained, has led M. Barattelli to commit suicide.

On Saturday last, the remains of King Joseph, the eldest brother of Napoleon I., were transferred to the Hotel des Invalides. The only persons present at the funeral ceremony were the Princes Charles and Joseph Bonaparte, who accompanied the body from Florence to Paris, the Minister of State, the Governor of the Invalides, the Prince Gabrielli, Count Ornano—all members of the Imperial family.

M. Ricasoli, the celebrated Italian Minister, is now at La Haye, on his way to London, where he intends to remain during the month of June. He is expected in Paris during the early part of July.

The city of Bordeaux has just been sorely afflicted; the whole right wing of its municipal palace is now but a heap of smoking ruins. The next most precious and beautiful archives of France have been destroyed by the fire, together with all the plans contained in that part of the building.

A large number of paintings have fortunately been

saved, but not without some irreparable damage. The adulterous woman of Titien has been most seriously injured.

Several firemen were hurt during the progress of the fire, but their wounds are of a slight character, and no fear is entertained for their recovery.

The French people are very much amused just now at the last demonstrations of the London *Times* about the American affairs. Its first article upon mediation took everyone by surprise; everyone thought that the *Times* had at last faced the deep miseries which afflict the working classes of Great Britain, and had made up its mind to try to save them from impending starvation by exciting the Government to offer its mediation. Everyone supposed that the *Times* had finally come to the conclusion that it was better for the famished population of England to confront the dangers of war than the tortures of hunger. But its last ridiculous lucubration, attempting to throw the burthen and imaginary dangers of mediation upon France and Russia, has satisfied the public mind that it is no easy thing to do away even with the most problematic and puerile fears once engrafted in one's mind.

For the exclusive benefit of the *Times*, and with the hope it may recall the energy so gloriously displayed in its first article, I will quote a letter just received from a Southern lad of fifteen, now at school in Switzerland: "Do you believe that Richmond will be evacuated; I hope we will fight before leaving our capital. If its evacuation becomes really necessary, the Generals talk of burning the town. I would ten times rather see my native town burnt to ashes than let it fall into the hands of our mean and barbarous foe.

"If they take possession of the whole country, still the war is not finished; every child to be born in the South is an avenger of his father's blood.

"Then let us sacrifice all at the shrine of liberty, and, confident of success, with God's help we will soon be free."

Could the *Times* and the British Cabinet, for a week or so, feel towards England as this boy feels towards his country, mediation might become an English byword, soon to be followed by peace in America.

I advise your readers to peruse the *Patrie* of last Sunday. It contains a remarkable editorial upon the question of mediation, which it considers the only possible mode of bringing about peace in America. It thinks that France and England owe it both to themselves and to the cause of humanity to put a stop to this implacable war, which, being without issue, threatens to become a savage war of destruction.

The Pope has delivered his allocution. It is a complete political manifesto. The father of catholicity disappears. The Sovereign rises to proclaim to his subjects his ultimate views, and engrosses his political tribulations. *Orlea facta est*. Alas! that religion should seem openly at war with modern society.

In connection with this extraordinary political move on the part of the Pope, it is assured that the principal leaders of the Legitimist party are to meet in Switzerland, at the Palace of the Duchess of Parma. It is further asserted that the Count Chambord is to preside over this assembly, which promises to be very numerous.

We may look for another manifesto, destined to astound the democratic world.—*Attendons nous verrons.*

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON THE BATTLE OF RICHMOND.

The following extracts show that our press is not deluded by Federal "accounts."

The *Times* American leader on Monday says:—

A battle has been fought before Richmond, and, notwithstanding the "sensational headings" in the newspapers and the despatches of the General, we strongly suspect that battle was not a Federal victory. There is an euphemistic and apologetic tone in the very opening of General McClellan's account of this proceeding which prepares us for a doubtful victory. The enemy took advantage of a storm in order to make this attack. When the attack was made, General Casey's division "gave way unaccountably and disunitedly." An historian less delicate in his phraseology than General McClellan, would probably have said that they broke and ran. The General continues—"This caused a temporary confusion." That is to say, the fact of the first line running panic-stricken from the field deranged the Federal order of battle. During this derangement the guns and baggage were lost. Thus far a defeat could not have been more mildly and gently described. It seems to have been a scamp without resistance, for the rout was "unaccountable" and "disunitedly." The guns and baggage were all lost, and the field was abandoned. General McClellan goes on, however, to show that a change came over the scene. He succeeded in bringing other divisions of his vast army to the rescue. Generals Meintzelman and Keyes brought up their divisions, and so also did Generals Sedgewick and Richardson. Here were four divisions brought upon the field at this critical moment. The enemy were checked. General McClellan says they were driven back at the point of the bayonet, and that the ground was covered with their dead. But, although the enemy had been repulsed, and the ground covered with his dead, he was not so discouraged but that he renewed the attack on the following morning. He was, according to General McClellan's report, upon this second day again everywhere repulsed. That he was pursued, General

McClellan does not affirm; it is not even asserted that he ran. The utmost that General McClellan claims is, that the Confederates were arrested in full pursuit of the Federals, and were forced back by fresh troops. The General knows that his own loss is heavy, and thinks that that of his enemy "must be" enormous.

Such is the account given by the Federal Commander-in-Chief of that Battle of Richmond which the Federal papers announce to the Northern public as "Great Slaughter of the Rebels," and "Splendid Conduct of the Union Troops." We have no doubt that everything stated by the General as within his own knowledge is strictly true, but yet, perhaps, if the account had been written by a completely impartial eye-witness, the impression conveyed might have been somewhat different. We might then have known why it was the General did not, on the second day, pursue the repulsed enemy up to the walls of his city, or even enter it with the fugitives. We should not have been obliged to seek about among less trustworthy channels of news for some details wherewith to clothe with flesh the dry skeleton which the General has sent for Mr. Lincoln's closet. As it is, there are many things of no slight importance which we learn from those unauthorized persons who contrive to elude the vigilance of Mr. Stanton's myrmidons, and who still write letters from the Federal camp. It was, it seems, the levies from New York and Pennsylvania, which ran so promptly on the first assault, leaving Colonel Bailey to meet his death while vainly trying to save his batteries. As we may depend upon it that this circumstance will be remembered hereafter, when the Northern States come to apportion among themselves the credit and the burdens of the war, we cannot afford to pass over this battle without noticing that incident. So also, when General McClellan states that the enemy were on the first day driven back, he omits to state how far they were driven back. This omission is rectified by another account, which states that the Federals regained all the lost ground "but about half a mile." The special correspondent of the *New York Times*, however, still further elucidates this important point by stating that on Sunday morning "the rebel army still occupied the camps of Casey's and Couch's divisions." This first day's Federal victory therefore ended by leaving the Federal camp in the hands of the vanquished Confederates. It is, moreover, told on the same authority that the guns, the ultimate fate of which is left dubious in General McClellan's despatch, were not only not recovered, but that all the nineteen were carried off to Richmond, together with the Commissariat stores. The Confederates, therefore, on Saturday night had half a mile of the Federal battle-field, two camps, nineteen guns, and all the baggage, and yet they lost the victory, in the Federal General's despatch, and in the Federal newspapers. It must be very hard for a Confederate General to win a victory in the Northern newspapers.

Under these circumstances the event of the second day was still no disaster to the Confederates. We hear of no flight, no panic; they were driven back to their old position. That is all. When the firing on both sides ceased, "the rebels had fallen back to beyond our original lines, leaving guards stationed to watch our advance, and also to bring their wounded off the field." It is clear from this that the Confederates at the close of the second day's battle held the same ground from which they had advanced on the morning of the first day. The victory, therefore, exists only in the large type of the Northern newspapers. It was but a Confederate victory neutralized by a second day's drawn battle.

We remark in this Battle of Richmond, and in other recent engagements, that a practice is rife with the Federal Generals which we never before heard of, except among the leaders of Asiatic soldiers. It is constantly stated that cavalry are placed behind the Federal soldiers to drive them on upon the enemy. In the recent case it is related that fugitives were shot by troops sent after them by their own generals. May it not be that many more than these few, who are thus sabred or pistolled into the battle, are kept in this contest sorely against their will? Is there no hope that the crisis of this madness has arrived? If not, all that we have seen is but a harmless game to what we shall see now that the heats of summer are coming on.

The *Morning Herald* observes:—

General McClellan's plans have been disturbed, and it may even turn out that they have been spoiled, by the vigilance and enterprise of the enemy. In his despatch to the War Department the Federal general communicates the particulars of the attack. Taking advantage of a terrible storm, the Confederates fell on the left flank of the Federals, and the left flank gave way, causing temporary confusion, in the course of which the Federal guns, baggage, and waggons changed owners and disappeared. In other words there was a second Bull Run. The soldiers of the North have once more been humbled. * * * That the Confederates were less successful the second day than they were the first is not improbable, but it is really monstrous to be told that the Federals are some miles nearer Richmond than they were before, when all previous accounts agreed in stating that the Federal advance was within five or six miles of the town. An advance of some miles would therefore take the Federals to the other side of Richmond. The statement must, in fact, be untrue, and should once more warn us that the Northern press is regulated by Mr. Stanton, and that the Northern telegraph and railways are in the hands of the President.

The *Morning Post*, in criticising the Federal accounts, says:—

After an interval of but six days the unpleasant task has been again imposed upon the Federal generals of confessing themselves worsted by opponents whom they affect to despise. No one can read the despatch of General McClellan without being convinced that it tells the story of a surprise and a defeat. We have become so habituated to the style in which the North recounts its victories that we recognize with ease the modest language with which it seeks to conceal a reverse. When Fortune smiles on the Federal arms; when fields are truly won, the number of the prisoners taken, the amount of arms and baggage captured, are all specified with cleanliness, if not with accuracy. But when Fortune frowns; when losses, not gains, have to be spoken of, no attempt is made to fix their amount. The vaguest generalities are lavishly indulged in, and, as all battles must sooner or later come to a close, the despatches uniformly testify to the courage and intrepidity of troops which are represented as having checked the further progress of the enemy. The battle which has taken place within a few miles of Richmond has resulted in the defeat by the Confederates of that portion of General McClellan's army which they attacked, and in the loss by the Federals of their guns

and baggage. This is admitted in express terms in General McClellan's despatch; and, as we have no reason to suppose that the Confederates anticipated annihilating the immense army encamped outside Richmond, we must, in default of any evidence to the contrary, conclude that they succeeded in their attack to the utmost extent of their expectations.

The most observable feature in the recent battle is that the Confederates were those to attack. This is the second time within a week that the South has compelled the North to enter the lists, and on both occasions with success.

In some respects the attack of the Confederates resembles that of the Russians at Inkerman, with this difference, however, that whilst the fourth division of the British army sustained, without wavering, the onset of the Russian army, the division of the Federal army against which the Confederates directed their attack "unaccountably and dismally gave way." These are the words in which General McClellan communicates the immediate result of the Confederate charge. "A temporary confusion" followed, "during which the guns, baggage, and waggon were lost." In the meanwhile Generals Heintzelman and Kearney brought up their divisions and checked the further progress of the enemy; and immediately afterwards two more divisions having arrived, we are told that with their assistance "the enemy was driven back at the point of the bayonet." Thus ended the battle of May 31.

It is impossible for us to say how long the engagement lasted, or what time elapsed before the Federals regained possession of their lost ground; but it is perfectly evident that the Confederates not only succeeded in driving General Casey's division from the position it occupied, but also in carrying off in safety its guns, waggon, and baggage. This could not have been done if the other divisions referred to had acted with the promptitude or the gallantry ascribed to them in General McClellan's despatch. It is not easy in the heat of action to carry off a large quantity of guns and baggage, and more especially when obliged to retire at the point of the bayonet. It is doubtful how much the Confederates hoped to effect by their bold manoeuvre, but it is undeniable they gained a brilliant success. The Federals, after the battle, recovered possession of their previous position, but of nothing more; the Confederates, on the other hand, were richer to the extent of the war material they had captured. On the following day the Confederates are reported as having renewed the attack, and having been repulsed. As, however, we have no details of this day's proceedings, it is doubtful if anything more serious than a skirmish is referred to. The Federals confess their loss to have been very heavy, and set down their killed and wounded at 3000. As a matter of course, the victors are represented as having suffered even more severely. Upwards of 1200 Confederates are said to have been left dead on the field. From experience we know that neither estimate can be depended upon.

The Standard remarks:—

The last accounts from New York state that all the military intelligence received at the War Department is of a cheering character. The New Yorkers are proverbially sanguine. But it must sadly tax even their self-confidence to believe in victories whose chief features, by the admission of the Young Napoleon himself are enormous losses of guns and materiel, a division surprised and cut to pieces, and whole regiments denounced as yielding to a disgraceful panic in the presence of the enemy.

The following is from the Times of Tuesday:—

Such battles as those of Shiloh and Richmond cannot fail to have a strong effect on the mind of the Northern people. Already indeed, we seem to hear the quiver of apprehension in which the shout for each so-called triumph dies away, and to detect the falter of doubt in the uneasy earnestness of each man's assertions. For the Federal victories, though great, glorious, splendid, and so forth, have to be explained. Indeed, you would hardly know they were victories unless you were told so by some one who was in the secret. It needs to be demonstrated by arguments and diagrams that Secession is being duly crushed by the avalanche and swept away by the avalanche, and engulfed by the moral earthquake, as foretold in the figurative language of its opponents. We now have an elaborate comparison of advantages—how the loss of a battery of artillery is compensated by a successful bayonet charge, and a slaughter which is known to be heavy by a slaughter which is concluded to be enormous. The Confederates did not attain their object—therefore it was a Federal victory. General McClellan's army recovered the half-mile of ground and still holds its old position—therefore it was a Federal victory. The siege of Richmond still goes on—therefore it was a Federal victory. Such is the highly scientific basis of the Northern jubilation. But the Federals must feel it rather a descent to become strategical and topographical. The battles may be very good battles, very fit for a future Jomini to describe. They may exhibit interesting facts for the student respecting exposed wings, or the position of batteries, attack in column, attack in line, and what not. If the Federals come to delight in the art of Horace Vernet and Yvon, they may cover vast expanses of canvass with the masterly manoeuvres and dashing charges at Williamsburg, Shiloh, and Chickahominy. But this is not exactly what we were led to expect. Anything less like crashing and sweeping it has seldom been our lot to hear of. It must begin to dawn upon the minds of most people that if this kind of fighting is to go on the conquest of the Southern States will be a greater achievement than even the acuteness of Mr. Lincoln anticipated. The truth is that every successive month shows more clearly the impossibility of restoring the Union by force of arms.

That a large Union party would exist wherever the Federals appeared is a fancy now cruelly dissipated, and with it vanishes the only justification of the war in the minds of impartial men. But a yet more remarkable fact is the attachment of the slaves to the white race in the South. Both the Northerners and those who echo them in this country were never tired of repeating that the Confederates would not dare to offer any real resistance, inasmuch as they held in bondage four millions of their fellow-creatures, who would obey the natural instincts of humanity by massacring the women and children as soon as the men had left for the war. But at last the crucial experiment has been tried. The Southerners have gone almost to the last man to the war; the victims of that tyranny, which is described as so savage and revolting, that "it unites in itself all crimes," are left almost uncontrolled, and in some places absolutely masters, yet there is no rebellion. A Federal general stationed in a region where the negroes are four-fifths of the population issues a proclamation declaring the slaves of these States free. Yet there is no uprising for liberty. It is a melancholy fact for philanthropists and literary ladies, but there is none.

THE FEDERAL OUTRAGE ON FOREIGN CONSULS.

The following documents need no introduction. We would only direct attention to the barbarous manner in which General Butler's illegal orders were executed:—

NEW ORLEANS, Saturday, May 10—9 o'clock p.m.
To Major-General B. F. Butler, United States' Army, Commanding Department of the Gulf, at New Orleans:—

Sir,—Herewith enclosed I have the honour to transmit to you a statement of facts, which transpired in my Consular office, during the afternoon of this day, duplicates of which statement I am about to transmit to the Minister of my Government accredited at Washington, and also to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Hague.

I desire to know whether the acts recited in the said statement were performed with your sanction or by your orders. Your answer, or a faithful copy thereof, shall accompany my messages to my Ministers and Government. I have the honour to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

AM. CONTURIE, Consul of the Netherlands.

STATEMENT OF FACTS.

On this day, May 10, 1862, and at the hour of five minutes to two o'clock in the afternoon, I being in my Consular office, No. 109, Canal-street, was called upon by an officer wearing the uniform and the arms of a captain of the United States' army, accompanied by a squad of six or eight men under his command.

The captain informed me that he came to prevent the exit of any person or property from the premises.

I said I was Consul of the Netherlands, that this was the office of my Consulate, and that I protested against any such violation of the same. I then wrote a note to Comte Mejan, Consul of France, in this city, requesting him to come to me for consultation. This note was handed to the officer, whose name I learned to be Captain Shipley, who promised to send it after taking it to head-quarters.

Captain Shipley returned, and stated to me that, by order of Major-General Butler, my note would not be sent to Consul Mejan, and that he (the captain) would proceed forthwith to search the premises. Captain Shipley demanded of me the keys of my vault; these I refused to deliver. He remarked that he would have to force open the doors; and I told him that in regard to that he could do what he pleased. For the second time, I again protested against the violation of the Consular office to Captain Shipley, who then went out. Before he left I distinctly put the question to him, "Sir, am I to understand that my Consular office is taken possession of, and myself am arrested by you; and that, too, by order of Major-General Butler?" He replied, "Yes, sir." During Captain Shipley's absence, another officer remained in the office, and a special sentinel was put on guard in the room where I then kept myself. The name of this second officer is Lieutenant Whitcomb, as he informed me. Captain Shipley returned, and was followed by another officer, whose name I could not ascertain, but from appearances ranking him.

This officer approached me, and in a passionate, insulting tone, contrasting singularly with the gentlemanly deportment of both Captain Shipley and Lieutenant Whitcomb, made the same demand for the keys, as had been made by Captain Shipley; and I made the same refusal, protesting against the act, as I had done before. He then gave orders to search the office, and break open, if need be, the doors of the vault.

I then arose and said,—"I, Amedee Conturie, Consul of the Netherlands, protest against any occupation or search of my office; and this I do in the name of my Government. The name of my Consulate is over the door, and my flag floats over my head. If I cede, it is to force alone."

Search being begun in the office by the officer, I told him that the keys were on my person. He then, in a more than rough tone, ordered two of the soldiers to search my person, using the following, among other expressions:—"Search the fellow!" "Strip him!" "Take off his coat," "stockings," "search even the soles of his shoes." I remarked to the officer that the appellation "fellow" that he gave me was never applied to a gentleman, far less to a foreign Consul in his consular capacity, as I was then; and that I requested him to remember that he had said the word. He replied it was the name he had given me; and he repeated over the word three times.

Both Captain Shipley and Lieutenant Whitcomb then stepped forward; the latter was the first to take two keys out of my coat pocket; the former took the key of my vault from the right pocket of my pantaloons. Of the keys taken by Lieutenant Whitcomb there was one opening my place of business, which has nothing to do with my Consulate, and is situated in a different part of the city. I claimed it, but was told by the commanding officer that he would keep it for the present, but might let me have it tomorrow.

I must here state that when Captain Shipley told me that my letter to the Consul of France would not be sent, I remarked that I had forwarded another message to the Consul, and was expecting him every moment, and that if he (the captain) would delay action until I had seen the Consul of France, something good might come out of my consultation. Captain Shipley replied that he could not delay action, and that the order of General Butler was to "go on with the work he was charged with."

The superior officer then took the keys, opened the vault, and in company with Captain Shipley and Lieutenant Whitcomb, entered the same. What they did then I was unable to see, as I kept myself in the same place and in the same chair where I had been searched. After searching for some time the said officers retired, leaving the vault open; Captain Shipley and Lieutenant Whitcomb remaining with their men. Two other officers that I had not seen before came in and joined them for some time.

After an absence of about three-quarters of an hour the officer in question returned, and in the presence of the other officers closed and locked the vault, taking the keys along with him. I then remarked to him that the key of my store was among those that had been taken away from my person, and I wished to have it. The same officer then asked me whether my store contained any goods or property belonging to the Confederates. To which inquiry I answered in the negative. The same officer made use of the following language at the time:—"You have placed yourself in a bad position, and shall be treated without any consideration." He retired after that; it was then about four p.m.

I then continued to be a prisoner under the charge of Captain Shipley and a guard of armed soldiers placed inside and outside of my office, until about seven o'clock p.m., when Captain Shipley, having communicated with another officer, who came in the Consular office, approached me and said, "You are now at liberty to go wherever you please, sir." I said, "I am at liberty to go wherever I please?" He answered, "Yes, sir." I then remarked, "And it is by verbal communication that I am informed of the fact?" He replied, "The same as you were arrested."

I then rose, and before leaving my office, made the following remark to Captain Shipley:—"You have taken possession of this

office; I leave everything to your charge." To this he replied, "I will take care of it." Whereupon I left my office, and a short time after I took down my Consular flag.

AM. CONTURIE,
Consul of the Netherlands.

NEW ORLEANS, May 12, 1862.

Major General B. F. Butler, United States' Army, commanding Department of the Gulf:—

GENERAL,—It having come to the knowledge of the undersigned that the Consulate of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in this city, had been forcibly entered by your order by some persons in the uniforms of soldiers in the service of the United States' Government, the person of the Consul subjected to indignity and severe ill-usage, and kept prisoner for several hours, it becomes the duty of the undersigned, in view of treaties now existing between the Governments which we represent and that of the United States, to formally protest against such action, and against any act authorized by you or any authority of the United States that may be in contravention of such treaties. We have the honour to be, General, your most obedient servants,

MEJAN, Consul of France.

LORENZO CALLEJO, Consul of Spain.

Consul of Belgium.

Consul of Hanover.

Consul of Brazil.

Consul of Nassau and Brunswick.

Consul of Greece.

Consul of Bremen.

Consul of Sweden and Norway.

Consul of Portugal.

Vice-Consul of Italy.

Consul of England.

Consul of Austria.

Consul of Hamburg.

Consul of Wurttemberg.

Consul of Russia.

Consul of Denmark.

Consul of Switzerland.

Mr. Forstall states:—

On the 13th of April, as agent of Messrs. Hope and Co., and with a view to their better security in such times of excitement, I deemed it my duty to withdraw the said sum of 800,000 dollars, already marked and prepared for shipment, say:—160 kegs, Hope and Co., containing 5000 dollars each; and to place the same under the protection of the Consul of the Netherlands, Am. Conturie, Esq., for which I hold his receipt, as follows:—

NOUVELLE ORLEANS, April 12, 1862.

CONSULAT DES PAYS BAS:—

Regu en dépôt ce jour de Monsieur Edmund J. Forstall, agent en cette ville de Messrs. Hope and Co., d'Amsterdam, (160) cent soixante barils marqués H. and Co., et contenant chacun, 5000 dollars, soit 800,000 dollars (huit cent mille piastres Mexicaines), les dits barils sont logés dans la voûte de mer du consulat, No. 100 Rue du Canal.

AM. CONTURIE, Consul des Pays Bas.

Enregistré au journal consulaire, No. d'ordre 2.

Le Consul Am. Conturie.

I also placed in the hands of the said Consul, on the same day, ten bonds of the New Orleans City for 10,000 dollars, and eight bonds of Mobile, for which he gave me a like receipt.

On the first reliable opportunity offering of communicating with Messrs. Hope and Co., which was on the 1st April last, I wrote as follows:—"The Citizens' Bank and Consolidated Association, unlike our other banks, being based on foreign capital, I have thought it my duty to interfere in behalf of the bondholders you represent, in order to secure as much of the cash assets of the institution in question as needed punctuality to meet running interests in Europe, until communications are again opened. For this special purpose the Citizens' Bank has placed in my hands 800,000 dollars (Mexican dollars), under the following resolutions:—

[Same as before transcribed.]

"This document has been registered as follows:—Enregistré au journal du Consul sous No. d'ordre 2. Nouvelle Orleans, ce 1er Avril, 1862.

(Signed)

Le Consul des Pays Bas, AM. CONTURIE.

"For the protection of French property, in case of need, the French Consul has taken possession of a fire-proof building, formerly occupied by the Canal Bank, with vaults for coin, &c. The French Consul has consented to receive for safe-keeping, under the protection of your Consul, the above amount of 800,000 dollars, of Mexican dollars. I am also depositing there ten New Orleans City bonds, and eight City of Mobile, belonging to you. I am doing the same with the bonds belonging to Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co., under the protection of the British Consul. The French Consul having subsequently declined receiving the above specie, Mr. A. Conturie used his own vaults in Canalstreet."

I hold the power of attorney of Messrs. Hope and Co., covering my whole intervention in this matter, also the original of all the documents before transcribed, which I am ready to exhibit if desired. I may be permitted here to remark that, so far back as the middle of February last, I called the attention of both the Citizens' Bank and Consolidated Association to the propriety of securing against all contingencies, so far as they were able, the bondholders represented by Messrs. Hope and Co., and Baring Brothers and Co., who had supplied them with their banking capital.

Under these circumstances I deem it my duty to claim, in behalf of Messrs. Hope and Co., of Amsterdam, the above sum of 800,000 dollars, say 160 kegs, marked H. and Co., containing each 5000 dollars, which I have been informed has been forcibly taken out of the possession of the Consul of Holland, Am. Conturie, Esq., and I trust that in consideration of facts, no doubt unknown to you, you will see the justice of ordering said money to be returned to me, that I may ship the same to Europe in accordance with my contract with the Citizens' Bank, so soon as I may be permitted to do so. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDM. S. FORSTALL.

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,

NEW ORLEANS, May 12, 1862.

MESSRS.—I have the protest which you have thought it proper to make in regard to the action of my officers towards the Consul of the Netherlands, which action I approve and sustain. I am grieved that without investigation of the facts, you, Messrs., should have thought it your duty to take action in the matter. The fact will appear to be, and easily to be demonstrated at the proper time, that the flag of the Netherlands was made to cover and conceal property of an incorporated company of Louisiana, secreted under it from the operation of the laws of the United States; that the supposed fact that the Consul had under the flag only the property of Hope and Co., citizens of the Netherlands, is untrue. He had other property, which could not by law be his property, or the property of Hope and Co.; of this I have abundant proof in my own hands. No person can exceed me in the respect I shall pay to the flags of all nations and to the Consulate authority, even while I do not recognize many claims made under them; but I wish it most distinctly understood that, in order to be respected, the Consul, his office, and the use of his flag, must each and all be respected. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER, Major-General Commanding.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1862.

The Recent Battles.

FEDERAL reports are becoming intelligible. Not that their style is changed, but Europe has been taught, by experience, how to construe them. It is now understood that an announcement to the effect "the Federals claim a victory" means the Federals have sustained a severe defeat. A paragraph stating "the enemy has evacuated his position and fled in disorder" signifies that a Federal commander has been out-generaled, and that a Confederate army has changed its position deliberately, and without an attempt at molestation. "We have captured a large amount of stores and ammunition" is an equivalent for "the enemy have removed all their stores and ammunition." An assurance that "the news from Virginia is cheering" indicates a Federal disaster. A declaration that "the rebellion is crushed," is an intimation that the Federal Government requires more men to carry on the war. The Federals continue to call black white, and white black, but since they do so invariably, it is unfair any longer to charge them with misrepresentation.

As evidence of the progress made in the art of translating Federal war news, we may observe, that with the exception of the few newspapers determined not to believe any ill tidings of the North, the English press perceived that the Northern report of the Federal triumph before Richmond was a notification of a Confederate victory rather clumsily disguised. Indeed, in this case, the Federal disguise wore an air of childlike ingenuousness. Having written a rather inelegant, but unmistakable account of this disaster, they called it a Federal victory. And if the bitterness of defeat is made honey-sweet by designating it a victory, who would be so captious and hard-hearted as to deny the right of the Federals to the enjoyment of such a consolation in the midst of their reverses?

It requires very little ingenuity or meditation to satisfactorily explain the Battle of Richmond, from exclusively Northern information. A schoolboy, who had gone through "Cæsar's Commentaries," and had a crude knowledge of what constitutes defeat and victory, and of the commonplace tactics of warfare, could perform the task unerringly. The Confederates ascertained that a wing of the Federal army was assailable and insufficiently sustained. At the fitting opportunity they determined to attack the weak point. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, they made a sortie, "with greatly superior numbers," and "taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy." The art of bringing superior numbers to bear on the weak points of an enemy, and selecting the best moment for the attack, are manœuvres the Federal Generals do not understand, or cannot practise, and therefore we are not astonished that General McClellan should refer to the tactics of the Confederates in a tone of mild reproof and virtuous indignation. We consider the irritation of the Federal Commander natural and excusable. It must be excessively annoying that, notwithstanding the most elaborate and costly preparations, the Southerners will not carry on the war according to the Northern programme.

The effect of the sortie was to rout a division of the Federal army; to capture a quantity of field artillery, baggage, stores, and ammunition; to convey all this booty to Richmond; to burn the Federal tents, and, as the correspondent of the *New York Times* informs us, "all the property that could not be conveniently moved;" and to remain in the Federal camp during the night succeeding the battle. In fact, the Confederates were completely successful. General McClellan says General Casey's division "gave way unaccountably and disunitedly." We confess our inability to explain what is meant by "giving way disunitedly;" but we would suggest that the first part of General McClellan's despatch, in which reproachful allusion is made to the "greatly superior numbers," and the "taking advantage of the terrible storm," solves the problem of the rout of General Casey's division.

In making a sortie there was no intention of bringing on a general engagement; although if a chance had presented itself of inflicting further disaster on the enemy it would have been embraced. Such an opportunity did not occur, and the Confederates were satisfied with the victory they had gained, and busied themselves in transporting their spoils to Richmond. General McClellan says he brought up some divisions, "and drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead." We think we can elucidate the verbal obscurity of this passage. The Confederates were not driven from the Federal encampment they had occupied, for they remained on it during the night. The probable explanation is, that as soon as General Casey's division had been routed, the Confederates threw out skirmishers to see if there were any more vulnerable points of which advantage might be taken. General McClellan met the Confederate skirmishers with his reserves, and the former fell back on the main body in possession of General Casey's camp. General McClellan made no effort to wrest the victory from the Confederates, but allowed them to remove their booty.

That the Confederates renewed the attack on Sunday is so grossly improbable, that we may unhesitatingly pronounce it a false report. General McClellan by that time had massed his forces on the position occupied by the Confederates, who could only have offered him battle at a disadvantage. The fight on Sunday was a skirmish provoked and continued by the Confederates to cover their return to their entrenchments. So far from being defeated on Sunday, they still held on Monday half a mile of the ground from which they had driven the Federals.

The news, per *Hibernian*, confirms the view taken by the English press of the Battle of Richmond. The Confederates are now allowed "to claim the victory." The first account of the battle estimated the Federal loss at 3000 men; it is now stated that the loss is 7000 men. Little by little we shall learn the importance and extent of the Confederate triumph.

The whole truth in reference to Federal disasters oozes out slowly. It was positively asserted that General Banks' command, at the time he met with the reverse, which made the Lincoln Government tremble for the safety of Washington, did not exceed 4000 men. We are now informed that General Jackson has 5000 prisoners. In connection with this we may also notice that the undoubtedly large booty captured by the Confederates is estimated at 2,000,000 dollars. If 4000 Federal troops carry with them stores and ammunition to the value of 2,000,000 dollars, a few captures will amply replenish the Confederate supplies.

General Jackson is a thoroughly perverse and aggravating Confederate commander. Lately, the Northern press was lauding the gallantry and military genius of General Fremont, for marching his forces a hundred miles without meeting the enemy, and therefore without disaster. He offered General Jackson battle, and the offer was declined; yet, shortly afterwards, he fell into an ambuscade, and "suffered heavy loss;" that is, he was defeated. Why will the Confederates pertinaciously insist

upon fighting the Federals when the latter are unprepared for the encounter? It is now asserted, "General Jackson was expected to make a stand at Fort Republic." Possibly he may again disappoint Federal expectations.

General Halleck has been pre-eminently unfortunate in his surmises of the movements of the wary general to whom he is opposed. For a long time he dilated on the strength of the fortifications of Corinth and of the necessity of a careful approach. When he found Corinth evacuated, he announced the sudden and disorderly flight of General Beauregard's army. Gradually it came out that the Confederate commander had been six days moving his forces, that he had taken with him all his stores and war materiel, and so thoroughly eluded the vigilance of the Federal general that his whereabouts was a mystery. We are now told that General Pope is "pushing the enemy thirty miles south of Corinth, and that he had captured a large number of prisoners." We may be sure that the prisoners captured in General Halleck's despatches will not diminish the effective force of the Confederates.

In this week's budget of Confederate victories is included the repulse of 2000 Federal troops, who are said to have landed on James Island, opposite Charleston. Use is second nature, and the Northerners are becoming so accustomed to reverses that they seem to regard them as daily indispensables, and record them without comment, consoling themselves by calling them victories.

We have the bare intimation of the total destruction of the Confederate fleet, except *one* vessel, and the subsequent surrender of Memphis. The *one* vessel inclines us to discredit the total destruction. Memphis may be in the possession of the Federals, and, if so, we are aware that the invaders will not find any plunder to reward their toils. The possibility of the surrender of Memphis has long been entertained by the Confederates, and preparations made to destroy the public property, and to burn the cotton on the approach of the enemy.

The recent battles must dissipate the illusion that the North is nearer the conquest of the South than it was at the commencement of the struggle. Unaided by their gunboats, the Federals have not gained a victory. They have now to meet the enemy in the interior, at a great distance from their base of operations, and every repulse is a serious defeat and disorganizes their plans. No marvel Mr. Lincoln calls for more men; but if the campaign is continued he will find it tax all the energies of the North to fill up the gaps made by the enemy, and to replace the numbers that will fall victims to the climate.

The friends of the South may, perhaps, fear that the stringency of the blockade may cause a serious dearth of war ammunition. The Battle of Richmond, and the defeat of Banks' army, must relieve their anxiety.

Recognition versus Mediation.

THE return of Lord Lyons, following so closely upon that of M. Mercier, is naturally regarded by the public as an event of political significance. It is certainly a remarkable fact that at so critical a moment in American affairs the two greatest Powers of Europe should be unrepresented at Washington. Both these diplomatists, there is abundant reason to believe, were faithful representatives of the views and policy of their respective Governments. Whether there has always been that perfect concord in their official action which the world is expected to take for granted, we are not prepared to say. Open disagreement there has been none. But to us the almost simultaneous return of these gentlemen seems the augury of a more intimate understanding in American policy between France and England, which bodes no good to the pretensions of the Government of the United States. Their personal presence, and the invaluable knowledge of which they alone can be the possessors, are doubtless needed in the councils of the Cabinets of London and Paris: but it is also possible, and in the opinion of well-informed persons, probable, that their advice

will confirm such a modification in the diplomatic relations with that Government as may render the employment of other agents expedient.

There are two points upon which public opinion in Europe has now arrived at deliberate conclusions. The first is, that the restoration of the Union, as it was recognized by Europe before this war, and as it is still theoretically recognized, is an absolute impossibility. The second is, that the war will not end by the spontaneous act of either belligerent. The determination of the South never to yield, though long-doubted, has left little room for the most obstinate scepticism. The prolongation by the North of a contest which gives food to hundreds of thousands who otherwise would starve, profitable employment to shipping which otherwise would rot at the wharves, tempting investments to capital which otherwise would lie idle, is now understood to be a necessity to stave off the day of reckoning; and its ability to so prolong it will continue so long as a shadow of hope remains, that by yet further effort the evil day may never come, and the reckoning be paid by others. There is a homely simile applicable to the position of the North, in the story of the man who held a wolf by the ears, and dared not let go, though it required superhuman strength to hold on.

That some action on the part of Europe has thus become a necessity and a duty, is almost unanimously admitted. In what form this action shall come, seems alone to give rise to differences of opinion. Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell have both, in unmistakable language, disclaimed any present intention of mediation on the part of this Government. If we accept the word "mediation" in its most comprehensive signification, Great Britain is committed for a further indefinite period to the same supine inaction which has heretofore characterized her American policy. In this manner, undoubtedly, will the words of her Majesty's Ministers be construed on the other side of the Atlantic, where they will be regarded as another evidence of the awe in which this country is supposed to hold the United States, even when engaged in an intestine war of unprecedented proportions. Such, however, is not, we are informed, the intention of the Cabinet. It is asserted that a marked distinction is drawn between "mediation" and "recognition," the former being considered as a violent, and, therefore, warlike measure; the latter as a peaceful step towards the settlement of the American difficulties. We are convinced that this distinction is not drawn in America by either of the belligerents. The North fears, as the greatest of all evils, the recognition of the Confederate States as an independent nation; the South has never wished for more than this, to which it conceives itself entitled by right. Neither have ever understood by European mediation more or less than this. Yet the British Cabinet is right in making the distinction, for mediation, though it could not mean less than recognition, might mean more.

Mediation is the stepping in of a neutral Power between disputants whose quarrels it undertakes to settle, in the last resort, as final arbiter. In assuming the responsibility of a decision, it becomes a party to the quarrel against whoever conceives himself aggrieved by that decision. Where the mediation is unasked for, this is sure to be the case. The recognition of one nation by another is, on the contrary, the mere acknowledgment of an existing fact, which involves no other responsibility than that the existence of the fact should be sufficiently well attested. Great Britain did not mediate in the affairs of Italy, but she recognized the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel without coming in collision with the latter's opponents. Dynasty has succeeded dynasty in France, and one form of government another. England has recognized them each in turn, without pretending to enforce a judgment on their conflicting pretensions. In those cases recognition implied the absence of any right to mediate. Instances, also, are numerous where she has recognized Governments the lawfulness of whose authority was still disputed at the point of the sword.

It appears, therefore, that though mediation and recognition may often have the same effect in practice, yet they differ radically in principle, and depend for justification upon frequently quite opposite causes. In other words, it is sometimes right to recognize because it is wrong to mediate, and *vice versa*. A great Government can only mediate in the name of public justice and common humanity; it must often recognize where it regrets and deplores the necessity. It were useless for us to inquire whether England would be justified in mediating between the American belligerents, since neither of them desire her to do so, and since the Government has formally disclaimed any such intention. But it is not improper to consider whether the facts warrant the recognition for which the Cabinet and Parliament are said to be well disposed.

We have already shown that the recognition of a new Government is independent of the causes which bring it into existence, and implies no judgment upon the merits of any quarrel which it may have, either with a neighbour or at home. It suffices that it fulfils certain conditions which the usage of nations and the peace of mankind require. It must be in all respects a *de facto* Government; that is, one which has the power to enforce obedience to its authority within the limits of its assumed jurisdiction. It must have the moral and material power to give a reasonable assurance of stability. This, therefore, implies a sufficiency of population and of territory for independent national existence, as well as a hold upon the affections of the former, and the ordinary means of defence for the latter. It is further necessary that the recognition of the new Government should not annihilate any co-existing older Government, or so weaken the power of another, or threaten its existence, as to endanger the balance of power or the public peace. In such a case the claims, though perfect, may justly be made to yield to prior and equally perfect claims.

Let these rules be applied to the Southern States of the late American Union. The recognition of their independence still leaves the United States with the territory and population of a first-rate Power. Instead of destroying, it establishes a balance of power which the interests of civilization and the peace of mankind alike imperatively demand. They themselves have a territory and population amply sufficient for all the purposes of national existence, and they have displayed a massive power under extraordinary and exceptional disadvantages, which can leave no doubt as to their ability to maintain themselves in all ordinary contingencies. The loyal devotion of the population to the Government of their own choice has been submitted to a crucial test, and has earned the admiration of the world. In the midst of a war beyond the strength of many older countries, the internal peace has never been disturbed; no opposition, no disobedience, has occurred within; the functions of the magistrate have at no time been suspended; the law has pursued its regular course; the liberties of the citizens have never been impaired. Is there one of the old monarchies of Europe that can give stronger proofs of stability?

We now recognize as a *de facto* and *de jure* Government over these Confederate States, a Government the last vestiges of whose authority have been obliterated in them for fifteen months; a Government which has confessed its inability to govern them, except as conquered provinces, by the appointment of military governors wherever its armies gain a precarious footing; a Government which, by its own admission, has no hold upon the affections of the people it claims to rule, and whose agents avenge, by acts of barbarous brutality, the hatred which seeks vent even in the gestures of women and children; a Government which has spent the revenue of a dozen generations, and the blood of 100,000 men, in a fruitless effort to gain possession of its territory, and can give no evidence of the power to hold it when once possessed. This is the Government which we now recognize as the Government of the Confederate States of America, and which some would have us recognize as such, despite the dictates and common sense, common justice, and common humanity.

It is not required of European Governments to enter into learned disquisitions on the Constitution of the United States, though they know that the plainest provisions of that instrument have been trampled under foot before the war could even commence. They need not consult the sages of the law about the right or wrong of Secession, though no Puffendorf, or Grotius, or Vattel, need rise from the grave to tell them that sovereign States cannot commit treason, and 8,000,000 of people obeying the authority of those States cannot be rebels. It is sufficient that they should take facts as they find them, and apply to those facts the usages which have obtained among nations since international law became more than an empty word. Adopting this principle as their guide, there can be no difficulty in deciding which of the two Governments claiming to be *de facto* and *de jure* Governments of the Confederate States is the one entitled to recognition.

This decision, fairly made, is the only mediation that can lead to any practical results.

The Defence of Canada.

THE vulnerable position of our American possessions has always been a subject of anxiety to the statesmen who knew the danger with which they were constantly threatened by an arrogant and quarrelsome neighbour. At this time, when our relations with that neighbour are by no means of the most satisfactory character, the subject demands most thoughtful attention. There can be no doubt that the difficulties surrounding it have been one of the chief causes of the indisposition of our Government, and of many leading men of all parties, to deal with the American question in the only manner in which any practical good could have been effected. Events must prove whether the course adopted was the wisest and safest, but a very little consideration suffices to show that it is not without plausible and even weighty reasons. A war with the United States, though not so formidable a calamity as timorous capitalists and bondholders would have us believe, might reasonably be expected to wreak its fury most effectively upon Canada. On the seas Great Britain has no enemy to fear, but on land, against the United States, she has a boundless territory to defend, of which it is scarcely a figure of speech to say, that all that is worth assailing or defending is frontier. The ample retaliation which would surely follow could yet but poorly compensate for the irreparable injuries which an enemy locally more powerful might inflict in that quarter. The danger, of which experience and threats do not fail to warn us, is rendered even more annoying by the mortifying reflection that our own culpable negligence and indecision in the past have given to the enemy the very gateway which affords the shortest, most convenient, and always open access to the heart of the threatened province. There was a bitter taunt in Mr. Seward's permission to the British reinforcements to land at Portland, and march over the soil of the country whose hostility was the cause of their coming.

As if to aggravate the geographical difficulties of the defence of Canada, the Provincial Parliament has just rejected a measure which the Government deemed of imperative necessity—the organization of the Provincial Militia on a more extensive and effective basis, and at provincial expense. Our acquaintance with the motive-springs of the internal politics of the province is too imperfect to enter into the merits of this dispute. Yet, while we believe that the Canadians have adopted a narrow-minded and short-sighted policy, we can account for it without ascribing to it that important bearing upon the future which it has in the eyes of many. Great Britain has for years accustomed her dependencies to the enjoyment of all the privileges of self-government, without any of the burdens which belong to an independent national existence. They have learned to believe that the loyal homage they are proud to render is a sufficient return for the cost of protection, of defence. It will be long before they can be made to understand that every right is attended by some

duty, and that in proportion as they exercise the right of governing themselves they assume the duty of providing for themselves. The rejection of the proposed measure by the Provincial Parliament was probably no disregard of the public safety, but resistance to a principle which, once admitted, would entail a permanent and heavy burden upon the province. Pressing financial considerations must also have entered into the discussion. Canada, in the eagerness to develop her material resources, has largely anticipated her future revenues, and the provincial exchequer is not in a condition to supply the demands for new expenditure. We believe that the sincere attachment of the Canadians to the mother country is equalled only by the hatred they entertain to their nearest neighbours, and that, should the emergency actually arise, they would furnish their full quota of volunteers, as good in every respect as those of the United States. Their refusal to maintain a military organization of their own, though certainly proceeding from selfish notions, appears to us an additional evidence that the Canadians are bent upon tightening, rather than loosening, that dependence upon the parent empire from which they have reaped so many substantial advantages.

But while we should look the danger squarely in the face, we ought not to forget that our opportunities of averting it are vastly greater than at any period of past danger. Canada, it is true, presents the same temptation to the invader, but Canada is safe so long as California is insecure. Within the last fourteen years the United States have acquired possessions more valuable to them, and even more vulnerable, than our American possessions. The true defence of British America is on the Pacific coast. Strategically, San Francisco is nearer to us than it is to the Government at Washington. At present, destitute of any available means of defence, it belongs to the first comer, and our Pacific squadron could convert it into a British port long before the war vessels of the United States had accomplished the circumnavigation of the continent. Along 800 miles of the Pacific coast of the United States there are but two harbours, both defenceless, and with these in the hands of an enemy, any attempt to recover them by naval force would be madness. The transportation of troops overland is even more hopeless. Three thousand miles of trackless desert separate the Pacific from the Atlantic States. To traverse this desert, yielding no food to either man or beast, and for a great portion of the distance, no water, is an enterprize which bands of desperate gold-seekers do not attempt without a consciousness of imminent peril. To an army it is simply impossible. The feeble and ineffective demonstration a few years since upon the still insubordinate handful of Mormons in the centre of the desert, affords the illustration, if one were needed. No military communication exists between the two thus naturally dis severed sections of the Republic, except by way of the Panama Railway. What could this avail—even if, what is not conceivable, the United States were left in its undisturbed possession—while our ships swept the Pacific coast, and our flag waved over its only harbours? Besides, the whole continent of South America would be our friend, and every port thereof a hostile one to our enemy. There is not one of those States which has not injuries and insults to avenge, and which would not delight in a safe opportunity to avenge them, and to prevent, according to its means, the possibility of their recurrence. The overbearing North American Republic has sat like a nightmare upon their dreams of prosperous tranquillity, and not one of them but breathes more freely since the colossus is overthrown.

The insecurity of their rich Pacific possessions has long been keenly felt by the United States. Any attempt upon Canada must necessarily be preceded by an energetic effort to make them safe. It is not when the sluices of the Oswego Canal shall be enlarged to permit the passage of war ships into Canadian waters, but when an overland railway shall have been constructed, or at least, San Francisco fortified, that the gauntlet will be thrown. The

railway would have been built ere this, but for the instinct of self-preservation of the South, which for the last eight years of its partnership in the Union was unyielding in opposition to this construction, except through its own territory. So long as the South continued a member, the Union relied on the power of cotton to bring Great Britain to any terms. Shorn of this power, California remains the hostage, for a time at least, of the tranquillity of Canada.

There is another danger which the United States must needs confront in a war with Great Britain. The most obvious military consideration would direct a blow, on our part, upon Portland, which, without such time for preparation as we would not be likely to give, they have no power to avert. The possession of this, the most magnificent harbour on the North Atlantic seaboard, removes the chief difficulty of supplying Canada with troops and ammunition. Portland is the natural seaport of Western Canada. Once possessed, it would, in all likelihood, prove a permanent possession, with the consent of its inhabitants. The people of Maine have never been blind to the material interests of a connection which would make their chief city the rival of New York. The subject has frequently been publicly discussed among them, for Secession, until a quite recent period, was always fashionable in the New England States. Politically, they well know, their position as a self-governing province of our Colonial Empire, would scarcely differ from that of a State in the Union, while in every other respect they would be the gainers. It is not probable that an idea which has taken root so firmly will die out suddenly, when it furnishes the only escape from universal ruin, and from the burden of an intolerable debt.

War, at all times and under any circumstances, should be accepted only as a deplorable necessity. Assuredly, the example of forbearance which we have set to the world is a guarantee that we shall only accept it as such. But the threatening attitude of the Northern States of America has induced many wise men to believe that a war, forced upon us by them, is an event which our forbearance may delay but cannot avert, and for which it behoves us to be prepared. If this be so, the sooner it comes the better, for the briefer will be its duration. If it ends, as it surely must, in rectifying a frontier which, as it now stands, is a disgrace to British statesmanship, the United States will have only themselves to blame, their insatiable lust for dominion, and their ruthless, God-forgetting ambition.

The French Defeat in Mexico.

THE repulse of the French troops in Mexico has caused universal surprise. At first blush, it seems almost incredible that the best officered and best disciplined soldiers in Europe should suffer a check from troops whom all the world justly despise, and who would be overmatched by a mob of filibustering rowdies. Besides, in Algiers we have seen the French display a particular aptitude for dealing with semi-barbarous armies; and the Mexicans are not comparable to the Algerine soldiers in bravery and endurance. How, then, can we account for the unexpected event? Was it one of those accidents in warfare that defy the most astute calculations? Or was it due to bad generalship? No. The simple and all-sufficient explanation is, the small number of French troops engaged in the enterprize. Gulliver was harassed by the Lilliputians; and a giant may be overmatched by a host of pigmies.

The French forces did not number quite 7000 men; and 7000 troops on paper are generally equal to 5000 effectives. But in Mexico a European army is still further diminished by the unhealthy climate, and it is probable the French General had not 4000 effectives, and could not bring a force of more than 3000 into the field; for being so many thousand miles from France, and so distant from his base of operations, it was necessary, despite the smallness of the corps, to organize a reserve. Notwithstanding the disproportion of the contending forces, so much confidence is felt in French valour and military

genius, that the complete success of the expedition would have been regarded as a natural consequence; yet, considering the mere handful of troops employed to reduce a country of 8,000,000 of inhabitants to order, we cease to marvel at the reverse.

Since the defeat is attributable to the smallness of the force, must we not blame the French Government for sending out such an inadequate body of troops?

It must be remembered that the French troops were destined to act with English and Spanish troops, and if the convention had been carried out the French contingent was ample. Assuredly we could not have a more convincing proof of the thorough good faith of the Emperor. There was evidently not the remotest idea of turning the intervention to French account. The Emperor meant to loyally abide by the terms of the convention, and he intended a joint expedition. We need not here discuss the withdrawal of the English and Spanish troops, but had such a contingency been contemplated, or, still more, had it been intrigued for and devised, we may be sure a force equal to the eventuality of isolated action would have been provided.

Whatever opinions may be held as to the avowed or secret motives of the Emperor, France is now involved, beyond honourable retreat, in a difficult and expensive war. The condition of Mexico is chaotic and demoralized beyond conception, and it is inevitably an arduous task to better such a state of affairs. The remoteness of the field makes the warfare costly. But France will not allow difficulty or cost to stand in the way of her reputation. We have shown that the honour of the French is not affected by the late reverse in Mexico, but prestige to a great nation is scarcely less precious than honour. Negotiation, then, is utterly impossible, until the military ascendancy of France is vindicated. Nor is that all. France having undertaken to reduce Mexico to civilized order, she must persevere until the work is accomplished.

One effect of the intervention in Mexico will be to place France in an attitude of irreconcilable antagonism to the United States. The invasion of the South is a demonstration of the Yankee faith in the Monroe doctrine. The Federal press is constantly boasting of the determination, so soon as the South is conquered, to crush all other governments and to rule supreme over a continent. After the late exhibitions of Yankee lawlessness, unheard-of oppression and semi-savage barbarity, the chivalrous, generous, and enlightened French people will not care for an intimate alliance with the United States; in fact, a cordial alliance between a highly civilized nation and the United States is impossible. The friendship between France and the Northern States was necessarily weakened by the secession of the South, and the intervention in Mexico has rapidly developed bitter and unscrupulous hostility.

This, amongst other things, will bring about an intimate and hearty alliance between France and the Confederate States. Their interests in Mexico are identical. They both desire to see an end to shameful anarchy. They both desire the establishment of a strong Government, which will insure Mexico against the ambitious designs of the United States. Directly France recognizes the independence of the Confederate States, the pacification of Mexico will become facile. The South has an abundance of men, and the enterprize would be exceedingly popular. The Southern people view with extreme dislike the abortive system of government that has prevailed in Mexico for nearly half a century.

The comprehensive and profoundly sagacious mind that presides over the greatest military monarchy cannot fail to perceive the situation and its requirements. An English statesman was formerly justified in saying that the balance of the Old World was restored by the development of the New World; but the time has now arrived when, unless the resources of Europe are to be crippled, the material prosperity of mankind blighted, and the progress of civilization checked, there must be a division and balance of power in the New World. The foundation of the Southern Confederacy is a barrier to that insane ambition of the United States,

which is inimical to the world's peace. The North will, no doubt, seek a quarrel with European nations, but it will soon be taught that it has not the power to domineer over the whole earth. The independence of Mexico is also an important element, and this will be established by the success of the French arms, the triumph of law and order, and the engrafting of European civilization. Mexico, one of the richest countries in the world, but which has for years been unproductive, will be restored to fruitfulness, and stimulate and increase commerce.

Not the least of the Emperor Napoleon's claims to the grateful respect of posterity will be, that he had a presence of the great uprising in America to inaugurate a balance of power, and did not lack the courage, and was too loyal to the cause of civilization, to hesitate in assisting and guiding the mighty movement. From its consequences, the Mexican intervention will form a glorious page in the annals of France.

THANKS to the kind attention of a friend, we are able to gratify the curiosity of our readers with a republication in *extenso* of Mr. B. Wood's remarkable speech, or rather pamphlet. No Northern newspaper had the hardihood to publish it, or even to comment upon it. The manner in which Mr. Wood obtained the legal sanction to its publication in any form will somewhat surprise those not acquainted with a rather curious practice of the American Congress. Each of the Houses elects a printer, by whom the debates, public documents, and even scientific books, are published at Government expense, at their direction. As a rule, the permission of either House is always granted to a member to have a speech or report printed in this manner for distribution among his constituents, in which he is further facilitated by the possession of the franking privilege. Mr. Wood, well knowing that he would not be listened to, and before the tenor of his remarks was known, obtained this permission, and thus eluded not only the rigid censorship of the press, but the Argus-eyed surveillance of the post-office.

Another evidence that an intelligent and sober-minded minority in the Northern States is restrained from the expression of its sentiments only by the terrorism of the majority, has recently come to our notice. From an unknown hand we receive several copies of a pamphlet, containing a series of very able articles in condemnation of the war. It bears New York on the title page, but the name of the printer, if it ever was there, appears to have been cut out. Though its ostensible date is 1861, there is every reason to believe that this anonymous publication of which we may have more to say hereafter, is of quite recent date.

LET us give the devil his due. Sir J. Walsh, in addressing the House of Commons respecting the execrable edict of General Butler, observed, that it was a barbarity "not exceeded by Nadir Shah, Nana Sahib, or the worst and most cruel tyrants of the East." It might be inferred from this passage that Eastern barbarity offers some parallel to the atrocity of the Federal Nana Sahib; but we beg to state that the remorseless, blood-stained traitor, the East India Nana, has never been guilty of an act so hideous as that of General Butler's in reference to the ladies of New Orleans. The barbarities of these ill-formed worthies were never exercised over a city under their protection. The infamy of General Butler is without precedent, and can never be exceeded.

GENERAL BUTLER finds the only way to stop the expression of Confederate loyalty in New Orleans is to enforce silence. He has suppressed the *Bee* and *Crescent* newspapers, and taken possession of the *Delta* for the use of the Federal Government. This is a charming specimen of republican liberty of speech and opinion.

OUR Magazine article, "Three Months in the Confederate Army," is again excluded by the number of lengthy documents which, as part of the current history of the war, we desire to place on record in our columns.

Reviews.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL.*

No. v.

If after the withdrawal of the Spanish troops the Netherlands had been united, national independence might have been established; but no one, save the Prince of Orange, seemed aware of the importance of union. The views of William must have appeared somewhat incongruous to his contemporaries, and cannot even at the present time be properly appreciated without a careful study of the situation. Doubtless the Prince could, if he had chosen, have made himself the sovereign of the Netherlands; and his noble disinterestedness did not arise from any other motive than the consciousness that such an arrangement would not promote an immediate pacification, or establish the liberties of his country upon a permanent basis. William knew that a lasting independent Confederation of the seventeen provinces was impossible. He was too profound a statesman to believe in the possibility of a fusion of races. He aimed, therefore, at the preservation of the provincial sovereignties, and at forming a league of amity as a defence against foreign domination. He advocated and promoted the election of the Duke of Anjou, not only that the power of France might be opposed to the power of Spain, but because the rule of a foreigner, limited by the constitution of the country, would be less likely to excite that jealousy amongst the nobles, which was already manifested at his own wonderful and dominant influence. The immediate result of this policy was to bring about a tripartite division of the country.

The Northern Provinces would accept no ruler but Orange; the United Provinces acknowledged the sovereignty of the Duke of Anjou, and the reconciled Provinces remained under the dominion of Spain.

Without dwelling on the ineffectual attempts of Don John to restore the supremacy of Spain, the nominal governorship of Matthias, the advent of the Duke of Parma, the acceptance of the government of Flanders by William, the famous siege of Maestricht, the cruel massacre of its inhabitants, and the unfaithfulness of many leaders who had done good service in the cause of freedom, we pass on to the declaration of independence of the United Provinces, made in the year 1581. Not that these events are comparatively unimportant or uninteresting, only our object is not to survey the history of the Netherlands, but to point out those incidents which have a parallel connection with the Confederate States' war of independence.

The act of abjuration recited the wrongs of the Netherlands, and justified the declaration of independence on the indefeasible ground that the King of Spain had broken his compact. Was this a revolt? Can a nation legally throw off its allegiance to a sovereign?

Such then being the spirit which prompted the provinces upon this great occasion, it may be asked who were the men who signed a document of such importance? In whose name and by what authority did they act against the sovereign? The signers of the declaration of independence acted in the name and by the authority of the Netherland people. The Estates were the constitutional representatives of that people. The statesman of that day, discovering, upon cold analysis of facts, that Philip's sovereignty was legally forfeited, formally proclaimed that forfeiture. Then inquiring what had become of the sovereignty, they found it not in the mass of the people, but in the representative body, which actually personated the people. The Estates of the different provinces—consisting of the knights, nobles, and burgesses of each—sent, accordingly, their deputies to the general assembly at the Hague, and by this congress the degree of abjuration was issued. It did not occur to anyone to summon the people in their primary assemblies, nor would the people of that day have comprehended the object of such a summons. They were accustomed to the action of the Estates, and those bodies represented as large a number of political capacities as could be expected of assemblies chosen then upon general principles. The hour had not arrived for more profound analysis of the social compact. Philip was accordingly deposed justly, legally, formally—justly, because it had become necessary to abjure a monarch who was determined not only to oppress but to exterminate his people; legally, because he had habitually violated the constitutions which he had sworn to support; formally, because the act was done in the name of the people, by the body historically representing the people.

We direct especial attention to the words we have italicised. We must remember they are the deliberate expression of the opinion of Mr. Motley, who, with glaring inconsistency, has hitherto denied the right of Secession to the Confederate States of America. He tells us, and we do not dispute his judgment, that although Philip had hereditary sovereign rights in the Netherlands, yet the abjuration of his rights was just, legal, and formal. But the United States had no sovereign rights in and over the States. Mr. Motley does not, and cannot, deny the sovereignty of every State in the late Union; but he

contends that the sovereign States had no right to withdraw from the federation. What! is the power of a federation more absolute and binding than that of an hereditary ruler? Does Mr. Motley, who so eloquently and so forcibly shows that kings have not a Divine right to oppress their subjects, and that when a monarch forgets his duty, his people are justified in forgetting their allegiance, mean to tell us that the old theory of Divine Right is applicable to a Federal compact, and that the alliance of Sovereign States ought to be perpetual, even though it involves the oppression and serfdom of some of the States? Or, if not, what becomes of his argument against Secession in America? The Southern States were oppressed. Were they not justified in abjuring the Power—the creature they had made—that oppressed them? Mr. Motley may reply, that the North had no designs against the South? Who is to decide the issue? Philip declared that he was a clement sovereign, and did not oppress the Netherlanders. Great Britain stoutly maintained that the attempt to tax her American colonies was not oppressive. Austria denies that her rule in Italy was oppressive. The oppressor never acknowledges, and, indeed, is rarely conscious of his oppression. Tyrants are always impressed with the wickedness of opposition to their tyranny. The question of justification is settled by brute force, for the simple reason that, be it ever so apparent, it is disputed by the oppressor. Sovereign States, representing a population of seven or eight millions of people, decided that the United States had violated the Federal compact, and was endeavouring to reduce them to complete subjection. They therefore withdrew from the Union.

But, irrespective of the justification of Secession, there can be no cavilling, according to Mr. Motley's historical theory, as to its legality. If the Netherlanders had a right to abjure the sovereignty of their hereditary ruler, much more have sovereign States a right to abjure a federation. Mr. Motley further defends the Netherlanders' abjuration because "the act was done in the name of the people, by the body historically representing the people." Was not Secession done in the name of the people, and by bodies absolutely representing the people? Perhaps when Mr. Motley denied the right of Secession he was labouring under the delusion that it was the act of conspirators, and not the act of the people. That plea would not be altogether sufficient, because the act was done by bodies "historically representing the people," and, if admitted, would justify any violation of national rights; but still, to a very slight extent, it may palliate his error. But what will be now say when the unanimity of the South is so clearly manifested? What now, when the people of the Confederate States—men and women—have shown, that rather than be reunited to the Northern States they will submit to cruel privations and sufferings, to the destruction of their property, the desolation of their cities, the devastation of their country, and to decimation by warfare? He must confess he was wrong in denying the right of Secession, or he must abjure his defence of the Netherlanders' act of independence. But, whatever course he may pursue, we thank him for so eloquently and unanswerably maintaining the right of Secession, as he has done in his history of "The Rise of the Dutch Republic."

It is likely enough that Philip was amused as well as incensed at the act of abjuration of the Estates. He did not despair of the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands, for, under any circumstances, it seemed impossible they would be able to maintain their independence. Not only were there, different races in the Netherlands, forbidding a very close and lasting connection, but the nobles and the people were antagonistic. Indeed, the prospects of the Netherlands were extremely gloomy. Philip still had a footing in the country. The Northern Provinces would obey no ruler but William. The Duke of Anjou embraced the first opportunity of showing his despotic character, and that he did not respect the oaths he had taken to preserve the Constitution of the States inviolate. France, on account of her Catholicism, and desire not to come into collision with Spain, was an uncertain ally. Germany was a recruiting ground for any Power having the means to pay troops. The friendship of England was problematical; Elizabeth played with Anjou, was lavishly courteous to Philip, and at the same time polite to the Estates. The Netherlanders were wonderfully niggardly in their contributions for the defence of their freedom, so much so that William considered foreign assistance indispensable. The arms of the Duke of Parma were powerful and successful. The intrigues of Spain were sufficient to corrupt patriot leaders. At every step new difficulties arose, and at every difficulty William was applied to. The Prince was the hope of the Netherlands; friend and foe acknowledged his power. Whilst he lived the people did not despair of

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

their liberty. If Philip could corrupt or kill him, he felt that the Netherlands would once more be within his grasp.

It was found impossible to bribe or cajole William. He was too honest and too farsighted. Calumniation was vainly essayed, the reputation of Father William was unassailable. He was too brave and devoted to be frightened from his post by the savage edict of Philip, offering a large reward for his assassination. Philip therefore determined to assassinate the man he could not corrupt, calumniate, circumvent, or terrify.

On Sunday, the 18th March, 1582, the Prince was shot as he was leaving his dining-room. He was severely wounded, and prepared for death with the calmness of a brave man and the resignation of a Christian. Parma, being informed by Anastro, who had devised the assassination, that William was dead, called upon the authorities of Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges, and other cities, to make their peace with their lawful sovereign. But, to the joy of the people, their beloved Prince recovered, and his power was, if possible, increased by the danger he had escaped.

Philip, however, was too persevering in the pursuit of blood to be deterred by a single failure, or, indeed, by a succession of failures. On Tuesday, the 10th July, 1584, the fell purpose of the tyrant was fulfilled. On that day—

At about half-past twelve, the Prince, with his wife on his arm, and followed by the ladies and gentlemen of his family, was going to the dining-room. William the Silent was dressed upon that day, according to his usual costume, in very plain fashion. He wore a wide-leaved, loosely-shaped hat of dark felt, with a silken cord round the crown—such as had been worn by the Beggars in the early days of the revolt. A high ruff encircled his neck, from which also depended one of the Beggar's medals, with the motto, "*Fidèles au roy jusqu'à la mort*," while a loose surcoat of grey frieze cloth, over a tawny leather doublet, with wide, slashed underclothes, completed his costume. Gerard presented himself at the doorway, and demanded a passport. The Princess, struck with the pale and agitated countenance of the man, anxiously questioned her husband concerning the stranger. The Prince carelessly observed that "it was merely a person who came for a passport," ordering, at the same time, a secretary forthwith to prepare one. The Princess, still not relieved, observed in an undertone, "that she had never seen so villainous a countenance." Orange, however, not at all impressed with the appearance of Gerard, conducted himself at table with his usual cheerfulness, conversing much with the burgomaster of Leeward, the only guest present at the family dinner, concerning the political and religious aspects of Friesland. At two o'clock the company rose from table. The Prince led the way, intending to pass to his private apartments above. The dining-room, which was on the ground-floor, opened into a little square vestibule, which communicated, through an arched passage-way, with the main entrance into the court-yard. This vestibule was also directly at the foot of the wooden staircase leading to the next floor, and was scarcely six feet in width. Upon its left side, as one approached the stairway, was an obscure arch, sunk deep in the wall, and completely in the shadow of the door. Behind this arch a portal opened to the narrow lane at the side of the house. The stairs themselves were completely lighted by a large window half-way up the flight. The Prince came from the dining-room, and began leisurely to ascend. He had only reached the second stair, when a man emerged from the sunken arch, and standing within a foot or two of him, discharged a pistol full at his heart. Three balls entered his body, one of which, passing quite through him, struck with violence against the wall beyond. The Prince exclaimed in French, as he felt the wound, "O my God, have mercy on my soul! O my God, have mercy upon this poor people!"

These were the last words he ever spoke, save that when his sister, Catherine of Schwartzburg, immediately afterwards asked him if he commended his soul to Jesus Christ, he faintly answered, "Yes." His master of the horse, Jacob van Maldere, had caught him in his arms, as the fatal shot was fired. The Prince was then placed on the stairs for an instant, when he immediately began to swoon. He was afterwards laid upon a couch in the dining-room, where in a few minutes he breathed his last in the arms of his wife and sister.

So died one of the most spotless characters in history. His death seemed a mortal blow to the cause of freedom of conscience and civil liberty. It was natural for the Netherlands to bemoan the loss of their Father William as the forerunner of the loss of independence. It was natural for the execrable Spanish tyrant to flatter himself that the death of the Prince would enable him to trample on the Netherlands. More than a Prince in Israel had fallen. "As long as he lived he was the guiding star of a brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets." Even to-day it is impossible to read the life of Father William without emotion, and to consider his death without a feeling of personal sorrow. But now we can perceive that Philip had no cause for rejoicing that to his countless victims he had added the Prince of Orange. Now we know that the despair of the Netherlands was uncalled for. We know that the assassin did not take the life of William until his work was done, and his death was, perhaps, as necessary for his country as had been his life.

His work was done—for he had taught his country how to struggle for freedom. Mr. Motley thinks if he had lived another thirty years, "the seven provinces would have been seventeen." We think not; but we are sure that if all the provinces had been united under William it would have been on account of his personal influence,

and when he died the union would have been dissolved. The attempt has since been made under most promising auspices, and it has failed.

The death of William was good for his country, since it taught the people not to lean on one man, but to confide in the sacredness of their cause and the favour of Heaven. Being dead, he yet spoke to his countrymen, and inspired them with resolution. The bloody deed of Philip raised up a spirit of resistance to tyranny that could not be killed by dagger, poison, or pistol.

The death of William ought to teach a lesson to all posterity. What lesson? That when seemingly the fortress, the tower of strength of national liberty, is struck down, national liberty survives. When a nation determines to be nationally independent, subjugation is impossible. It may be conquered for a time, but not permanently subdued. Still, we repeat, it was natural for Philip to regard the death of William as the opportunity for his enslaving the Netherlands. But Philip would never have been so foolish as those persons are who think, or professed to think, that because the United States can get possession of some of the Confederate cities, that therefore it can subjugate seven millions of a superior and liberty-loving race.

(To be continued.)

Precis of the Wars in Canada, from 1755 to the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814. With Military and Political Reflections. By the late MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH, Bart., C.B., &c. Edited by his Son, Sir JAMES CARMICHAEL, Bart. London: Tinsley Bros.

THE chief uncertainty about the American war is with regard to its duration. No one doubts that the South will contend for its independence until it is manifested to, and acknowledged by, the nations of the earth. How long the North may hope against hope that a proud and high-spirited nation can be enslaved, and its country become the heritage of the spoiler, is a problem the most astute statesmen do not attempt to solve. Confederate successes, foreign intervention, a financial collapse, or a domestic revolution, may suddenly put an end to the strife; but it is possible that peace may be heralded by a decade of warfare. All we know is, that sooner or later the end will come, and that the Federal Government must then find fresh employment for its troops, and that the ratification of peace with the Confederacy will be closely followed by a declaration of war against another Power. Nor is there much doubt as to the nation which will receive the challenge. If possible, the United States would like to enter into a contest with England and France at the same time; but, under any circumstances, the mother country will be assailed. Those who read the Northern newspapers have some insight into the rancorous hate with which this country is regarded by the Yankees. Those who are acquainted with the tone of Northern society are still more vividly impressed with the spirit of bitter animosity that has been so strangely evoked. Our forbearance has intensified the evil passion, and been mistaken for pusillanimity. In Northern America there is an opinion very generally entertained that our fighting days are over. We can quell an insurrection in India, and manage the Chinese, if we are not surprised as at the Peiho forts, but we are no match for Yankee prowess. Moreover, England is vulnerable. The Northerners can strike a blow at our pockets. It is opposed to the comity of civilized nations to confiscate the private debts of subjects of the enemy due before the declaration of war, unless for reparation of some pecuniary claim, or damage for which no redress can be obtained; but the law of the United States sanctions the confiscation of the private debts due to the subjects of an enemy under any circumstances. When, during the Trent affair, the *New York Herald* suggested and threatened the forfeiture of English capital invested in America, it did no more than make an avowal in accordance with the United States' version of the law of nations. Of course, England would make reprisals, and never consent to peace until there had been ample restitution; but in the meantime great loss and inconvenience would be experienced.

The first grand object, however, would be Canada. Being a large and thinly-populated country, Canada is difficult to conquer; still more difficult to hold; but very assailable. We grant that it is extremely improbable that Canada, even if she felt desirous of severing her connection with England, would affiliate with the United States; but we have seen that the North does not hesitate to engage in a hopeless and unprofitable contest to gratify her cupidity, and we may conclude that, to gratify her revenge, she would not hesitate to embark in an equally hopeless adventure. And we must observe, that the Yankees do not think the acquisition of Canada impossible, but regard it as a feasible project. However unpleasant the contingency, we cannot blind our-

selves to the fact, that some day we shall have to defend Canada against the United States.

Three Canadian wars are treated in the work before us. The first is that which a century ago eventuated in our obtaining possession of Canada; and this is to be regarded as a contest between two European Powers. The second was incidental to the War of Independence. The last is the war of 1812, which was waged by the United States with the idea of conquering Canada, and the scheme did not appear desperate. England had been engaged in a long and exhausting European warfare, and which was, indeed, not ended. The United States at that period had not been demoralized by the ascendancy of the mob, and the prospect of Union with the republic, if not tempting, was in no way repulsive to the Canadians. Our army in Canada did not number more than 4500 men, and before the era of steam navigation America was strategically far more distant from England than it is at present. The venture of the United States was hazardous, but, we repeat, it was not desperate.

The American plan of campaign was admirably conceived, and if it had been vigorously and promptly carried out must have resulted in the discomfiture of the British. It was proposed to make three nearly simultaneous attacks. One movement was to be directed against Amherstberg, a second in the Niagara district, and a third against Montreal. In the first campaign the Americans were held in check. The fort of Detroit was taken and retained by the British. The second corps was defeated at Queen's Town, below the Niagara falls; and our author considers that the victory was due to the faulty tactics of the Americans. The third corps did no more than advance to the Canadian frontier and retire.

In 1813, the Americans again divided their forces into three parts. One corps was to operate against Detroit and Amherstberg, another against Kingston and York, on Lake Ontario, and the third against Montreal. The British gained a fruitless victory at Detroit. No supplies could be obtained by water, and nothing remained but retreat. A stand was made at Chatham, and the British were routed. It was a mistake to attempt to keep such an extensive frontier with so small a force. It always weakens an invader to have to advance into a hostile country to meet the enemy. If an invader is defeated on the frontier, he can fall back on the base of his operations; but a defeat in the interior of the enemy's country not only disorganizes, but destroys his army.

The British did not essay to defend the Niagara frontier against the second corps, but occupied Burlington Heights, on Lake Ontario. A successful night attack was made on the Americans, and the latter were blockaded in the ports that they had taken from their enemy. At the close of the campaign, the British ports were evacuated. The third corps, as in the previous year, effected nothing; its advance being checked by some Canadian troops.

Assuredly a nation should not boast of the victory until the war is over. In 1814, the British force was largely augmented, and when the European war was ended, it seemed likely enough that Canada would be secure against the diminished efforts of the Americans. But the campaign was singularly disastrous to the British. Fort Erie was surrendered. A body of 11,000 veteran troops, under the command of Sir George Prevost, made a demonstration against Plattsburg, and finding the place was too strongly fortified to be successfully assailed, withdrew into Canada. A naval attack resulted in the repulse of the British squadron. Peace was then made, and the British laurels were not retrieved. The moral effect of the campaign of 1814 was to impress the American mind with the possibility of conquering Canada at a fitting opportunity. Still, the dearly bought experience of 1814—for we hold that the sacrifice of prestige is a fearful price to pay for any experience—will prove invaluable to us, if, in the event of another invasion, it teaches us to adopt a cautious and harassing defence. Nothing is so destructive and ruinous to an invading army as strictly defensive tactics.

The partisans of the North have not failed to work upon our sensibility in reference to Canada, by telling us that if we want to secure our own territory we had better let the Yankees subdue the South. In which way, we should like to know, will the conquest of the Confederate States guarantee us against Northern aggression? "Much will have more" is an unexceptional rule as applied to nations. Never since the world began did one conquest fail to excite the conquerors to enter into other contests for extended dominion. It is quite true the South would require a large army to garrison her cities, but then a large revenue would be extorted from the conquered States. In fact, the conquest of the South would supply the North with the sinews of war. Without, however, discussing the possibility of the extermination of seven or eight millions of people, we may observe that the

independence of the South must strengthen the position of England. Instead of being richer, as she would be by the conquest of the South, or so rich as she was when in union with the South, the North will be much, very much, poorer. She will have an empty exchequer, and no means of replenishing it. She will always be under the grave apprehension that the South may join her foes. And truly, if we should now recognize the Confederate States, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance, the integrity of Canada would be assured. Instead, then, of being benefited by the conquest of the South as to our hold on Canada, we have in that quarter an immense interest in the independence of the South.

We have unbounded faith in the loyalty of the Canadians. Greater freedom they cannot enjoy under any form of government. We remarked above that it was improbable they would, under any circumstances, affiliate with the United States. We may add, it is impossible. The Canadians abhor the Yankees almost as much as do the Southerners. The loyalty of the people, and the hatred of the Yankees, will preserve the country from conquest, though it may not from invasion and devastation. We may also remember that Canadian troops are as good as Yankee troops, and that in 1813 the former were victorious.

Nor is the United States invulnerable. At the first outbreak of war the British could retaliate on the Yankees for the invasion of Canada by invading California, which is quite defenceless, and is, strategically, as near to us as New York.

Moreover, when hostilities broke out between this country and the United States, we presume it would be considered an opportune moment to recover the State of Maine, a State carved out of British territory, cutting off our communication with Canada, and which was unjustly demanded and foolishly conceded. Mr. Spence, in his admirable work, "The American Union," observes:—

There was another boundary question—that of Maine. Let any one take the present map of the United States, and consider, as a matter of reason, whether, when peace terminated the revolutionary war, a boundary line would be so drawn as to sever our colonies in two, and this at a point where nothing existed of interest or value to the United States. That peace was negotiated by Franklin. When the treaty on this subject was made by Lord Ashburton, the Government of the United States was in possession of the map sent by Franklin to the French ministry, and deposited in their archives—a map authenticated by a note in his own hand-writing. On that map appeared a strong red ink line drawn by Franklin's own hand, and referred to in his note. The Government was also possessed of a map found in Jefferson's collection, on which again a similar red ink line delineated the true boundary. Franklin's map was discovered by Mr. Jared Sparks, who, when forwarding it to the United States' Government, wrote thus:—"The line is bold and distinct in every part, made with red ink. There is no other colouring on any part of the map. Imagine my surprise on discovering that this line was wholly south of the St. John's. It is exactly the line contended for by Great Britain, except that it concedes more than is claimed." All this evidence was produced before the Senate—Jefferson's map as well as Franklin's—the two as Mr. Rives observed, "coinciding minutely and exactly." Here was absolute proof of the truth. Yet it does not appear that one was found in that Senate to rise and say, "Let us do what is right; we see in Franklin's own hand-writing—as though he had risen from the grave to instruct us—what was the true boundary agreed to by him; let us obtain no advantage by concealment of these maps, but seek what is just to others and honourable to ourselves." In the place of such sentiments, it appears to have been considered a clever thing to cajole a British negotiator; and to sever Canada from New Brunswick.

We need not, then, be seriously alarmed for the safety of Canada. The Confederate States can afford us abundant aid. We can make ready reprisals on California; and by taking Maine consolidate our empire, and largely develop the resources of Canada.

Colton's Maps. Published for the proprietors by William Freeman, London.

We have before us two of these useful maps. One is a map of the States, distinguishing by colours the Northern States, the Confederate States, and the Border States. The counties, principal towns, railways, stations, forts and military points are marked. The other map gives the plans of twenty of the principal harbours. Colton's maps will greatly assist the general reader in understanding the progress of the war.

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Captain T. B. Huger, Confederate States' Navy. Captain Huger was the commander of the steamer *McRae*, and no man more bold, fearless, and dashing, ever trod the deck of a ship. In the battle at the forts, where he received the wounds which caused his death, he fought his ship in such a gallant manner as to extort praises even from his enemies. The last gun fired from our fleet was from the *McRae*, and her battered condition showed what a noble part she had taken in the action. Captain Huger was a South Carolinian—was formerly an officer in the United States' Navy, but resigned when his native State seceded from the old Union, and commanded, with great credit to himself, a battery at the taking of Fort Sumter. He has been on this station for several months, where he won golden opinions from all who were brought in contact with him; he was an ardent, self-sacrificing patriot, a most accomplished officer, and a high-toned, honourable, and polished gentleman. There are thousands here and elsewhere who will drop tears of sincere, heartfelt grief, over the grave of the noble Huger.

SPEECH OF THE HON. BENJ. WOOD, OF NEW YORK, ON THE STATE OF THE UNION.

Mr. Wood informed Congress that he had some remarks to make upon the state of the Union, but he did not wish to speak them, and desired permission to have them printed amongst the proceedings of Congress. The request of the hon. member was granted, and the following address was printed:—

Mr. Wood.—Mr. Chairman, I have hitherto avoided troubling this House. Content to be a listener, without any other participation in its proceedings than to oppose my solemn individual negative against measures which my conscience and my principles would not approve, I have said nothing. Indeed, sir, I have not had the heart to rise here and speak. A glance at this hall, of itself, has been enough to prevent. When I look around and see one-third of the Union, unrepresented here, and find myself in a body, though purporting to be one branch of the Congress of the United States, really, in fact, but a fragmentary part of it, my heart sinks within me. It appears to be a sectional body—a gathering of the representatives of a sectional party. With these feelings, and with this spirit, I have until now avoided participating in debate.

Besides, sir, during the earlier period of this session, disaster had accompanied the efforts of the Federal arm. I felt that the hour of defeat was not a fit one in which to strive to awaken the great soul of the North to thoughts of peace; I felt that something was due to the sense of mortification, something to the natural desire to retrieve the shame of discomfiture. I hoped, too, that when victory should perch upon our banners, others than myself would seize the occasion to urge a plea in behalf of peaceable measures; and that this Government itself, feeling secure and strong enough to be magnanimous, would take the lead and be the pioneer in opening a path for the settlement of our difficulties without further recourse to bloodshed. I even hoped that the leaders of the now dominant party, moved by the sore distress which has visited our country, would relent from the stern rigour of their doctrines of subjugation, and, in the flush of triumph, would lean a little towards a gentler policy than that which they have hitherto championed with so much zeal and with so little forbearance.

I hoped in vain. The triumph came; a long train of successes has relieved the North from its humiliation. The Government claims now to stand as a rock, against which the tempest of opposition must waste itself in futile efforts. The partisans of the ultra war party laugh to scorn the idea that any effectual resistance can be offered to the onward march of our triumphant armies, and yet no single effort has been made in these Congressional Halls to stay the effusion of blood. It has been left for me, powerless as I am, to speak the first conciliatory word in behalf of my suffering countrymen. And I do it, sir, in the hope that others, more capable, will not be too much engrossed with the lust of conquest, and the pride of victory, to follow my example.

Sir, it is an ineffaceable reproach to those either deluded or wicked men, who, in the North, by their unwaried agitation of abolition schemes, have stirred the embers of this strife; it is an eternal reproach to them that, through defeat and victory, throughout every phase of this unhappy struggle, with the groans of their distressed and tortured country smiting upon their ears, they have clung, and still cling, with unquitting pertinacity and even with ferocity, to the doctrine which has been the germ of all the mischief. With the first exulting shouts of Federal victories, they set up the echoing cry of emancipation. With all the energy of fanaticism, with all the subtle arts and intrigues of scheming demagogues, with all the appliances of cunning, intellect, and patronage at their command, even at this eventful crisis, when every American brain should be at work to bring about a fair and honourable peace, they have no thought, no hope, no duty, but to propagate their creed, extending its influence into every nook and cranny of the land, and poisoning the atmosphere of these sacred halls with its interminable discussion. Openly and in secret, by the agency of the press, the pulpit, and the political rostrum, in the camp, in the city, and in the open field, they are spreading the contagion, they are inoculating the country with its moral pestilence, which has already brought us where we are, at the very brink of the grave of our nationality.

Sir, to these apostles of abolitionism will be traced hereafter whatever of evil has befallen or may befall our country. They are building its sepulchre with the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. I do believe there are gentlemen within my vision now whose sworn purpose, whose first desire—paramount even to the preservation of republicanism—is emancipation. They and their disciples first threw the apple of discord. They first applied the torch, and are now more busy than ever with throwing fresh fuel to the flame. Should history ever trace—which God forbid—the record of this country's ruin, that page will seem the strangest to those that read, which shall tell of the madness and wickedness of the arch-fanatics of abolitionism. In the dark recesses of the temple of infamy, the gloomiest niches will bear the inscription of their names.

Sir, I counsel none but a moral interference with the work of these mischief-makers. I would not have even fanaticism deprived of the right of free speech; nor would I, in any emergency, advocate the slightest infringement by the Government upon the liberty of the press. Let them sow the seeds of their infamous doctrine broadcast over the land. Whatever may be the danger, I will not countenance the greater danger of establishing a dictatorship over the thoughts of my fellow-countrymen.

But if the abominable theme must be brought into the council chambers of the nation, for the sake of

decency, if not of justice, let it be at a more reasonable time. If there remains one Union man at the South, let us remember that he is unrepresented here; that the subject of slavery particularly concerns him; and that it is ungenerous and unjust, if not cowardly, to take advantage of his absence of representation to push forward measures in regard to the local institutions of his section; measures against which, were he present, he would give his earnest opposition. It will quench whatever remains of Union feeling in the South, if it has not already done so. It will destroy the last hope of a reconstruction of the Union on a friendly basis. It will prove what has been so often intimated, that the first idea of the dominant party in the North is active and unwavering antagonism to slavery, and a fixed purpose to legislate it out of the land at all hazards. Is it with that theory advanced that we are to conquer a peace? Sir, we are flinging away the last chances of reconciliation as recklessly as madmen cast their treasures into the sea. The agitation of the subject has been the country's bane at every period of its history; its discussion at this crisis is desperate self-destruction.

Is it while the magazine is beneath us and about us, bursting with the agencies of ruin, that we must choose to sport with the flaming torch of the incendiary? Sir, until our beloved country shall be saved, the word "emancipation" should, by common consent, be banished from the language of debate in this assemblage. It is a spell which has wrought enough already of desolation. It is a hellish formula of incantation which has conjured up the fiends of discord and civil war, and it never was so potent in its evil tendency as now, when it is being passed, like the breath of the plague, from mouth to mouth, in the council chambers of the country it has ruined. It should be spoken in a whisper and with a prayer linked to it, as a thing that brings a curse and spreads a pestilence. I despair of my country, I despair of ever living once more in a blessed Union of fraternal States, when I hear all around me the utterance of that ruin-breeding word, "emancipation," mingling with the shouts of battle, the fierce hurrahs of triumph over fallen brothers, and the groans of our dying countrymen.

Sir, if in place of making the negro question a subject-matter of debate, this Congress would take into earnest, solemn consideration some expedient for securing peace, I do believe that success would crown our efforts. If they would enter upon that task, not with hearts embittered and intellects swayed by sectional antipathies and untimely mock philanthropies, but with all their souls devoted to that one sacred purpose—the reconstruction of the Union and our redemption from civil war; if they would do this, in the spirit of conciliation, of forgiveness, of tolerance, of brotherhood, and kindly feeling, it is my conviction that before the close of this eventful session, the preliminaries of a peace would be arranged. But while, with the obstinacy of a blind fanatic, and the instinct of a brutal gladiator, the first object is to promulgate a party creed, and the second to crush an opponent and wear the badge of victory, I see no fairer prospect than, at some distant period, reached through seas of blood and heaps of carnage, the forced submission of a crushed and devastated section, and the equally unhappy spectacle of a Government triumphant, but exhausted by its triumph, detested by a moiety of those sovereignties that gave it birth, and gazing with horror and remorse upon the desolation it has wrought.

Sir, it is not my intention to vent reproaches, even where I believe them best deserved. I have risen to enter my protest against the discussion, in this chamber, of any anti-slavery scheme whatever, at this crisis, and to offer an earnest appeal to this Congress that its legislation shall embrace every means of securing an immediate peace. If, as the Government claims, the Confederate cause is hopeless, the leaders of the Secession movement cannot be ignorant of the fact, and knowing it, they will be naturally inclined to lend a willing ear to whatever proper overtures this Government may present. At some period of this struggle there must be negotiation; it must be resorted to, sooner or later; why not now?

Is it because pride forbids that we should be the first to outstretch the hand of conciliation? Heaven forbid that thousands of human lives and a country's welfare should depend upon so false a principle. Is it because the South has not been sufficiently punished, humbled, and subdued? Then let us confess that chastisement and vengeance are the objects of this war. Is it because the anti-slavery movement has not yet received a sufficient impetus? If so, go tell it to the armies that have won your victories. Make abolition the war-cry. Place a banner with that device in the vanward, and lure those armies on to conquest with it—if you can. Your soldiers would rend the treacherous ensign into shreds, and would march to their homes with the same alacrity that they pushed on with to the battle-field.

What, then, is the cause that withholds negotiation? You will not parley with armed treason. But you have parleyed with armed treason, if that be the word; parleyed for the mere convenience of an exchange of prisoners, and other purposes to mitigate the grievances of war. It was your duty to do so. And shall you not do so to accomplish all that your troops are fighting for—the reconstruction of the Union?

Let us suppose that the South is anxious to embrace an opportunity of return, and is withheld from making advances by doubts as to the intentions of the North. Is it not right that we should confer with them, that those doubts may be removed?

What do the people care for such miserable punctilios in the hour of a nation's agony? Sir, an honourable peace is within the grasp of this Congress without further bloodshed. This Congress knows that it is so; and when the people shall realize that it is only the infamous design to strengthen the anti-slavery movement that prevents an effort to obtain that peace, we to the chiefs of the abolition party in the land,

But, enough of them. Words are thrown away upon their stubborn fanaticism. I appeal with better hope to the loftier feelings that should pervade humanity, and especially pervade this august assemblage—that should, by the nature of its sacred functions, be far removed from the miserable ambition of reducing a section of our common country to the extreme and therefore dangerous condition of despair.

Sir, there may be a fascination in the gory magnificence of war. There may be a craving for martial glories in the hearts of men, and an instinct of contention which we share in common with the brute creation. But if ever there can be a time when a more Christian impulse should possess our souls it is now; now, when the triumph and consciousness of strength give us the noble privilege of extending the hand of conciliation without fear of degradation, or self-reproach for cowardice. If adversity has been our excuse for sternness, let success be our plea for magnanimity. Providence has placed within the reach of the North a greater triumph than countless armed legions could conquer, the triumph of subduing a brave enemy with a generous and merciful policy, that will disarm resentment and rekindle the old brotherly flame that perhaps is not yet totally extinct. For, after all, they are our brothers, sir, and some softening of the stern Roman rigour which our rulers have assumed is due to that brotherhood, which, by untimely severity, may be cancelled now for ever. There are gentlemen who will say that the South must be subdued; that every armed Southerner must throw down his weapon and sue for mercy.

Should a freeman ask so much of his brother freeman? Would they be worthy of companionship in our fraternity, being reclaimed at such a sacrifice of manly feeling? What would you have them do? Would you have them crouch and cringe and strew their heads with ashes and kneel at your gates for readmission? They are Americans, sir, and will not do it! No, though Roanoke and Fort Henry and Fort Donnellson should be re-enacted from day to day through the lapse of bloody years, they will not do it! Give them some chance for an honourable return, for you will wipe out every chance, and the two sections will be twain for ever. Yes, sir, you may link them to each other with chains, and pin their destinies together with bayonets, but at heart they will be twain for ever. They are the children of the same heroic stock, the joint inheritors with ourselves of the precious legacy of freedom; and it seems a sacrilege and an insult to the memories of the past, that so many, sir, should sit in your presence here to day to goad them on to desperate resistance; and so few—alas! so very few—to mediate and restrain.

Of those few, I thank my God that I am not one. I am proud to proclaim it here beneath the dome of the Capitol. I shall proclaim it, here and everywhere, until the wings of peace shall be once more folded over the bleeding bosom of my country. I shall proclaim it aloud and honestly, although to do so would make me the next victim of this cruel strife.

Sir, it may be said that I speak of peace, while its attainment, without further recourse to arms, remains impossible. But I do not believe it impossible. What effort has been made? What door has been opened through which the passions and ill-feelings of the contestants might pass out and reason enter? None. The single idea has been forced upon the people that the sword, and the sword alone, must decide the issue. It has been pronounced treason to hold an opposite opinion. Sir, if to have but little faith in the efficacy of the sword or joining severed friendships, if to earnestly desire peace, and to deprecate the horrors of war, be treason, then am I a traitor; and I am prouder of such treason than others have the right to be of their vindictive, flaming, and pretentious patriotism.

I conjure this Congress, in the name of our suffering country, in the names of wives that may be widows, of children that may be orphans, in the names of gallant men, now strong in health, and who to-morrow may be stretched in death upon the gory ground, or writhing, maimed and disfigured, with tormenting wounds—in the name of humanity, that sickens at the daily record of this terrible strife, I conjure this Congress to seize at the merest chance that may exist of a present termination of this tragedy. Let something be attempted in the spirit of mediation. Sir, the people will respond to it. They will thank this Congress for it. They will bless this Congress for any measure that breathes of the spirit of reconciliation. They are weary of this war, weary in despite of the excitement of present victory. They will awaken soon to the consciousness that such victories are being purchased at a sacrifice that is terrible to contemplate; that a national debt is being created, which, in its rapid accumulation, is appalling—a debt which, if ever paid, will press like an incubus upon future generations, stunting the growth and paralyzing the vigour of our young Republic; or, if repudiated, resting a blot upon our annals.

And while at home we are groaning with distress and standing on the verge of bankruptcy, if we look abroad the spectacle tends only to our shame. We see the sceptred hands of Europe planting their royal banners upon the soil of this western hemisphere, which it is our natural duty to consecrate to Republicanism, and which we ought at least have guarded from the greed of foreign despots. The flag of Arragon and Castile flutters in the air of San Domingo, and, united with the blazons of France and England, is unfurled upon the walls of San Juan d'Ulloa. Where may they not float twelve months hence, if we, the natural guardians of this continent from foreign interference, should still be busy with dabbings in each other's gore? Sir, if there must be war, let it be against the natural enemies of republicanism, and as we have already humbled our national pride to conciliate the British lion, let us make some sacrifice to win back in amity and not to subjugate the South, that we may stand once again as comrades in arms, to scourge these foreign interlopers back again within their proper limits.

I am no advocate of bloodshed; but if a foreign war should be the alternative of submission to foreign insolence, I trust that I should be among the last to fall prostrate that the hurricane might sweep harmlessly by. To subserve the schemes of a party, we have already humiliated the American people in the eyes of scoffing Europe, and it will be a task hereafter to regain the caste we have lost in the family of nations. No much greater evil could befall us than to be forced from the position we have hitherto assumed towards foreign powers. I would not have my country swerve one inch from any vital principle of her foreign policy in any emergency whatever. Above all things, I hold dear that national honour which we have ever, till of late, preserved untarnished. However gloomy may be the aspect of things at home, I would have our flag float as proudly as ever abroad, not even deigning to make domestic affliction a plea for humility, an excuse for cowardice, or a palliation of national shame. Whenever occasion demands that a stand should be made against foreign aggression, or a rebuke administered to foreign pride, or a chastisement inflicted upon foreign insolence, I would have the gauntlet thrown down upon the impulse of the national sentiment, without reference to domestic exigencies, or pausing to measure the strong proportions of the foe.

In the heat of our private discord, we seem to have forgotten that our great mission as a people is to republi- canize the world, to advance the principle that men are capable of self-government, and to check the progress of monarchy. Sir, we are losing ground in the fulfilment of that sacred mission, and monarchy has gained a new foothold, while we have been weakening our sinews with intestine strife. And to what purpose? Is it possible that gentlemen can hope to reconstruct the Union by pursuing a policy of unrelenting severity? Can they expect to re-establish concord and brotherly love by pushing hostilities to the extreme verge? What is the Union worth without mutual respect and reciprocated amity to bind the sections? What! a Union of unwilling States, driven into companionship at the point of the bayonet, and held there hereafter by military power! Such a Union would not be worth the shedding of one brave man's blood. We want their hearts, or we want them not at all. And we cannot conquer hearts with bayonets, although they should outnumber the spears of Xerxes. If not brought back by negotiation, in the spirit they are gone from us for ever. To conquer them may be possible. To slay their soldiers, lay waste their lands, and burn their cities may be within our power. But to hold them in subjection, having conquered them, would in itself be a final repudiation of the first principle of republicanism. Prosecute this war until you have accomplished the necessity of holding a subdued section in subjection, and the world will look in vain for a republic on the western hemisphere.

Sir, I love to entertain the hope that our Union will be restored upon the foundation laid down by our fathers, and I desire no changes in the plan of that glorious superstructure. But I am not so unnatural a worshipper of the Union as to seek its salvation with the destruction of those for whose welfare it was conceived, to build it up upon the dead bodies of my countrymen, when other means are at hand for its reconstruction. I would purchase its redemption otherwise than by anarchy and ruin. I would not fling away the substance to perpetuate the name. Every drop of blood that is shed in this struggle will weaken the keystone of the fabric for whose sake the blood is pretended to be shed. One word of conciliation at this crisis will do more to save the country than all the achievements, past and to come, of your victorious soldiery.

Why should not that word go forth, even now, in the hour of the triumph of the Federal arms. If there has ever been a period in the history of republics when prolonged civil strife has failed to curtail the liberty of the masses, I have not read that history aright. Already, with one year's bitter experience, we have beheld some of the dearest privileges of American citizenship wrested from our grasp. And how long, at the same rate, before, upon the convenient plea of necessity, we shall be stripped of other rights which heretofore have made us deem ourselves freemen? How long, while personal liberty now depends on the nod of an official? How long, while free-born American citizens can be left to languish in bastiles, beyond the reach of the constituted tribunals of the land and at the mercy of the Executive for their liberation? How long, while the press, the guardian of liberty, the friend of the masses, is shackled, gagged, cowed down to sullen silence, or, worse yet, become the minion of a party? How long, while voters are arrested at the polls by military process, and legislators are hurried off to prison before they can assume their sacred functions? How long, while the partizans of the immaculate abolition party are coining money out of the blood of their countrymen, parading their showy patriotism and shouting "Union," with their arms up to the elbows in the public treasury? How long, sir, will the people of the North, taxed beyond endurance, robbed and cheated by an ever-craving horde of political hyenas—how long will they have a choice between freedom and anarchy, between a republic and a despotism? Alas! we still cling to the name of a republic, but have we the reality? It is entirely at the option of one man, or of a council of men, whether the citizen shall breathe in freedom the free air of Heaven. At the "open sesame" of the Executive, the gloomy portals of the Bastiles Lafayette and Warren will gape to receive him. And this is the Republic I was taught to love!

Sir, it is only a sign and forerunner of what must inevitably be, should the South be crushed into the Union. You may bring the South to terms with your bayonets, but when you have done so, you will have made a bond of air; a covenant to enforce which will necessitate this Government to assume the functions of a military despotism, and to break which at the first opportunity will be an aim and a purpose on the part of the subdued section.

What they have attempted once they will not fail to attempt hereafter, when smarting under the remembrance of defeat, when cherishing the deadly hate that a war to the utterance will engender.

For the sake of union now and of union hereafter—not enforced union, but the strong union of willing hearts—let the word of peace go forth, let the hand of reconciliation be extended. Why, sir, I have heard such words of bitter hatred expressed towards these Southerners by Northern lips, that I fear it may be already too late ever to renew the bonds of fraternity. Such sentiments I have heard of implacable resentment, of thirsting vengeance, of sectional antipathy, as Hannibal was taught to nurture against Rome, as Rome, in her quenchless jealousy, conceived towards Carthage to the end. And the doom of Carthage may be accepted by the South rather than reunion at the bayonet's point.

I appeal to this Congress to avert that fate as inglorious to the victor as to the vanquished. Let the door to negotiation be flung wide open, flung open now while we can make advances with good grace, and with laurels upon our brow. To the winds with the doctrine that you will not treat with armed traitors. It is a sentiment fitter for the epoch of a purpled Roman, than for the Christian age in which we live. It is the sentiment of one who rules with a rod of iron, not of a great and generous people who assume to rule themselves. Enough has been done in proof of the valour of the North, and the resources of the Government. Let something be now done for the sake of the past; for the sake of the memories of the Revolution, of the struggle of 1812, of the battle field of Mexico; for the sake of a Union whose cement shall be forgiveness for the past, and friendship and forbearance for the future.

In place of exulting over victories, and longing for new triumphs, how much more pleasant and more holy to draw a picture of the joy that will pervade many a now gloomy household when the glad tidings of peace shall be borne from city to village, from village to homestead, from lip to lip, and heart to heart. A nation's jubilee would well repay you for some little yielding of your stern policy. How many arms would be outstretched, how many hearts would bound to give a "welcome home again!" to the war-stained volunteer. Oh, sir, those meetings at the cottage threshold, those claspings at the farm-house porch, those cleavings of the throbbing bosoms of women to scarred and manly breasts were worth all the laurels that were ever snatched from blood-stained fields. The news of our victories has been hailed with peans and illuminations; but, with the first tidings of peace, there is not a hovel in the land that would not have a candle at its window; not a palace that would not blaze with splendours in token of the advent of a blessing priceless beyond all earthly triumphs.

Then, sir, let us lower the points of our victorious swords and parley with the foe while the bugle blasts of victory are yet ringing in our ears. If we are free in anticipation from the peril of future reverses—if we are sanguine that the Federal arms are henceforward gifted with invincibility, that is the noblest reason why we should say to our opponents, "pause; if you will, reflect." Let us yield them one chance for reconciliation, before we drive them to the resistance of despair. There can be no victory where kith and kin, where brothers and fellow-countrymen, where men who are bound to each other by the holiest of past associations, are struggling for supremacy. All is defeat, all is disaster, all is misfortune, tears, and mourning. Do not let us efface with blood every sacred memory that may yet bind these men to us as brothers. Give one sign of invitation before the death-struggle be renewed. Let the spirit of forgiveness pass between the lines of those opposing hosts, and with the blessings of Providence those armed legions will take a lesson from Sabinia and early Rome, whose soldiers, united by domestic ties, threw down their weapons upon the battle's verge, and sprang to each other's embrace."

Sir, I have spoken freely, studying only to make my words an index to my thought. My opinions have brought upon me the censure, often most discourteously expressed, of many who differ with me; but for that I care but little. I am content to bide the hour that shall set me right before my countrymen. As I have believed the prosecution of this war to be a widening of the gulf that separates the sections, I have earnestly opposed it. I have always looked upon the subjugation of the South as a project, whose fulfilment would strike a heavy, perhaps a fatal, blow to true republicanism; and, although I will yield to no man in devotion to the Union, although I would make any and every personal sacrifice to restore its glory and integrity, I will never consent, even for the sake of that Union, to yield up my birth-right as a freeman; to sacrifice those principles of self-government, those rights of free speech, free thought, and personal liberty, without which Union is but a mockery and a name.

It is not grandeur and extent of territory that I covet as the chief attributes of the Government under which I am to live. Were I one of but a single community, insignificant in numbers, but secure in a guarantee of pure republican ministration of affairs, I would be proud of my citizenship. But the Union of a thousand States, each one as great and populous as the noble one among whose representatives I have the honour to be, I would detest—yes, sir, in my most inmost heart detest—if the holding together of component parts should create a necessity for the assumption of despotic power.

Self-government is the god of my political idolatry, and the Union is but a temple in which I have worshipped it. Should that temple be destroyed, I would not forsake the creed, nor would the mighty principle be buried in the ruins. I love and would preserve the temple, for beneath its roof are gathered the treasures of holy past associations; upon its hallowed walls are inscribed the names of patriots, from the North and from the South, whose blood has been its cement. But rather would I have the glorious fabric crumble to the dust, than see

the spirit of despotism enshrined within its sacred precincts.

I have seen already the silent but lengthening shadow of absolutism creeping into the spot. And when the Executive hand, for the first time in our history, was interposed between the citizen and his rights, the germ was planted of a danger mightier than rebellion in its most gigantic phase; for I believe encroachments by an Executive to be in itself rebellion against the only sovereignty I acknowledge—the majesty of the people. I believe each step towards absolutism to be more fatal to the welfare of the Republic than any possible act within the power of the citizen to conceive and execute. I will resist every grasp that may be made upon an attribute of sovereignty not heretofore acknowledged to the Chief Magistracy; for reason and instinct, no less than the fearful examples that history has furnished from the ashes of republics, teach me that the first step, unchecked, will not be the last, but only the precursor of those giant strides by which, over the necks of betrayed freemen, ambitious men have mounted to a throne.

We want a Union, sir, of sovereigns, not of subjects. And that our Government shall extend over a vast area, to me is of less moment than that it should be purely, strictly, and unequivocally republican, at all times, and under all conditions.

Sir, I have done. I have only to reiterate my hope and my entreaty that this Congress, which has in sacred charge the welfare of our country, will adopt some measure which may bring about a cessation of hostilities, with a view to negotiation. That done, I am firm in my belief that hostilities will not be resumed.

GENERAL BUTLER.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—Some men have greatness thrust upon them; others achieve it. General McClellan belongs to the former class. Without having earned high rank as a warrior, he has been honoured by the title of the "Young Napoleon." The Confederate generals need not envy him his title, as it is a more condensed and bitter sarcasm than any which they could utter respecting him. Indeed, the Confederates have good reason for rejoicing that the pet commander of their opponents can do them little real harm, whether pursuing a policy of "masterly inaction" on the banks of the Potomac, or leading his army against Richmond. If anything could increase the contempt which the Confederates feel for the Federals, it would be the spectacle of a nation meekly submitting to the tyranny of a political mediocrity like President Lincoln, and allowing its army to be directed by a military mediocrity like General McClellan. It would be well if no heavier accusation than this could be brought against the Federal generals, or if it could only be added, on Federal testimony, that the majority of them are drunkards. McClellan may be an incompetent leader; but he has not shown himself to be a depraved and dishonourable man. He should not be censured for having had unmerited greatness thrust upon him. General Butler is in a different position. He has achieved greatness. It may be said of him, as was once said of his Emperor by a discontented Frenchman, that he is one of the greatest of men alive. A look, gesture, and whisper intimated the kind of greatness which the Frenchman meant. There being no occasion for resorting to such expedients to make plain my meaning, I unhesitatingly affirm that by his despicable conduct and disgusting proclamations, since he occupied New Orleans, General Butler has earned the first place among those who, in any age and nation, have disgraced the soldier's profession, and sullied their honour as men. If he burned to acquire fame, he has succeeded beyond his wildest hopes; his last proclamation has made him unenviably notorious for the moment, and infamous for ever. He has exhibited a fiendish ingenuity in introducing a new atrocity into the practice of war. Other generals have been merciless and brutal. They have delivered captured cities or fortresses into the hands of infuriated soldiers. But never did it happen that a city which, like New Orleans, had surrendered without resistance, was treated worse than one which cost the attacking forces much time and many lives to capture. Never before did a general declare war against women, and give official sanction to cold-blooded and wholesale rape. General Butler is the first who has ordained that "when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier," she is to be treated as a common prostitute by those who are constituted at once the judges of her offence, and the instruments of her intolerable punishment. Hitherto, the Confederates have complained of the lack of English sympathy. I think it improbable that they will have reason to make a similar complaint in future. The most apathetic Englishmen cannot see women outraged, as they are now being in New Orleans, without feeling the deepest indignation against those who command, execute, and approve of the outrage. Before many weeks elapse, civilized men in every quarter of the world, the Federal States alone excepted, will send forth a

general chorus of denunciation of the dastardly conduct of this contemptible Northern general.

To those who occupy the position of impartial spectators, there is something inexplicable in the course recently pursued by the North towards the South. If the Federal armies were indeed intended—as Washington politicians assert them to be—to take part in a crusade for freeing the South from the dominion of the Confederate armies, and thereby enable peaceable and loyal citizens to return to that "Union" they so dearly love, then the manner in which the leaders of those armies set about their task is very extraordinary. No sooner do the Northerners gain possession of a Southern city than its inhabitants become tenfold more attached to President Jefferson Davis than before. Instead of endeavouring to regain lost affections by gentle means, the Federal generals employ coercion. They act like a man who, finding his wife resolved on being divorced from him because of his profligacy and cruelty, endeavours to divert her from her purpose by daily committing adultery, and beating her without mercy. What is still more absurd is the apparent belief of the Northerners that the best way to reconcile the inhabitants of Richmond to the prospect of the occupation of their city by Federal troops, is to maltreat and tyrannize over the citizens of Nashville, Norfolk, and New Orleans. There is a method, however, in this madness. The insane policy followed by the Federal Generals has been deliberately adopted and will be consistently persisted in. It may have puzzled some who take an interest in this question, why so little has been said recently about the restoration of the "Union." The explanation is, that the cry for which this war was first entered into by the North was merely a pretext; its promoters desiring not the restoration of the "Union," but the conquest of the South, the confiscation of Southern property, and the ruin of Southern citizens. We find this openly avowed in publications which express the views of the governing class in the North, in publications which differ from the Northern newspapers in this, that the contributors to them have received some education and exercise considerable political influence. It is unquestionable that the opinions expressed by the *Atlantic Monthly* are those which several members of Mr. Lincoln's Government hold and act upon. In an article on "slavery," contained in the number of that magazine for May, the following passage occurs, and from it we can infer what the North is now fighting for. "Now that the slaveholders have been so foolish as to appeal to physical force, abandoning their vantage-ground of political influence, they must be not only politically overthrown, but physically humiliated. Their arrogant sense of superiority must be beaten out of them by main force." Unfortunately for the Federals, two can play at that game. As yet the "main force" employed by them to beat the "arrogant sense of superiority" out of the Confederates has had a result similar to that of the drunkard who boasted of being able to drive his head through an oak door, and succeeded in fracturing his skull without damaging the door. In the April number of the same magazine there is a paper of directions as to how the South should be treated when subdued. It is argued that whatever atrocities were committed by our forefathers on the Covenanters, on those who took part in the rising on behalf of Monmouth, and of the Pretender, and by ourselves on those Sepoys who mutinied against us in India, may with perfect propriety be exercised towards the Southern "rebels." I need not stay to comment on the admirable logic of the assertion, that because the Duke of Cumberland obtained the epithet of "butcher," therefore if General McClellan should imitate his example, no Englishman could condemn him! I feel assured that General Butler only requires a fitting opportunity to surpass the Duke of Cumberland in blood-thirstiness, as he has already surpassed him in infamy. The writer who ransacks English history for precedents to justify atrocious actions, concludes thus: "But one principle asserts itself out of the uniform course of history. The restoration of the lawful authority over rebels does not restore them to their old status. They are at the pleasure of the conquering Power." This being true, the citizens of New Orleans may rejoice that their lives have been spared. General Butler has acted towards them more mercifully than the late Governor Yeh did towards the inhabitants of Canton. Yet it is doubtful whether that barbarian played a viler part in ordering the heads of 20,000 people to be cut off, than the professedly civilized Federal General did in issuing his loathsome edict.

The foregoing extracts prove that the conduct of the Federal Generals is in accordance with what their countrymen expect of them. For the sake of humanity, I should have been pleased to believe that General Butler would have been forced to withdraw his proclamation, and be superseded in his post. So far from that having occurred, the chances are that he will become

popular in the North. The Northern correspondent of a contemporary refers to the proclamation in these terms: "It is perfectly right. Ladies who spit in Northern soldiers' faces, strike with their parasol handles the wounded soldiers, and call them opprobrious names, ought to be treated thus." Now, while no evidence is offered in support of these charges of spitting and striking, the retaliation is approved of. Unless I greatly err, this proclamation will have an effect which its framer did not foresee. The Confederates have been battling for independence. While continuing to do so they will also fight to avenge the galling insult which has been inflicted on them as a people by the permission given to the Federal soldiers to treat the ladies of New Orleans like harlots. The spirit thus aroused will be equivalent to a reinforcement of 100,000 men. R.

THE MEXICAN ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH DEFEAT.

WE find the following official report of General Zaragoza addressed to the Mexican Minister of War, respecting the battle of Puebla, in the *Moniteur*. We know that this source is not a very reliable one, and when General Lorencez's despatches are published, we shall probably have a very different version of the affair:—

"ARMY OF THE EAST, HEAD QUARTERS, Puebla, May 9.

"After having commenced my retrograde movement, starting from the Cumbres de Acultzingo, I arrived in this city on the 3rd inst., as I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency. The enemy followed me at a small day's distance, and, having left the rear-guard of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade, consisting of about 300 men, to obstruct his advance as far as possible, I proceeded, as already stated, to Puebla. I immediately issued orders to place the heights of Guadalupe and Loreto in a regular state of defence, and I hastily completed the fortifications of the place, which had hitherto been neglected.

"On the morning of the 4th I ordered General Miguel Negrete, a most distinguished officer, to take the head of the Second Division under his orders, 1200 strong, to be prepared to fight directly he should give the signal, and to occupy the heights, already mentioned, of Loreto and Guadalupe, which were provided with two batteries of field artillery and mountain guns. On the same day I formed out of the brigades Berriozabal, Diaz, and Lamadrid, three attacking columns consisting, the first of 1082 men, the second of 1000 men, and the third of 1020 men, all infantry, with the exception of 550 horse, under General Antonia Alvarez, to whom I entrusted a field battery. These troops remained assembled on the Place San José till noon; they then returned to their quarters. The enemy passed the night at Azamoc.

"At five o'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, our troops advanced in the order of battle I had assigned to them, and which your Excellency will find in the accompanying sketch. I ordered the Commander-General of the Artillery, Colonel Zeferino Rodriguez, to distribute the rest of his guns on the ramparts of the town, placing them under the orders of General Santiago Tapia, Military Commandant of the State.

"At ten a.m. the enemy was discerned, not taking the necessary time to encamp, and advancing his attacking columns—one towards the heights of Guadalupe, about 4000 strong, with two batteries; the other, not so numerous, probably 1000 men, threatened our front. This attack, which I had not expected, though I was aware of the daring of the French army, modified my plan, and decided me to take the offensive. I consequently ordered the Berriozabal Brigade to attack at double quick step, to reinforce Loreto and Guadalupe, and the mounted Carabiniers to take the left of the infantry, to charge at an opportune moment.

"Shortly afterwards I ordered the battalion 'Reforme,' of Lamadrid's brigade, to go to the support of the troops on the heights, and which were becoming hotly engaged. I advanced a battalion of Sappers of the 1st Brigade, with orders to occupy a village situated almost on the summit of the ridge. It arrived in such good time that it stopped the advance of a column sent to that point in a hand-to-hand engagement. The French made three sudden charges, but were each time repulsed. The cavalry placed to the left of Loreto took advantage of the opportunity, and charged them vigorously, preventing them from reforming and making another attack.

"While the battle was being waged hotly on the heights, a no less desperate struggle was taking place in the plain, to the right of my front of battle.

"General Diaz, with two corps of his brigade, one corps of Lamadrid's brigade, with two field pieces, and the remainder of Alvarez's brigade, met and drove back the enemy's column, which was advancing boldly against our positions. It fell back on the Hacienda de San José, where it was joined by those we had driven from the heights, and who, already reorganized, prepared to defend themselves, and again sounded the charge. I could not attack them, because they had a numerical force superior to mine. I therefore ordered General Diaz, who was eagerly following them, to halt; and satisfied myself with holding a threatening attitude.

"The opposing forces remained in face of each other till six o'clock in the evening. The enemy then withdrew to his encampment at the Hacienda de los Alamos, while our troops gradually returned within their lines.

"The night was passed on the field of battle, where we picked up the dead and wounded of the enemy. This occupied the whole of the following day; and though I have not a correct return of the loss of the French, I am told it is not under 1000 killed and wounded, and 8 or 10 prisoners. I have to point out to your Excellency the conduct of my brave companions. The glorious action which has just been fought speaks well for their courage, and suffices to recommend them.

"The French army fought most vigorously. I conclude by informing you that at the same time I was preparing the defence of the national army I was obliged to order the brigades O'Honor and Carvajal to watch the seditious assembled in considerable numbers at Atlixco and Matamoros, a circumstance which, perhaps, saved the enemy from a total rout, and deprives the little army of the East of the opportunity of a victory which would have immortalized its name.

"J. ZARAGOZA.

"Head-quarters, Puebla, May 9.

"To the Minister of War at Mexico."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MULLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tenne-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

RED AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Runford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS.
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HOGARTH, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDE-
RICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—
1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books.—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Me-
chanics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable me-
ans of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Ca-
pitalists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the spirit of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.

THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissance, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 12th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.

The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Societies will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of Transactions), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Societies, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.
As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.

For every £5 subscribed to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Western Bank, Lombard-street, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kinnaird,
and Co., 1, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.
A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantage of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice- President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Galliard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 493,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 292,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 609,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 806,420 38
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

**Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.**

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrip of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Voornberg.
G. Hould.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
P. Voornberg.
E. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,376 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,590 03
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRAIT, Secretary.

**BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.**

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PATTERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Ship Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 329th section of
the Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquafortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty of £100, and the master or owner
of any ship may refuse to take on board any
parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a
dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to VIII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gen-
tlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY P. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—June 19, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 9.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JUNE 26, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	129
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter.. ..	130
Manchester Letter	131
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letters and Extracts	131
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Paris	132
LETTER TO THE EDITOR—	
From an Englishman in the South.. ..	133
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, ETC.	134, 135
LEADERS—	
No News	135
Are the Confederates Rebels?	136
Piotrkiewicz Threats	137
The Financial Prospects of the United States	138
Editorials	139
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
The Tune of Dixie	140
On the Scene of Action	140
REVIEW OF BOOKS—	
Mr. Trollope on Secession	140
A Historical Parallel, No. VI.	142
SOUTHERN RAILROADS	143
THE CAPTURE OF THE CIRCASSIAN	143
ADVERTISEMENTS	144

guage. They ascended to the top of the post-office, and planted the flag, although fired upon several times and stoned by the mob below. Still, I believe this conduct was reprobated by the people of standing in the place; indeed, many evidences of an extended Union sentiment in the place reached me.

Henceforth we shall understand that Confederate cheers for Union soldiers means a shower of bullets and stones. The evidences of an extended Union feeling are not explained—perhaps they also partake of the stoning and firing character. We commend Federal despatches to the compilers of books of conundrums. Here is a specimen of the riddles:

The people express a desire for the restoration of the old order of things, though still professing to be Seces-ionists.

Respecting the evacuation of Fort Pillow, the Federal commander writes:—

To my mortification, the enemy evacuated Fort Pillow last night. They carried away or destroyed everything of value.

Of course it must be exceedingly mortifying to a burglar, after he has encountered the risk and trouble of breaking into a house, to find the plate-basket removed to a place of safety; but it is slightly ridiculous for the burglar to openly bewail his ill-luck.

We have no news from General M'Clellan's army. We did not expect to hear of any further movements until time had been given to the Federal General to reorganize his army after the severe defeat it sustained on May 31. The following statement has been published of the Federal loss:—

Statement of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of May 31 and June 1, in front of Richmond.			
Corps.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
General Sumner, 2nd. . . .	183	994	146
General Heintzelman, 3rd . . .	259	980	155
General Keyes, 4th	448	1753	921
Total	890	3627	1222

The grand total, killed, wounded, and missing, is 5739. A nominal list will be furnished as soon as the data can be received.

(Signed) G. B. M'CLELLAN.

Does this include General Casey's division, which is admitted to have been cut up? If so, we do not believe the report; if not, the report is a gross case of *suppressio veri*.

President Davis issued the following address:—

TO THE ARMY OF RICHMOND.

Executive Office, June 2, 1862.

I render to you my grateful acknowledgments for the gallantry and good conduct you displayed in the battles of the 31st of May and 1st inst., and with pride and pleasure recognize the steadiness and intrepidity with which you attacked the enemy in position, captured his advanced entrenchments, several batteries of artillery, and many standards, and everywhere drove them from the open field.

At a part of your operations it was my fortune to be present. On no other occasion have I witnessed more of calmness and good order than you exhibited while advancing into the very jaws of death, and nothing could exceed the prowess with which you closed upon the enemy when a sheet of fire was blazing in your faces!

In the renewed struggle in which you are on the eve of engaging, I ask and can desire but a continuance of the same conduct which now attracts the admiration and pride of the loved ones you have left at home.

You are fighting for all that is dearest to men; and though opposed to a foe who disregards many of the usages of civilized war, your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was the fit and crowning glory to your valour.

Defenders of a just cause, may God have you in His holy keeping!

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

On assuming the command of the army, in consequence of General Johnston being slightly wounded, General Robert W. Lee, in his address, told the soldiers that the army had made its last retreat, and that henceforth every man's watchword must be "victory or death." The response was cheers from all the regiments.

The reports of General Fremont's disasters are meagre, but we may form a fair calculation of his heavy loss by the severe loss admitted among the officers; Colonel Wyndham, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kane, and Captain Taylor were captured; Captains Shellmure and Haines were wounded and missing; Captain Charles missing; Captain Blanchard severely wounded; Lieutenant Wayne "probably killed." This is not a list of casualties among the Federal officers, but a few names which occur in a despatch written soon after the battle. After defeating the enemy General Jackson continued his march; or, to use the choice phraseology of Federal commanders, "he was driven back." Need we add, General Fremont did not follow his *retr. ating* enemy, or prevent him burning Fort Republic bridge?

We hear of an important movement in East Tennessee. General Kirby Smith is advancing towards Nashville in considerable force. The people are manifesting the greatest enthusiasm in the Confederate cause. In Kentucky great preparations are being made for a Confederate demonstration. Mr. Lincoln will soon have to make a call for more men; and, simultaneously, Mr. Chase will have to increase his manufacture of paper money.

The reported advance of the Federal gunboats in James River was a Northern fabrication. They have not been able to get beyond Fort Darling.

General Beauregard's movements are still mysterious to the Federals. Some say he has gone to Richmond, others that he has advanced towards Memphis. Why not cease these curious speculations? General Beauregard is not gone for ever, nor is he sleeping. At the right moment he will put in an appearance that will satisfy the North of the strategical ability of Southern generals. In an editorial we give an officially endorsed account of the evacuation of Corinth, which is short, and will repay perusal. The last mails did not bring us any more Haileck romances. Certainly it would not do for General Pope to capture 10,000 Confederates by every mail. As it is, any one who will take the trouble of casting up the Federal records of captured, will find that already nearly all the Confederate soldiers have been taken—on paper.

The Southern army at Charleston has been increased, and the Federal Commodore Dupont "thought the attack on Charleston could not safely proceed until the Federals were reinforced." No one can accuse the Federals of being guilty of the imprudence of attacking the Confederates on equal terms.

Denmark has offered the Federal Government to convey 3000 slaves, who have lost their masters, to the sugar plantations in the island of St. Croix, and to employ them there upon the same terms as the free negroes. Mr. Seward has referred the offer to Congress. Additional labour would develop the

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

DETAILS of the occupation of Memphis by the Federals confirm the assurance we gave our readers last week, that the cotton had been destroyed. The report that "30,000 bales of cotton had been burnt in the neighbourhood of Memphis," is inaccurate, because a much larger quantity than 30,000 bales was consigned to the flames, in order to save it from the hands of the invaders. After the gunboat fight, which lasted for a hour and a-half, and, according to Federal accounts, resulted in the total destruction of the Confederate fleet, except one boat, and in one Federal being wounded and none killed, a demand was made for the surrender of the city, and the hoisting of the United States' flag, and to which the following answer was returned:—

TO CHARLES ELLET, JUN., COMMANDING, &c.

Mayor's Office, Memphis, Tennessee, June 6.

Sir,—Your note of this date is received, and the contents noted. The civil authorities of this city are not advised of its surrender to the forces of the United States' Government, and our reply to you is simply to state respectfully that we have no forces to oppose the raising of the flags you have directed to be raised over the custom-house and post-office.

Respectfully, JOHN PARK, Mayor.

The Federals took possession of the city, and a despatch published in the Northern papers says:—

No disturbance took place at the time of occupation. All the cotton in the city was burnt and much sugar destroyed. The Union soldiers cut down the rebel flag, which was nailed to the staff, amid the cheering of the people. The departing trains are crowded with refugees. The stores are closed, and Confederate money refused.

This is very pretty, but its effect is rather spoilt by the despatch of Colonel Ellet, which, by some accident, was published without that careful editing and emendation to which Mr. Stanton subjects the despatches of the Federal Commanders. Colonel Ellet reports:—

On receiving this reply the small party proceeded to the post-office to raise the national flag, and were then joined by the Mayor. It is proper to say that the conduct of the Mayor and some of the citizens was unexceptionable, but the party was surrounded by an excited crowd, using angry and threatening lan-

productiveness of the little island of St. Croix, and we suppose Denmark thinks that as the illwind of the American war has not yet blown good to anybody, she is justified in trying to get a little advantage from it. It is a paltry affair, but not very creditable to Denmark. If her object is to relieve the North of a difficulty, it amounts to a desire to aid and abet the North in the wicked attempt to crush the independence of the South. Moreover, it is rather unfair to appropriate to one's own use the property of a neighbour lost in the day of trouble. Denmark will be called upon hereafter by the North to pay handsomely for the cargo of negroes she may now get hold of on easy terms. In our opinion the conduct of Denmark is impolitic, and assuredly it is mercenary, ungenerous, and unjust.

In the present number of *THE INDEX* is a leader entitled "Pickwickian Threats." Since that was in type Europe has been treated to another Federal menace. The Federal Secretary of the Navy has sent a letter to Congress suggesting the establishment of a navy yard in the valley of the Mississippi for constructing iron-plated ships. He says:—

It is a duty as well as a necessity to make the United States a great naval Power. Experience admonishes America not to let war come upon her unprepared; yet war may now be pending. The calamity that might follow neglect should warn America to be prepared. It is no longer doubtful that the future safety of America is dependent on her naval strength and efficiency. America can now commence the construction of a navy adapted to present times under as favourable circumstances as any nation. No nation can have the advantage over America if she now avails herself of the means and opportunity.

We may well smile at such official boasting. The object is to deter England and France from recognizing the Confederate States. The United States is represented in Europe, and therefore the Federal Secretary ought to know about the probability of "war now pending." If the recognition of the Confederate States is to be a *casus belli*, we share his opinion; but we do not imagine the leading Powers of Europe will withhold an act of justice, for fear of the Federal naval preparations. Certainly we should have imagined that a costly and exhausting war, and the prospect of national bankruptcy, were not "favourable circumstances" for the construction of a fleet to cope with the fleets of England and France. However, it is useless to seriously discuss the empty braggadocio of the Federal Secretary of the Navy. Surely the Lincoln Government should not intrude on the special province of the Northern press. Amongst our extracts we print an article from the *New York Herald*, which concludes by saying, "and our Government has awed the Mistress of the Seas by an exhibition of its inexhaustible resources, and its vast power on land and sea." It is true that the English flag has been frequently insulted, and Federal war-vessels have gallantly fired into defenceless merchantmen; but we think such proceedings are less likely to cause awe than disgust.

Mr. Chase's paper money is getting out of favour. A bill has been introduced into Congress for an additional issue of 150,000,000 dollars demand notes. This is strongly opposed by the *New York World*, a print which represents a more monied class than the *New York Herald*. But how can the Lincoln Government carry on if it is not allowed to issue paper money? Specie is fast leaving the country. The Saxonia and the City of New York, starting on the 14th inst., took 1,800,000 dollars. The price for gold 7. Money is abundant, but what kind of money? Paper money. We are told stocks are advancing. Why? Because Federal securities are the only securities that men will sell for Federal paper money. The *New York Journal of Commerce* says, that if evil follows ultimately, as it is almost sure to do in every case of violation of sound financial principles, it is to be hoped that its approach will be so gradual, that all will be prepared for it. But if public confidence is shaken, the evil will not approach gradually. A correspondent writes us; "I look for financial difficulties in Wall-street, on July 1. The specie in the banks will be much reduced about that time; the first batch of heavy war loans will then mature; and

the dividends payable on that day, a large portion of which have to be remitted to Europe, will shake the house of paper." The Government may be able to tide over that difficulty, and postpone the evil day, but, to do so, the public must not be alarmed by timid journalists and probably Mr. Lincoln and his coadjutors may find it necessary to supervise the publication of financial news as they do the publication of war news.

Every paper we read, every Southern letter that reaches us, refers to the wholesale destruction of cotton. Besides, large quantities left unginned and unpacked have been spoilt by the damp. If the Federals could succeed in overrunning the Confederate States, there would be little more cotton in the South than there is in Liverpool.

On Sunday, June 1, a troop of Union cavalry made an attack on a few recruits and some sick soldiers at Brownsville, about thirty-five miles below Corinth. They destroyed four cars of army stores and captured some prisoners. After this gallant achievement they started for General Halleck's head-quarters, but about mid-way they encountered a division of Gen. Price's army, lost their prisoners, and over a thousand of the Union cavalry were captured.

It is rumoured that General Beauregard has obstructed the Tennessee River at Duck River Suck, about 125 miles below Eastport, by blasting the cliffs, and filling the channel with masses of stones and trees.

The Hon. Pierre Soule, ex-Senator from the State of Savannah, and former minister of the United States to Spain, has been arrested by General Butler on a high political charge, and is to be sent North for trial. From the manner in which the report reaches us, it appears that Mr. Soule had consented to act as Provost Marshal of the city of New Orleans.

The debate in the House of Commons in reference to the encouragement of the growth of cotton in India will have no practical result. How can the Government encourage the people of India to grow cotton instead of produce that pays them better? By imposing a duty on all other cotton? That would not be effective; for as soon as the war is over, and the South becomes reproductive, American cotton would find its way into France, and we should have to abolish the protective duty, or to close our manufactories. Legislation cannot change the order of nature, and so enable Indian cotton to compete with American cotton. If there was the slightest chance of a profitable development of the cultivation of cotton in India, there would be no lack of capital for the enterprise, and no need of Government encouragement.

We publish to-day a detailed account of the seizure of Judge Carmichael in his Court House. The savage atrocities committed are astounding. There never was such a case of maltreating a judge sitting on the judicial bench.

The new Canadian Ministry has introduced a militia bill, appropriating 250,000 dollars instead of 1,000,000 dollars, as proposed by the late Government. The rejectors of the former bill did not act from any want of loyalty. The militia of Canada is stronger than is generally supposed. We take from a contemporary the following statement of the Canadian militia, prepared by Colonel De Salaberry, Adjutant-General:—

LOWER CANADA.	
Military districts	9
Battalions	178
Battalion officers	5,716
Sergeants	3,411
First-class service men (unmarried) ..	30,481
Second-class service men	45,288
Reserve men	33,573
Total rank and file	118,469
UPPER CANADA.	
Military districts	9
Battalions	249
Staff of military districts	26
Battalion officers	3,858
Sergeants	2,958
First-class service men	42,342
Second-class service men	44,448
Reserve men	31,168
Total rank and file	117,200

There is a report that the French forces have

been again repulsed by the Mexicans. The Emperor has determined to send out sufficient troops to force the way to the capital. The determination of his Majesty to put an end to Mexican anarchy will be very displeasing to the United States, as the restoration of order and the establishment of a strong Government will frustrate their design of conquering Mexico.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, June 25, 1862.

THE past week will long be remembered in our cotton market as one of the most extraordinary on record, whether we consider the enormous rise in prices, the heavy sales, or the rapid transfer of stock from hand to hand. That "universal scramble" for cotton, which has been predicted so long, has fairly come at last; so often had the expectation been baulked, that the public generally had quite lost confidence in the market, and even those who were prepared for a great advance, ultimately had no idea that the movement would be so rapid or continuous. In no single week since the war broke out, has so much excitement prevailed; about as great an advance was obtained in the week that concluded the settlement of the "Trent dispute," but no such eagerness was evinced to buy cotton, nor was the turning over of stock nearly so extensive.

Our last report left the market strong and buoyant at 13½ for middling Orleans, and 9½ for Fair Dhollerah. On Thursday and Friday the demand continued very good, and prices hardened in the two days ½d. per lb., with sales of about 15,000 bales each. The week's return on Friday presented some remarkable features; the sales reached 125,000 bales, leaving the total stock 260,000, proving the extraordinary fact that nearly half the cotton in the port had changed hands.

In East India cotton the transactions summed up 75,000 bales, nearly equal to the supply left in stock—96,000 bales! Public attention was called by these figures more forcibly to the astonishing curtailment of supply, and this feeling has been the controlling influence in our market for the last few days. On Saturday the demand continued good, till the receipt of the Europa's news at midday, which imparted an additional spur to the market. Some uneasiness had been excited by reports of the disharding and demoralization of Beauregard's army, and some holders feared that the market might be checked by news of some great disaster to the Confederates. But the Europa's news dissipated these fears; the Confederates were again reported to be making headway in Tennessee, while in Virginia, Jackson was dealing desperate blows to his pursuers. The taking of Memphis, and the destruction of the Southern flotilla, did not attract much attention, for, since the capture of New Orleans, it had been obvious that it was only a question of time, till the Federal gunboats had entire command of the Western waters. Besides, the burning of cotton at Memphis served to neutralise the news of its capture, so far as its influence on our market was concerned. On the receipt of these advices an immense demand sprang up—one house alone purchased 7000 bales—and buying went on till 6 p.m., the sales probably exceeding 25,000 bales, at a further advance of ½d. per lb.

On Monday orders came pouring in from the Continent. Spinners attended in large numbers, and, amid excessive competition for cotton, prices were forced up another ½d. per lb. with sales of 2500 bales. On Tuesday the excitement continued unabated, with a similar advance and sales of 20,000 bales. The Bohemian's news to the 14th was to hand in the afternoon, but contained few items of much interest beyond the continued rise in the premium of gold at New York, which has now reached 7 per cent. In Manchester the contagious influence of our excitement was felt, and a large business done, which has brought down spinners to-day in crowds, whilst export orders still keep pouring in. The sales to-day again reach the extraordinary figure of 25,000 bales, and the effect on our trifling stock is more marked than heretofore; prices are in many cases ½d. dearer than yesterday, and sales of Surats have been largely made at 1½d. advance since Saturday. Values now fluctuate so violently from day to day that it is scarcely possible to give reliable quotations; but Middling American Cotton may be quoted to-day at 15d. for Orleans, 14½d. for Mobiles, and 14½ for Uplands, showing 1½d. advance since our last report. In Surats the rise has been far more rapid, proportionately varying from 1½d. to 1¾d. in the six days. The market is now almost swept of desirable parcels, and after allowing for the amount definitely put aside for export, it is doubtful whether more than 30,000 bales remain for sale. Fair Dhollerahs may be quoted at 10½d. to 11d.; Omrawuttees 11d. to 11½d.; and Saw-ginned Dharwar, 12½d. The Dhollerah cotton forced off at 7d. during the panic six weeks ago is now worth 10½d.; and some parcels of New Omrawuttee, sold at 7½d., are fetching 11½d. to 11¾d., as they are landed. No instance of so enormous and rapid a profit has yet occurred in the many phases of this convulsion, nor, indeed, probably within the memory of this generation. In cotton to arrive an immense business has been doing daily all the week, and probably from 50,000 to 100,000 bales have been turned over; the prices now established are 11½d. for early shipments of Broach, in some cases even 11¾d. has been offered; 10½d. for early Dhollerahs, and Omrawuttee is worth 10½d. May and June shipments command about ½d. less than these rates.

The last mail from Bombay advises very large shipments, say, 64,000 bales to England for the fortnight, and the business doing was based on 6½ F. O. B., and freight for Dholerah and Broach Rd. to 8½ for Omrawutte and Comblab, and 10½ for Dharwar Saw-ginned. The amount of Surat cotton now afloat for England is 243,000 bales, and of East India for all Europe about 300,000 bales, representing arrivals at the rate of 25,000 per week.

Our statistics, on Friday, will show astounding results; the total stock will hardly exceed 200,000 bales, comprising some 70,000 American and 50,000 or 60,000 Surats, and these figures may encourage this wild excitement. Still it must be remembered that the trade now hold a stock of 100,000 bales, while export buyers have secured in the last three weeks as much; so that if any cause occurred to check the market, the demand might be almost suspended for two or three weeks and allow a sharp reaction.

The general feeling at present is, that the common run of Surats will be pushed up to 12d. and American to 16d. or 17d. before there is a pause; but, if this view is confirmed, the stop, when it comes, will be a complete one, and it will probably be a considerable time before high-water mark is passed again. It is evident that that this frenzy cannot last much longer, and some unforeseen occurrence in America might greatly change the face of affairs.

MANCHESTER, June 24.

THE past week has been one of unusual activity in the cotton trade, a steady daily advance in the raw material, caused by a general demand from all classes of buyers, has been responded to here more fully than at any time since the commencement of the year; gradual diminishing stocks have imparted more confidence to the holders, and buyers now find it too difficult to get on, especially if their requirements are such rendering execution of orders imperative as to selection of material made from American cotton only. Up to Saturday last, the week's advance in yarns may be broadly stated at ½d. to ¾d. in counts up to sixty, and in certain finer counts, fully 1d per lb.

The rise in cloths generally is not equal to that in yarns, and on the whole, more has been done in the former than in the latter. Stocks of articles, previously unsaleable, have been easily got rid of, and there were more offers made than there were for various goods, both from home dealers, and from merchants connected with other markets, than there were of India and China. For the Eastern markets, there are now purchases of the long neglected figured shirtings, and plain goods for the same markets are still going off, making the total week's business very considerable.

Prices being now more than ever disastrous to the manufacturer, and yet not very tempting to the merchant, no other prospect is considered possible than that production will soon decrease more than it has hitherto done. A correspondent from one of our Lancashire manufacturing towns states, in reference to the soup establishment, that about the gate there was a cluster of melancholy loungers, looking cold and hungry, and neither going in nor going away. Many of these were people who had neither money nor tickets for food, some of them houseless wanderers who had made their way to the soup kitchen to beg a mouthful from those who were themselves nearly starving. In the best of times there are such wanderers, and in spite of the generous provision made for the relief of the poor, there must be, in a time like the present, a great number who let go their hold of home (if they have any) and drift away in search of better fortune, and sometimes into irregular courses of life, never to settle more. Here and there a bonny lass had crept into the shade with her basin; and there was many a brown-faced man, who had been hardened by working in the Moor or at the stonewall.

Those who came with tickets, by far the greatest number, had to pass in single file through a strong wooden maze, which restrained their eagerness, and compelled them to order. Only a small proportion went through the maze, they were mostly women and children. There was many a fine intelligent young face buried blushing through the maze, many a bonny lad and lass who will be heard of honourably hereafter.

To-day our market has been much disturbed by the excited state of the Liverpool cotton market, the great and rapid advance in value of the raw material causing some producers to withdraw their stocks from the market, and refusing to make any quotations either for goods and yarns.

In yarns, the rise appears to be most marked in warps, cops, and 30s. water twist in the bundle, for which very extreme prices have been paid.

In home-trade yarns a similar advance, say ½d. per lb., has been established, but the amount of business transacted in this department appears to have been somewhat limited. Five-fold yarns are nominally dearer by ½d. to 1d. per lb., but we hear of no business doing at the extreme quotations, and in some counts, such as No. 80, the improvement since last week is very slight.

All kinds of cloth are held for much higher prices, and business consequently seriously checked. The business done has mostly consisted of sales made out of stock, at an advance scarcely equal to that on yarns; but manufacturers have generally refused to place themselves under contract for future delivery, except at much higher prices, which buyers, so far, refuse to pay.

Some transactions are reported in 7lb. and 8½lb. shirtings, at an advance of fully 3d. per piece on last Tuesday's rates, and a

similar rise has been established in the lighter quality of T cloths, and also on certain kinds of L cloths, for which there has been more inquiry, especially for some of the Mediterranean markets.

Other kinds of cloth partake of the upward tendency, but business, on the whole, is checked by the extreme prices for which they are held.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

THE CONFEDERATE PRESS ON THE BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND.

[From the *Richmond Enquirer*, June 4.]

General Hill's division went into the fight on Saturday evening at one o'clock. The engagement continued until after dark. It was a long and bloody one, we driving the enemy through the woods and swamps, and taking possession of their fortifications and encampments. R. H. Anderson's and Kemper's brigades (of Longstreet's division) reinforced General Hill late in the day, and contributed much to our success. On Sunday morning early the battle was renewed—Rains (of General Hill's division), Pickett, and Wilcox bearing the brunt. Huger's two brigades, Armistead's and Mahone's, were in the battle on Saturday for a short time.

This statement can be confirmed by Generals Rhodes, Garland, Rains, Colonel Anderson, and every other brave man. General Hill commanded both days, and was in front under fire the whole time. He overlooked everything, and received no orders from his superiors.

[From the *Richmond Examiner*, June 5.]

We are in possession of information which, though it is derived from a negro, we believe to be perfectly reliable, establishing the fact that the loss of the enemy in the battles of Saturday and Sunday last exceeds ours four to one. We will explain who our informant is, and our reason for crediting him, and then give his account. Mr. W. P. L. Quarles, who, previous to the falling back of our army, lived in the house on the left hand side of the Williamsburg-road, and in the centre of the battle-field of Saturday, owns a negro named William, who, until the day of the battle, was employed on the batteries at Drury's Bluff, from which place he was discharged on Saturday, with permission to return home. Mr. Quarles says William is an honest, trustworthy, and very intelligent negro, can read and write, and is somewhat acquainted with figures. This is William's account:—Being discharged from Drury's Bluff on Saturday night, on Sunday night, not knowing that his master (Mr. Quarles) had been driven from home, he unsuspectingly went down there, and was immediately taken prisoner by the enemy, who put a spade into his hand, and set him, together with one hundred and sixty other negroes, to work to bury the dead. The negroes worked all day, and gave assistance to the Yankee soldiers in the burial of two thousand men. William heard the Yankees say in conversation among themselves that their loss in killed in the two days' fight was between three and four thousand. This he heard repeatedly from different parties.

Besides the negroes at work, the Yankees had sixty who were kept tied. William asked why they were tied. The Yankees replied that it was for stealing; but our informant thought it was to prevent them from running off.

William saw a Confederate flag flying over a small house; and asking the meaning of its being suffered to remain there, was informed that the house was the prison in which all the "rebel" prisoners were confined. He asked permission to look into the house, but this was refused.

Sunday night, finding that he was not watched, the negro—who had from the moment of his capture determined to make his escape as soon as possible—stole off through the woods in a southerly direction; and without being hailed by a sentinel or picket, arrived by a circuitous route at General Mahone's headquarters, whence the General gave him a pass to this city. He reached here on Tuesday night. We have given this negro's story without addition or alteration; and if further testimony than his master's were not superfluous, we could cite the names of a dozen gentlemen who have assured us of his perfect reliability.

[From the *Richmond Enquirer*, June 6.]

The late two days' battle fought near this city is designated in the reports of the enemy, and is also known to some extent, at least, in our army, as the Battle of the Seven Pines. We have not been able to obtain a copy of a late Northern paper; but we learn that an official despatch has appeared from McClellan, claiming, as he did at Williamsburg, a brilliant and complete victory. Driven from their intrenchments—driven out of their camps—their cannon taken—their tents taken—their stores of all sorts captured—driven among the bullfrogs, and driven back where they tried to come out—500 prisoners taken, and saved from utter rout only because the bog protected them from pursuit—McClellan yet claims a victory. Surely he must be under an extraordinary pressure and necessity to make him thus sink all the instincts of manhood in the misrepresentations of the deliberate and habitual falsifier! When does McClellan propose to whip us again?

The following list of killed and wounded is taken from the *Petersburg Express* and the *Richmond Enquirer*:—

The following field officers were killed or wounded:—
Lieut.-Col. Copen, St. Paul's Louisiana battalion, wounded.
Col. Tennant Lomax, 3rd Alabama, killed.
Adjutant Johnston, 32d Alabama, killed.
Col. Champ. T. N. Davis, 16th North Carolina, killed and left on the field.

Adjutant Moore, 16th North Carolina, wounded.
The 16th North Carolina Regiment went into action immediately after marching double quick time for two miles, nearly exhausted with fatigue, and oppressed with heat. Col. Davis behaved most gallantly. He was wounded in the left arm so severely as to force him to abandon his horse. Upon slightly recovering the shock he started to leave the field, when he was shot in the back part of the head, the ball passing entirely through and coming out between and just above the eyebrows.

Assistant-Surgeon J. D. Martin, 14th Tennessee Regiment, killed.

Col. Edmunds, of the 18th Virginia Regiment, was wounded. His horse was shot.

Lieut.-Col. Whittle's horse was shot in three places.

Major Cabell's horse was killed just in front of a battery. The 38th has the colours of the 109th Pennsylvania Regiment.

Col. D. H. Christie, of the 23rd North Carolina Regiment, while leading his regiment, had his horse shot under him, and was painfully, though not seriously, wounded by the fall.

Lieut.-Col. R. D. Johnston received a severe wound in the head from a Minié ball, and had his horse shot under him.

Major E. J. Christian was mortally wounded; shot through the body, and had his horse shot under him.

Adjutant J. L. Ferry, of the 4th North Carolina Regiment, was wounded, and afterwards died.

Three colour-bearers were killed and four wounded in the same regiment.

Forty of the wounds received in this regiment are mortal.

Lieut.-Col. H. A. Carrington, of the 18th Virginia Regiment, was wounded.

General Pickens' brigade went into the action about ten minutes after the fight commenced on Sunday, between seven and eight o'clock, and remained until the last gun had been fired.

Major N. C. Wilson, of the 28th Virginia Regiment, wounded in the face.

Serg.-Maj. J. Harvey Phelps, of the 28th Virginia Regiment, had his arm shattered above and below the elbow.

Col. William Smith, of the 49th Virginia Regiment, was slightly wounded.

Lieut.-Col. J. C. Gibson, of the 49th Virginia Regiment, badly wounded.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The writer of this letter, a very old gentleman, dates from his plantation, a short distance from Charleston.

HALL, April 30, 1862.

MY DEAR A—,

Your letter dated March 12, from London, has just been received. I beg you not to think for a moment you are forgotten by me, for I have often wished to write you, but I heard that no letters reached you. What events have occurred since we last met, and how terrible for us the war of invasion which now rages! I never expect to see peace and happiness on this continent again in my day. Thank God I can report all well in our families. * * * * *

Your father is yet in Charleston; but since the fate of Palaski, and now of New Orleans, everyone is for leaving the city, and all the females will be gone in a short time. * * * For myself, I am here alone in my castle, with my loyal people around me, and as long as they will stick to me I shall stay here. I have lost none, and am here now the extreme outpost; all before me is abandoned; almost all our troops have been sent to the West and Virginia. We have only a regiment of Georgia infantry stationed * * * and a squadron of cavalry, who are also to move up to-morrow; so, you see, I may be run off by the Yankees on any night. We can concentrate, however, large forces here in a few hours if we are attacked. * * * * *

I am just about finishing planting my crops, chiefly of corn. We hear they are planting cotton, but it is a false rumour, obtained from Northern papers. The fall of the forts does not surprise me, as I saw some months ago it was inevitable, but I was not prepared for so formidable an artillery. Warfare is entirely changed, and old forts are not worth the materials they are made from. The bombardment of Palaski shook the windows in this house. All the harbours and rivers are the enemy's, or will be in a short time, and we shall have to concentrate large armies in the interior and fight as long as a man is left. McClellan, I fear, is only amusing Johnson on the Rappahannock, and will not give him a fight. We shall have to advance on them in some way. They keep their gunboats behind them, and these we cannot fight. * * * General Lawton and the Council of Savannah have resolved never to surrender the city. At Charleston they are again trying to strengthen, and have at last got their eyes open to the fact that M— is a dangerous place. This I have been preaching since the fall of Sumter. You must not think me desponding; I am not. We have two mighty armies in the field, led by skilful generals, and if the enemy will only give us a fair chance, you may hear of a very different state of things in a very few weeks. Unfortunately for us, the spring is a very wet one, and the western rivers high, which allows their gunboats full play. The North-Western boys are good fighters, and some of their regiments were almost entirely destroyed in the Battle of Shiloh. * * * Willie is in the —, stationed near —; he has hard duty, being on picket every other night in sight of the enemy. He had a narrow escape about two months ago (fortunately he was on a furlough), for his picket was surrounded (five men) by sixty Yankees. Our men fired their double-barrelled guns into them at twenty paces, and they returned the fire, killing two of our men. Their loss must have been large, for they went off, having had quite enough of the night's excursion. * * * * *

The — arrived about a week ago, with 6000 rifles and 1000 barrels of powder. The — has since arrived in Charleston, with 4000 rifles. I hope your vessels will get through, but they will have a narrow chance, for * * * * *

Your uncle Henry's house has been burnt by the enemy. And now, good bye, my dear A—. Don't think we are going to give up this fight—never. Our people are more united and determined than ever; we can't give up, and we shall fight them to the death.

God be with you. Yours, affectionately, —.

C— reports officially to say we, (S. C.), have 39,271 men in service.

We are drinking cotton seed and rye coffee, and find it very good.

WILMINGTON, N. C., April 17.

* * * My regiment has seen its share of active service; we constructed and manned the batteries at —, which for five months so effectually blockaded the Potomac. We were constantly under fire, and the Yankees had some very fine guns of great range—Whitworth's, I think. I counted nearly 3000 shot and shell thrown at us from various sources, but our entire loss was but three wounded, none mortally, * * * Upon one thing you may rely, no matter what disaster occurs, the Confederates are banded together and most firmly resolved never to submit to Yankee domination—we will never live under the same Government, anything rather than that. All we ask of Europe is, to show us the same treatment they extend to the Yankees—to sell us arms as they freely do our enemies—to admit our ships to their harbours on the same footing as those of other nations, to refit and provision. We ask no aid, no recognition, and are content to endure the miseries of this most iniquitous war, its thousand hardships and privations, without a murmur, if we can but attain our end; our resolve to be our own masters is stern and unalterable. * * * Write to me, but not under a flag of truce; I will not be under the least obligation to anything breathing the breath of Yankeeedom.

Yours,

The following is an extract of a letter received from Maryland, published in the *Liverpool Mercury* :—

BALTIMORE, May 29.

We have had stirring times here, caused by the terrible defeat of Banks' army. You will notice that the Government will claim that the whole force under Banks was about 5000; this is false—we well know it here. I talked with officers and men who were on the spot in Banks' army. They say that his forces were between 16,000 and 18,000. On this fact you can rely. Banks crossed the river with less than 3000 men. He did not save a wagon or a gun, or a pound of stores. The forces of the Confederates have been variously estimated. They probably numbered 20,000 when they first attacked Banks, but as soon as they had created a panic in his army, and got them on the run, they left Ashby, with 3000 cavalry, to run them to the river, which he did in grand style.

You will notice by the papers what was the nature of the rout; Bull Run time is not to be compared with Banks' time. Since the world was made, no such time was ever made by a retreating army. Our city is now quiet, the mob rule has been put down, and we can safely pass through the streets. Many of our citizens have been badly beaten by the Pluguglies.

Foreign Correspondence.

PARIS, June 25, 1862.

You Londoners are not the only ones to complain of the bad weather. Even under the fair sky of France have we had so much rain, and such cold temperature, as to cause serious uneasiness about this year's crop. Some alarm was felt, under the circumstances, about the Russian incendiaries having begun their work amongst the wheat stores at Odessa. Did you notice a remarkable picture of Russian character in what took place at St. Petersburg a few days ago? The people, in perfect distress, and appalled at the organized system of incendiarism going on in their city, threw themselves in their Emperor's way, crying, "Father, behold thy children! Father, save us!" An impartial mind, attentive to the acts of Alexander II. since he sat on the throne of the Czar, must admit that the instinct of the Russian people is right, and that a liberal spirit of constant progress and useful improvement is exhibited in the land of Cossacks, whilst—what a lesson to the philosopher!—the once civilized United States of America are running back, under full head of steam, to barbarism.

Whilst talking of strange contradictions with the admitted characteristics of nations, who would have thought that a murderer condemned to death in France should have broken out of a French prison, as if it had been an Indiana county gaol; or that the austere "Cour des Comptes" should have to frown on such freaks as would become Cameron's or Welles' administration? The "Trélet de l'Eure," not content with 70,000 francs worth of furniture in his house, applied to its improvement another 49,000, which were destined to the *enfants trouvés*. St. Vincent de Paul, where are your successors! and it was only through an insignificant little item of 7000 francs, that a sale of 300,000 metres of ground from the Bois de Boulogne was discovered—how many millions of francs!

There has been a reasonable amount of gossip about who should command the fresh forces to Mexico. Count Palikao was much spoken of. If successful, the bâton de maréchal would have been a compensation for his failure to obtain the favour of the Corps Législatif. But the services of General Forey at Montebello have, it appears, been considered sufficient to secure him the preference.

On Sunday last, there was some brilliant racing at

Fontainebleau, *n'en déplaise* to our sporting neighbours, and in the evening a magnificent ball was opened by their Majesties in the Salle de Henri II.; Strauss himself conducted the orchestra.

There is a man, M. A. Langini, who shows, in this remarkable age, a fine example of respect for those whose seat he next occupies. A theatre has been recently established at Pompei, where you know that the people were enjoying a theatrical performance, in the year of our Lord 79, when an eruption of the Vesuvius buried them alive. M. Langini is the manager of the new theatre, which, I earnestly hope, will not meet with a similar misfortune; and his circular announcing the reopening of that place of resort, is couched in these words:—"After having been accidentally shut up for 1800 years, our theatrical performances will begin again with the representation of "La Fille du Regiment." I am in hopes that the nobility and the citizens generally will not deprive me of the patronage which they bestowed on my predecessor, M. Quintus Martius, and I will spare no pains to follow in the steps by which he succeeded in making himself so popular."

I wonder if the same good feeling, in a contrary direction, would be shown by the Great King of the Huns to M. de Croy-Chanel. This son of Attila, whom the *Siecle* and other papers *ejusdem farinae* wished to oppose as a rival to Francis Joseph, is at Clichy, *dil-on*, for not having paid for the paper on which his royal claims were defended in print.

Duke Pasquier, who is restored to health, and who, with your Premier, is a fine example of vigorous seniority, has entrusted M. de Saint-Marc Girardin with the publication of his memoirs.

We were surprised here at the fresh exhibition of French newspaper correspondents in London. That some papers cannot afford to send over a better class of reviewers than Messrs. Assolant and Co., we can understand; but that *La Patrie* should publish such stuff as "the looking-glass standing in the *Times* office," "James Watt's remains being buried in Green Park," "Mr. Cruickshank converting himself into a Cruickshank Pantaloon to act second-fiddle to a Yankee speaker," and for a *finisher* (as General McClellan would say), the multiplied effects of light that St. Paul and Westminster have been producing upon a fellow in his cups, that Mr. Delamarre, who is very much of a gentleman, and knows England well, should allow such disreputable articles to appear in his sheet, seems almost incredible. The only way to account for it is that a French newspaper manager does not care for anything else but what is printed on the first page, and the rest of the paper is just filled up with anything, from the sea-serpent down to the reports on the Universal Exhibition.

Whilst an English paper has for its object to give all the information it can gather and it has room for, from all quarters of the world, a French paper desires nothing but to infuse partizan or clique opinions on the minds of its readers, and the whole of the talent it can dispose of is wholly spent on the "premier—Paris."

Such gentlemen as the English press employs abroad ought not to notice any more the *French Correspondents*. It is uncharitable to reprint their *traits d'esprit*, both as regards the public, and because it brings them to the very height of stultification, from believing themselves worthy of notice.

FROM AN ENGLISHMAN IN THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

KENTUCKY, June 10, 1862.

SIR—In my last, I restricted myself to a statement of what I conceived to be either positive facts, or fully justified inferences; but, as sequences, there arise in my mind, reflections, which, if not worthy of your notice, by being written will, at least, thus be matured, and made more profitable to myself. I may be pardoned for promising that for the last twelve years, I have been a silent, although not a thoughtless observer of political events. During sixteen years I have resided in the once United States, this period being about equally divided between a residence in the Northern and Southern portions thereof. The prejudices consequent upon my early associations and education, imbibed in my native land, were for a time serious obstacles to the formation of dispassionate conclusions. My ideas of slavery were associated with the lash and the chain, and I could not readily disabuse my mind of impressions which had grown with my growth, and had become a part of my very nature. I had not realized the magnitude of nature's great law—that of subjection. I had not studied the truths which science unfolds, and learned that the history of life has been the history of death. I had not recognized the ways of God, in placing one class of animals dependent upon another, from the lowest forms of animal life to the

highest, and from the foundations of the world to the present time, with my ideas of His great character; and found it no easy task to be satisfied with the simplicity of the truth, that "His ways are not as our ways." But, sir, time and reflection have taught me some distinctions between reason and fanaticism, truth and falsehood, infidelity and faith. Professional duties, which for many years brought me into daily intercourse with both masters and servants, revealed to me no instance of inhumanity in the former, and but few of ingratitude in the latter. The moral status of the Southern slave I found infinitely above that of the Northern free black. And now, sir, with these remarks in parenthesis, if you please, I propose to proceed, and divine, if I may, the true causes which have induced the bloody war in which the two sections are now engaged.

A very general opinion obtains that it is a war for the abolition on the one hand, and the defence upon the other, of the institution of slavery, and some foreign Powers, apparently unaware of the true issues involved, are doubtless much influenced in their actions by accepting the correctness of this opinion. I am at a loss, however, to conceive how they can thus conclude, when such an object is distinctly disavowed and repudiated, and when it is well known that counter revolutions would manifest themselves speedily in the majority of the Northern States, if such a proposition were definitely made. But conceding the object of the Northern States to be as intimated, what philanthropist, what reasonable politician, here or elsewhere, is prepared to sustain them in their present mode of attaining their object, for if a love of the black race be the controlling motive, the practical question arises, whether or not their happiness would be augmented by freedom thus acquired; for, if any plan has been suggested, or provision made for them when free, I am certainly ignorant of it. The common dictates of humanity demand that they shall be provided for. Will the Northern States do so? No. Most of them will not even allow negroes to enter within their jurisdiction. Will such of them as are loudest in their expressed zeal do so? No; they could not if they would. What then? Shall the central Government declare them free and equal with the whites, and demand that States by statute shall not discriminate against them? Where then is State sovereignty? Shall we provide territories for them? What then? Territories only remain such until a period arrives at which their population and constitution entitle them to admission as States; and all the States are equal. This is legitimate reasoning. These are facts which may not be controverted. And who among us are prepared for such amalgamation? But, say some insane theorists, we will rid ourselves of them altogether. We will colonize them in Africa or elsewhere. Ah, then, yours is a war of hatred to them and for their banishment, not of love for them and for their improvement! And at whose expense will you make their paradise? Their own? They have nothing. Yours? You are already bankrupt. Their masters? Then yours is a war of subjugation, and you remove the yoke from the black man, to place it on the white. Another pretext brought forward in justification of the war is found in the assertion, that the rebellion is one of leaders only, who, by force of arms, have carried the seceded States with them; that the masses loved the old Union and only required the presence of the old flag, whose talismanic influence would rally them again around the nation's standard. Well, you have had eighteen months to test the truth of this question in, and have found it but a vague chimera.

Nay, more; you have yourselves declared against the right of States even to discuss this question. Its very mention was declared treason, and you have imprisoned the Legislature of Maryland for daring to moot it. Withdraw your armies to-day from Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, and they will pass ordinances of Secession to-morrow by overwhelming majorities. The press is no index of popular opinion. You have so subsidized or muzzled it that it has become a laughing stock, a hissing and by-word for foreign Powers. The establishment of newspapers with Southern names, by your army, is a *ruse* too well understood here to make your quotations from them of any value as indicative of Southern sentiments. Hence, if you have found yourselves self-deceived, would it not be magnanimous to confess your error and discontinue it? Would it not be simple justice to do so? By your unanimous complaints of the manner in which your armies are received, and the persistent insults to which they are subjected, you virtually do confess it; but yet your march is not retarded, neither is your ardour diminished. But the great rallying cry, which you have raised into the ears of an unthinking multitude, has been "The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws;" for you will know that the majority do not at first think, but act on

impulse, just as in a thoroughfare one man may point intently toward the heavens, and soon engage hundreds in endeavouring to discover what he is pointing at. But what Union?—that of your fathers, founded in mutual interests and esteem, and having for its boasted basis “the consent of the governed?” This chain is broken in each and all its links. Can you imagine that it still retains its pristine strength, or do you think that fire and sword will weld its fragments? What Constitution?—that which you yourselves declare to be a league with death and covenant with hell? Surely you will not thus stultify yourselves. What laws?—those which you have yourselves abrogated—the right to trial by jury, and of *Habeas Corpus*? If not these, then show us the new Union, the new Constitution, the new laws, which you would have us support, and perhaps we will do so. No, gentlemen, you would not if you could. You could not if you would. And why? Because there exists an antagonism which you cannot adjust. Because, underlying this surface scum, you know that the whole secret of this war reposes in a silence that you cannot disturb, lest you might array a portion of yourselves against yourselves, and divulge your weakness to the world. The secret of that antagonism is found in envy, and in envy is also found the secret of this unholy war. Between the Southern planter and the Northern farmer there exists a gulf so wide and forbidding, that the latter could not pass to the former, and the former would not pass to the latter. The latter earns his livelihood by manual labour, the former by mental. The Southern planter has his hours of ease, and his servants remain at a respectful distance. The Northern farmer is constantly employed, and his servants are his equals, eating at the same table, and occupying the best rooms in his house. The Southern planter is also a traveller. He spends his money freely, and at hotels and watering places landlords, guests, and waiters pay him homage. The Northern farmer seldom leaves home, and when he does patronizes low-priced houses, or takes his luncheon with him. His daughters do not dance or sing, for they belong to some of the numerous “isms,” or “ites,” which have corrupted their neighbourhood. It may, therefore, be readily understood that their relative positions are widely diverse; and, since they are types of their respective sections, it follows that their sections must be diverse also. I have taken the agricultural representatives, because they afford these sectional distinctions most markedly; nevertheless we find the same relative difference pervading every class, not excepting the very slave himself, who pities, if he does not despise, the Northern nigger. This may seem strange to those not conversant with the character of the Southern slave, and such will discredit the statement that not only is this true, but he also feels himself above poor white men generally, but more especially the Irish labourer. All, however, who have lived among them know, as I do, that these are incontrovertible facts. Again, the Southerner loves liberty for its own sake. He is not radical, but distinguishes between democracy and red republicanism. No portraits of “Orsini” decorate the walls of his drawing-room, nor is he a stranger to veneration. He recognizes the code of honour, and acts upon it. The Northerner is not a coward, but by education he is taught to spurn the “code” as a relic of barbarism, and thus presumptuously, perhaps, stoops to vulgar epithets, and slander, and falsehood, and cringes and escapes under cover of his moral education.

In these and other wide dissimilarities are sown the seeds of that envy of which I have spoken in the one class, and of contempt in the other. It matters not that in this arguing both may be wrong. The fact itself is all I have to deal with, and, indeed, I might pursue these differences; but politically they resolve themselves into aristocracy and mobocracy, or, rather, these terms convey better than any other I can now command the prevailing spirit of the two sections. It matters not that in the South there is a sugarocracy, a riceocracy, and a cottonocracy, these are little distinctions among themselves. The two great antipodes are the Northerners and the Southerners, and for reasons intimated the former think the latter haughty, arrogant, dictatorial, contemptuous, and, worse than all, aristocratic. Hence is engendered that spirit of envy, hatred, and uncharitableness, which now finds vent in open hostility. Let financiers discuss the influence of the tariff question; and philanthropists, true or false, that of slavery; but for myself, I am satisfied, from long personal observation, that both of these, and especially the latter, could and would be willingly adjusted, if it were not for the causes indicated.

Having thus considered what I conceive to be the true causes of the war, its conduct next deserves attention, for it seems that even to this hour no definite rules exist regulating it. I am not a military man, and therefore do not distinguish infinitesimally between a state of war and one of rebellion, nor am I conversant with the niceties

attaching to a recognition of contending parties as belligerents; hence I merely propose to speak upon the subject from what seems to me the stand-point of common sense and the dictates of common humanity. Nine millions of people on one side, and eighteen on the other, are armed in hostile antagonism, and seeking each others' lives. This, to my mind, is sufficient to induce the conclusion that there is a state of war. But, again, the contending parties are of the same colour, they speak the same language, they acknowledge the same God, they are intimately associated otherwise both by the ties of blood and marriage. How, then, should such a war be conducted? Surely upon principles which govern civilized nations. This will be conceded, theoretically, by the Federal Government, and be boisterously contended for when accusations of barbarity are made against their opponents; but, practically, it is denied.

I am not aware that any Christian people, under any circumstances, have heretofore denied the right of Christian burial to their adversaries. The high privilege was reserved for that people who claim to be God's vicegerents, and tyranny mocks liberty by emblazoning freedom upon the banner under which they commit their heinous outrage. The dead body inspires a sacred awe in all not lost to feeling; but it is reserved to the Federal army to spurn this womanish sensitiveness, and allow the bodies of Confederate dead to lie exposed for days, as at Pittsburg Landing, to teach, we presume, their willing troops what harmless things dead rebels are. The common impulses of humanity and policy alike have induced civilized nations to exchange prisoners; but one is almost justified in arguing, from the course of the Federal Government, that their army is made up of scum and scurf and foreign dregs, so they let them rot or die in Southern prisons. One Southerner is worth a dozen of them, and, arguing thus, they seem to act upon the premises drawn. The last question to which I shall advert will be, that in reference to the issue of the war. I wonder at those who talk calmly of whipping the South into the Union. Such are generally those who are reaping a rich harvest from the field of blood, or who have not any knowledge of Southern character. If the war is to continue until the South is subjugated, it will not end until the millennium. Rather than submit to the dictation of the Northern States, the South would gladly accept the protectorate of England or France.

I speak confidently upon this point, although I think that the erudite correspondent of the London *Times* was misled when he concluded, from this fact, that there was an abstract partiality in the South for monarchical institutions. They might, of two presented evils, choose the better, but it would not hence follow that either would be as acceptable as no evil at all. I grant you that in the South there is an admiration and reverence for England, while in the North one hears only virulent abuse of her people and institutions. Nevertheless, both sections are eminently republican in principle.

In endeavouring to devise a possible basis for an adjustment of our difficulties among ourselves, I find myself utterly incompetent even to conjecture one which might avail in the accomplishment of so desirable an end. A conservatism, in the North may manifest itself, but if so, will not the military power speedily crush out any demonstration of it? We all know how much easier it is to excite, than to subdue a military spirit. The tramp of martial hosts is the dead march of liberty. The history of the past asseverates this truth, and the present adds its bitter, bitter evidence in corroboration. Will a depleted treasury and general bankruptcy calm the madness of the party now in power, or wrest that power from them? No. So long as a steam press and ink and paper can manufacture the nation's wealth, and an oppressed people are compelled to accept the issue. Will any action of the South induce a peace? Will not the loss of her seaboard and borders compel her to yield? No; she foresaw all that, and sends the blazes of her cotton mountains high in answer to any such suggestion. She will retire inland, fighting as she goes, and looking back to the past year, and the 200,000 Northern victims of her strategy thus far, she will claim that as yet she has the advantage; but even if she had not, she would answer you with, “Liberty or death.” She will point you to the treatment of the Commissioners who she sent to Washington with the olive branch, and tell you the day for compromises has passed.

Since, then, we cannot settle this matter among ourselves, I hope and trust that God, in His wise Providence, will interpose a mediator of will and way, to command the peace in the name of Christendom and the Great Jehovah, and upon this basis—the basis of our Constitution; that which the North professes to fight for, and the South has never objected to—the consent of the governed.

ARREST OF THE HON. RICHARD B. CARMICHAEL.

JUDGE OF THE SEVENTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT COURT OF MARYLAND.

(From the *Eastern Star*.)

Tuesday, the 27th day of May, 1862, will long be remembered as a memorable day in Easton. It was one of those terrible days, like the 19th of April, 1861, which will afford a theme for the historians centuries hence, if the providence of God should spare the world that long. We have never seen anything like it; we have never read of anything like it, not even in the civil wars of the Netherlands, under the blood-thirsty Alva and the determined Parma. The civil wars in England and France do not afford a parallel case. It was reserved for the free and Christian United States Government, upon the soil of Maryland, to enact a tragedy to surpass in atrocity the most infamous deeds recorded in history. The history of the affair is as follows: the truth of history and the misrepresentations that have been made concerning it, render it necessary that we should detail all the circumstances connected with it.

During the Fall of 1861, two companies of the 2nd Delaware Regiment of United States Volunteers, were stationed in Easton: under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey. The companies were commanded by Captains Christman and Ricketts. While these companies were stationed here, a number of our citizens were arrested and imprisoned at their camp. These arrests caused great excitement and indignation in the community. A few days before the last November election, there was a political meeting at the chapel, about six miles from Easton. During the meeting there was some wrangling among a few men who had been drinking, but not more than is usual on such occasions. After the adjournment of the gathering, the Union speakers returned to town. That night a detachment of the military was sent to the chapel and arrested several Democrats, who were at the meeting. Being on the eve of the election, it necessarily increased the excitement in the county; but no resistance was offered to the military, our citizens showing a disposition rather to seek redress for their wrongs through the interposition of the law. In November, the court met, and Judge Carmichael charged the grand jury upon the law relating to illegal arrests. He recited the ten amendments to the Federal Constitution, showing that they were a shield to the citizen against arrest without judicial warrant.

The judge's address was subsequently published in this paper, and received the hearty approval of many Union men of the county. However, it was not to be expected that those who instigated the arrests should sanction it. They accordingly made a great hue and cry against the judge. The grand jury investigated the subject, and found bills against several, among whom was Henry H. Goldsborough, upon the testimony of William B. Clark, a Union man, for aiding and assisting in the arrests. Against this presentment much has been said by the Union men, but we cannot see how the grand jury could do otherwise with the testimony of Mr. Clark before them. After the adjournment of the court, things quieted down, and for a time the transactions of the previous fall seemed almost forgotten. In the winter, a detachment of the Home Brigade was stationed here, under the command of Major Kirby. These troops had not been here long before they commenced to arrest and annoy Democrats, after the example initiated by the 2d Delaware Regiment. This, of course, caused renewed excitement, but no resistance was offered, the aggrieved parties relying upon the law to punish the offenders.

These troops were subsequently removed from here, and the community became quiet. Upon the meeting of the court yesterday week the matter of illegal arrests was again called to the attention of the Grand Jury by the Judge, in the discharge of his duty under oath. In the conclusion of his charge to the jury, he asked the Clerk if the laws of the last session had been received, and receiving a negative answer, he stated that he had understood the law, styled the “Treason Bill,” had made it obligatory upon the courts to charge the jury specially upon its provisions, but not having the law, and not knowing its provisions, he could not do so; but if the laws should be received during the session of the court, he should then discharge his duty in that respect. The business of the court was then quietly transacted from day to day, up to one o'clock on Tuesday last, when the court was broken up and the judge arrested and carried off by the military. But we must go back a little, in order to give a connected narrative of the affair.

Mr. Goldsborough's case was marked for trial for last Monday. On the previous Saturday, Colonel Bailey, Captains Christman and Ricketts, and Lieutenant Guyer, all of the 2nd Delaware Regiment, came over from Baltimore in the steamboat, accompanied by the Deputy Provost Marshall, James L. McPhail, and the following assistants:—W. Cassell, John L. Bishop, Eaton Horner, and James Pryor. The arrival of McPhail and his party in town created considerable curiosity. It was known that the officers of the 2nd Delaware Regiment had been subpoenaed as witnesses for Mr. Goldsborough. At first it was conjectured that McPhail had come over to arrest the judge—then it was thought that he and his men might be only an escort to the military officers, to protect them from violence. We believe that, from the time of their arrival up to the arrest of the judge, the whole party was treated civilly by the community.

The judge intended to leave town on Saturday evening, but hearing it conjectured that they came to arrest him, he concluded to stay in town, in order that the arrest might be made with as little excitement as possible. We should have stated that presentments were found at last November court against all four of the above-mentioned officers of the 2nd Delaware Regiment, for illegally arresting and imprisoning our citizens. Writs had been issued for them and returned *non est*, and their cases had been postponed to the next term. As soon as they arrived in town, however, the clerk, without any order from the State's attorney, re-issued the writs, making them returnable on the following Monday morning. They were immediately placed in the hands of the sheriff and served.

Things remained in *status quo* from Monday until Tuesday noon, when it was announced that the Government steamer Balloon, was at Miles River Wharf, with troops on board. McPhail returned to town, and immediately proceeded to the court-room, where a civil case was being tried before a jury. A witness was on the stand at the time the officers entered to make the arrest. It being just at dinner time, there were but very few persons in or about the court room, except the jury empaneled in the case.

and the witnesses, and the lawyers engaged in it. Of course the military officers were at hand to assist McPhail, had there been any necessity for it.

THE ARREST.

About one o'clock p.m., the court being in session, and, as we have said, engaged in a civil suit between suiters, the jury empaneled, and a witness on the stand, with a few spectators present, McPhail and his subordinates entered the court-room, and proceeded to the judge's stand. He was heard to say something to the judge, supposed to be a notification of his arrest. The judge asked, "By what authority do you do it?" McPhail replied, "By authority of the United States' Government." The judge demanded to see his authority, whereupon McPhail turned around and attempted to adjourn the court. The judge told him "he did not commence the court, and he had no authority to adjourn it," and ordered him to take off his hat, which he did instantly. In the meantime Bishop had arrested J. C. W. Powell, Esq., the States' Attorney, who was engaged in the trial then pending before the court. Upon the judge's ordering McPhail to take off his hat, Bishop commenced to swear and grow boisterous.

The judge then called for the sheriff to preserve order in court. Mr. Wm. H. Shepard, the crier, immediately proceeded to the window and called loudly for the sheriff, whereupon he was assaulted and choked by Bishop, and told to cease calling for the sheriff. Shepard, of course, was silenced. In the meantime Bishop asked McPhail "if he would have the judge taken off his seat?" McPhail answering in the affirmative, Bishop seized the judge, and he and McPhail and the two others, who rushed in through the window behind the judge, commenced to choke him and beat him over the head with revolvers. He was dragged from his seat and beat and kicked in various parts of his body in a most brutal manner. He defended himself as best he could with his naked hands against their assaults; but what resistance could an unarmed man offer to five armed men who seemed bent on taking his life? He instinctively put up his hands to protect his head, and that was about all the resistance he offered, or he could offer, under the circumstances.

The statement that has been made, that the violence of the officers was provoked by the judge's kicking the marshal, is false. It was impossible for him to have kicked had he felt disposed, for he was seated in his chair, with his feet under his desk, and there was no room between the desk and the window for him to place himself in a kicking posture. There is barely room enough for the chair, with the judge's feet under the desk. We are thus particular on this point, as it is the only excuse that has been given for the violence.

The conduct of the marshal and his deputies was atrocious in the extreme. A part of them kept up a continual firing of pistol caps during the scene, in order to alarm the bystanders. Those that got up or came near the scene of conflict, were either struck or knocked down. Honourable John B. Kerr, late United States Minister to Nicaragua, and a leading Union man of the county and State, for protesting against their killing the judge, was struck over the head with a revolver and knocked down. He received a very ugly wound.

John L. Hopkins, Esq., the foreman of the jury, and a good Union man, got his head badly cut. Mr. Perry W. Steward, j.n., another Union man, was struck over the head with a heavy weapon and badly cut. Messrs. Joseph V. B. Wright and Jacob Woolen both received severe blows. Wm. H. Bostie, one of the bailiffs of the court, was assailed with great ferocity. Wm. H. Nabb, who at the time was in the court yard, made for the court room, was met on the steps, knocked down and most dreadfully beaten. A pistol was fired at him, and his life was only saved by the timely arrival of Lieutenant Guyer, who made the officer desist. Several pistols were fired in the court room, and percussion caps innumerable. As soon as the court room was cleared, Judge Carmichael, all dripping with gore, was taken to the Register's office below, where his wounds were dressed by Dr. Edward Jenkins. In the meantime A. A. Pascualt, Esq., one of our citizens, was arrested on the Court House Green, and taken with the other prisoners to the Register's office. There was great excitement and indignation among the citizens, but no resistance or retaliation was offered. What resistance could unarmed citizens offer to such a party had they felt disposed to resist? None whatever.

Soon after the arrests were made, Major Andrews, with two companies of the 2d Delaware Regiment, arrived from the steamboat, and remained for some hours, when the battalion escorted the prisoners to the boat. A number of our citizens were cursed and abused upon the Court House Green by the man Bishop, who appeared eager to provoke a general fight. He made no distinction between Union men and others—all alike received a share of his vulgar tongue, the Union men getting the most of it.

We forbear extended comments upon these high-handed proceedings, as our readers have all doubtless expressed themselves respecting them in much stronger terms than we feel at liberty to use. We never heard or read of a judge being dragged off the bench during a civil trial, and brutally beat and mangled by a set of ruffians, who assumed to act in the name of the law. The case is without a precedent. If they had in them one spark of regard for law, the office and the place, if not the man, should have restrained them from the commission of such unheard of violence. For his object was to disgrace the judge, they signally failed—for his proud spirit never flinched, and he preserved his personal dignity to the last, and only yielded after the assault, to superior physical force.

The judge and his fellow prisoners, Messrs. Powell, Nabb, and Pascualt, were that night taken and confined in Fort McHenry, where they were at last accounts.

Our citizens, though excited and indignant, behaved with prudence and forbearance. Had they behaved otherwise, we have not a doubt that the town would have been given up to destruction. Bad as the affair was, we are heartily glad that it was no worse.

NEGLECT OF BRITISH INTERESTS.

The following is an extract from a letter dated "Havannah, May 24," which has appeared in the columns of a contemporary:

The public prints will doubtless give full details of the robbery of the Dutch consulate and the personal indignities to which the consul was subjected. The \$60,000 dollars stolen belonged to the House of Amsterdam, and was placed for security in the Consulate by Mr. Forstall. The French and Spanish Consuls were both threatened, and their consulates surrounded by troops, but they were saved from a similar fate by the presence of a French vessel of war opposite the city. The English acting

consul seems to be a nonentity, for he makes no attempt to shield British subjects, who have been unlawfully incarcerated and put to hard labour with chains on their legs. The representatives of other countries appear to be acting with great vigour: not so the acting British Consul. In fact, the numerous British subjects resident in New Orleans are left without any protection whatever.

In such a crisis there should have been English men-of-war in the port, for it was known months ago the place was to be attacked; instead of which, one large ship, the *Liffey*, was sent there, and lay off the bar for something like a month, but the captain neither went to the city nor did he send any of his officers, although it is well known here that he and his officers were offered a passage on board the French gunboat *Milan*, which did go up to New Orleans. I blame the Government more than the captain of the *Liffey*. His ship could not cross the bar, and was entirely useless where she lay. A smaller vessel that could have crossed the bar should have been sent with her; but it seems that, notwithstanding England has the largest and most extensive fleet in the world, the Government had not even a small gunboat to spare for the protection of British subjects in the only place in the world at the moment where British subjects require protection, and for want of such protection have suffered, and are now suffering, indignities which are shameful. It is a disgrace to the nation that such a thing should be, and it is a further disgrace that at this moment, and for weeks past, British commerce has no protection in these waters. For weeks past, British vessels engaged in lawful commerce between neutral ports, and in neutral waters, are being daily boarded and fired into with shot and shell by American cruisers. These waters swarm with them, and they pay no more respect to the English flag than they would to a piece of dirty rag on the mast-head of a fishing smack. Numerous captures of English vessels have been made during the last six weeks, without a shadow of right. In fact, the Yankee fleet really blockade this port, and have it all their own way. Englishmen at home would naturally think that under such a state of things, and especially after the Trent affair, Great Britain would have a few cruisers in these waters; but I regret to say there is not one, nor has there been for weeks past. Perhaps the Government is afraid that if it had vessels of war here some English building would not submit to see the flag of his country daily outraged without using his teeth. Can you not get some one to represent the matter properly? I write only facts, and such facts ought to be brought before the House of Commons. I am obliged to close this hurriedly, &c.

THE SURRENDER OF NEW ORLEANS.

The following correspondence relates to the surrender of New Orleans. The letter of the 26th April, alluded to by Captain Farragut, was the communication in which the Mayor declared the city yielded "to brute force," and that no one in New Orleans could be found to hoist the enemy's flag.

The Common Council in New Orleans was convened in joint session, on the 27th April, when the Mayor sent to that body the following message, accompanying the above communication from the Commander of the Federal Fleet:

MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS,
City Hall, April 28, 1862.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMON COUNCIL:

Herewith transmit to you a communication from Flag-Officer Farragut, commanding the United States' fleet now lying in front of this city. I have informed the officer bearing the communication that I would lay it before you, and return such answer as the city authorities might deem proper to be made.

In the meantime, permit me to suggest that Flag-Officer Farragut appears to have misunderstood the City of New Orleans. He has been distinctly informed that, at this moment, the city has no power to impede the exercise of such acts of forcible authority as the commander of the United States' naval forces may choose to exercise; and that, therefore, no resistance could be offered to the occupation of the city by the United States' forces. If it is deemed necessary to remove the flag now floating from this building, or to raise United States' flags on others, the power which threatens the destruction of our city is certainly capable of performing those acts. New Orleans is not now a military post; there is no military commander within its limits; it is like an unoccupied fortress, of which an assailant may at any moment take possession. But I do not believe that the constituency represented by you or by me embraces one loyal citizen who would be willing to incur the odium of tearing down the symbol representing the States' authority, to which New Orleans owes her municipal existence. I am deeply sensible of the distress which would be brought upon our community by a consummation of the inhuman threat of the United States' commander; but I cannot conceive that those who so recently declared themselves to be animated by a Christian spirit, and by a regard for the rights of private property, would venture to incur for themselves and the government they represent, the universal execration of the civilized world, by attempting to achieve, through a wanton destruction of life and property, that which they can accomplish without bloodshed, and without a resort to those hostile measures which the law of nations condemns and execrates, when employed upon the defenceless women and children of an unresisting city.

Very respectfully,

JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

After considering the above message and communication, the Common Council in joint session adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the views communicated by his Honor the Mayor to the Common Council, respecting the answer which it behoves the city of New Orleans to return to the ultimatum of Flag-Officer Farragut, meet the unreserved approbation of this Council, and embody their own views and sentiments, and the Mayor is therefore respectfully requested to act accordingly.

S. P. DELABARRE,
President pro tem. of Board of Ald.
J. MAGNON,
President Board Asst. Aldermen.

Approved April 28, 1862.

A true copy

JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

M. A. BAKER, Secretary to Mayor.

The following is Capt. Farragut's reply to a communication of the Mayor:—

U. S. FLAG SHIP HARTFORD,
At anchor off the city of New Orleans,
April 28, 1862.

To his Honor the Mayor and City Council
of the city of New Orleans:

Your communication of the 26th inst. has been received, together with that of the City Council.

I deeply regret to see, both by their contents and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the Court-house, a determination on the part of the city authorities not to haul it down. Moreover, when my officers and men were sent on shore to communicate with the authorities, and to hoist the United States flag on the Custom house, with the strictest order not to use their arms unless assailed, they were insulted in the grossest manner; and the flag which had been hoisted by my order on the Mint, was pulled down and dragged through the streets.

All of which go to show that the fire of this fleet may be drawn upon the city at any moment, and in such an event the levee would, in all probability, be cut by the shells, and an amount of distress ensue to the innocent population which I have heretofore endeavoured to assure you that I desired by all means to avoid.

The election is therefore with you. But it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
(Signed) D. G. FARRAGUT,
Flag-Officer Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.

After having considered the above communication, the Council declared its determination not to recede from the position it had requested the Mayor to assume in his previous communication addressed to Flag-Officer Farragut.

The following is the Mayor's reply to Capt. Farragut's communication of the 28th ult.:—

CITY HALL, NEW ORLEANS,
April 29, 1862.

To Flag-Officer D. G. Farragut,
U. S. Flag-ship, Hartford.

Sir,—Your communication is the first intimation I ever had that it was by "your strict orders" that the United States' flag was attempted to be hoisted upon certain of our public edifices, by officers sent on shore to communicate with the authorities. The officers who approached me, in your name, disclosed no such order, and intimated no such design, on your part; nor could I have for a moment entertained the remotest suspicion that they could have been invested with such powers to enter on such an errand, while the negotiation for a surrender between you and the city authorities were still pending. The interference of anyone under your command, as long as these negotiations were not brought to a close, could not be viewed by me otherwise than as a flagrant violation of those courtesies, if not the absolute rights which prevail between belligerents under such circumstances. My views and my sentiments, with reference to such conduct, remain unchanged.

You now renew the demand, made in your former communication, and you insist on their being complied with, unconditionally, under a threat of bombardment within forty-eight hours; and you notify me to remove the women and children from the city that they may be protected from your shells.

Sir, you cannot but know that there is no possible exit from this city for a population which still exceeds in number one hundred and forty thousand, and you must therefore be aware of the utter inanity of such a notification. Our women and children cannot escape from your shells, if it be your pleasure to murder them on a mere question of etiquette. But if they could, there are but few among them who would consent to desert their families and their homes, and the graves of their relatives in so awful a moment. They would bravely stand the sight of your shells, rolling over the bones of those who were once dear to them, and would deem that they died not ingloriously by the side of the tombs erected by their piety to the memory of departed relatives.

You are not satisfied with the peaceable possession of an undefended city, opposing no resistance to your guns, because of its bearing its doom with some manliness and dignity; and you wish to humble and disgrace us by the performance of an act against which our nature rebels. This satisfaction you cannot expect to obtain at our hands.

We will stand your bombardment, unarmed and undefended as we are. The civil world will consign to indelible infamy the heart that will conceive the deed and the hand that will dare to consummate it.

Respectfully,
JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

THE ARREST OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN NEW ORLEANS.

We subjoin the official protest of our Consul, General Butler's reply, and our Consul's rejoinder:—

BRITISH CONSULATE, NEW ORLEANS, May 8, 1862.]

Sir,—Mr. J. J. Burrows, a British subject, and who lately commanded a company composed entirely of British subjects, organized to comply with the law of this State, has informed me that, at your request, and in conformity with an order from Brigadier-General Juge, he appeared before you yesterday for purposes which I shall have the honour to state in my communication, and he begs my interference in behalf of himself and of the other British subjects concerned. Mr. Burrows states to me that you informed him that every member of the British Guard must report to you, with uniforms and arms, and those failing to do so must leave this city within twenty-four hours, or be sent to Fort Jackson. It has come to my knowledge within the past two days, and I am given to understand that you are in possession of information to the same effect, that some members (a minority of the whole) of the company of British Guard, believing that the duty which had been imposed upon them by the law of this State was at an end, and their services no longer required, a short time prior to the occupation of this city by the military authorities of the United States, sent their arms and equipments—their own private property, I believe—from the city, to whom or where Mr. Burrows is unable to inform me. For this reason it will be impossible for them to report to you as soldiers—a character in which the British subjects now in question have never been desirous of showing themselves in the existing strife in this country.

It is not my intention in this communication to shield my countrymen in the step they have taken, for it may be construed as a breach of that neutrality imposed by her Majesty on all her subjects; but if it is looked upon in that light, I feel convinced that they, when they took such action, were ignorant of the importance that might be attached to it, and did it with no idea of wrong or harm. It may not, sir, be irrelevant for me to mention that I much regret to hear that the position of British subjects in this city as neutrals should have been questioned or doubted. When the militia law of this State was enforced by the authorities, requiring all men between eighteen and forty-five, who were in the State, to perform militia duty, I was compelled to oppose the law, and informed the Executive of this State that the service imposed upon British subjects was contrary to the law of nations, and placed them beyond that neutral position which had been enjoined upon them by their Government. This was partly at the instance of many British subjects, and conjointly done with the Consuls of seven other European Governments. In consequence of our action, the United States' authorities, on taking possession of this city, found that the city was, to a great extent, in the charge of the foreign corps, and they were performing a service allowed by their own Governments, and one deemed incompatible by either belligerent. Consequently, it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that, after so strongly opposing the militia law for fear of losing or violating their rights as British subjects, they would voluntarily and knowingly place themselves in that unpleasant position which they have for many months carefully avoided. As I have had the honour to state above, and for the cause mentioned, it will not be possible for some of the British subjects, who were members of the British Guard, to obey the verbal order of questionable legality given to Mr. Burrows, that they should report to you as soldiers; and it would become my duty to solemnly protest in the name of Her Majesty's Government against the alternative stated by you, the enforcement of which would infringe the rights of British subjects residing in the United States. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE COPPELL,
Her Majesty's Acting Consul.
Major-General B. F. Butler, United States' Army, Commanding Department of the Gulf, &c., New Orleans La.

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, May 11, 1862.

SIR,—I have your communication of May 8. With its evasion of fact I have nothing to do. A plain statement of the matter is this:—A number of residents of this city who have enjoyed the protection and advantages of the United States' Government in their large trade and property for many years (some of them more than a decade), and now claiming to have been born subjects of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, organize themselves into a military body, known as the "British Guard," and armed, uniformed, and equipped, patrolled the streets till the fleet of the United States' had the city under its guns. This body then, after a discussion in presence of its captain and at least one other officer, at eleven o'clock at night, deliberately voted in an organized meeting to send the arms and uniforms of the company to the army of the rebel General Beauregard, which vote was carried into effect, by sending to the rebels, substantially, all the arms, uniforms, and equipments in their armoury. This transaction was concealed from me for some days. I then sent for Captain Burrows, and he acknowledged the facts materially as above stated. In this flagrant breach of the laws of nations, of the United States, your Queen's proclamation, and the laws of God, I directed him to order his company to leave the city within twenty-four hours. To this he objected, saying, among other things, that this would be punishing the innocent with the guilty, as there were some members absent at the time of the vote; that each soldier of the Guard owned his arms and uniform as private property, and it would be hard to compel those to leave the city who still retained their arms and uniforms, and did not concur in the vote. I then modified the order, directing those to report to me who still retained their arms and uniforms—all others, having forfeited all rights of neutrality and hospitality, to leave the city within twenty-four hours, or I should have them arrested and sent to Fort Jackson, as dangerous and inimical persons. These people thought it of consequence that Beauregard should have sixty more uniforms and rifles. I thought it of the same consequence that he should have sixty more of these faithless men, who may fill them if they choose. I intended this order to be strictly enforced. I am content for the present to suffer open enemies to remain in the city of their nativity, but law-defying and treacherous alien enemies shall not. I welcome all neutrals and foreigners who have kept aloof from these troubles which have been brought upon the city, and will, to the extent of my power, protect them and their property. They shall have the same hospitable and just treatment they have always received at the hands of the United States' Government. They will see, however, for themselves, that it is for the interest of all to have the unworthy among them rooted out; because the acts of such bring suspicion upon all. All the facts above set forth can easily be substantiated, and, indeed, are all exclusively admitted in your note by the very apology made for them. That apology says, that these men when they took this action—sent these arms and munitions of war to Beauregard—"did it with no idea of wrong or harm." I do not understand this. Can it be that such men, of age to enrol themselves as a military body, did not know that it was wrong to supply the enemies of the United States with arms? If so, I think they should be absent from the city long enough to learn so much international law. Or, do you mean to say that, knowing their social proclivities, and the lateness of the hour when the vote was taken, therefore they were not responsible? There is another difficulty, however, in these people taking any protection under the British flag. The company received a charter or commission, or some form of rebel authorization from the Governor of Louisiana, and one of them, whom I have under arrest, accompanied him to the rebel camp. There is still another difficulty. I am informed and believe that a majority of them have made declarations of their intention to become citizens of the United States, and of the supposed Confederate States, and have taken the proper and imperative oaths of allegiance to effect that purpose.

Thus far you will do me the honour to observe, that I have treated your communication as if it emanated from the duly authorized Consul of her Majesty's Government at this port. The respect I feel for that Government leads me to err, if at all, upon the side of recognition of all its claims, and those of its officers; but I take leave to call your attention to the fact that you subscribed yourself "Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul," and that I have received no official information of any right which you may have so to act, except your acts alone, and pardon me if I err in saying that your acts in that behalf, which have come to my knowledge, have not been of such character as to induce the belief on my part that you rightfully represent that noble

Government. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
BENJ. F. BUTLER, Major-General Commanding.
To George C. Coppel, acting as her Majesty's Consul at the port of New Orleans, La.

BRITISH CONSULATE, NEW ORLEANS, May 31, 1862.
SIR,—In answering your communication of date the 11th inst., it is my intention to confine myself to a correction of errors in your statement of facts.

The British Guard was organized under the general call for service from all residents within the ages which give legal exemption, and as the least obnoxious form in which, as neutrals, they could comply with (Major-General B. F. Butler, United States' Army, Commanding Department of the Gulf, &c., &c., New Orleans) the requisition. The privileges asked for them, and with some difficulty obtained, limited their service to the lines around the city proper. From the time it was ascertained that a portion of the United States' fleet had passed the forts until its arrival before the city, the public mind was disturbed by apprehended violence at home, and the city authorities called upon the foreign brigades, of which the British Guard formed part, to suppress any such attempt. Their services were, from that moment, those of an armed police, which were by yourself and by Commodore Farragut gratefully acknowledged. After several fatiguing days and nights passed in the fulfilment of these duties, between the hours of two and three o'clock in the morning (not eleven, as you have it), the guard left their stations and returned to their armoury to deposit their arms, considering that their mission was at an end, and that they were no longer wanted. Their existence as an organized body had virtually ceased. One, or it may be two, officers were in the armoury, returning with the rest. No meeting was either called or held; there was no voting beyond the few, not exceeding fifteen, with whom the measure originated; no formal announcement of the proposal to dispose of the arms was ever exhibited. Some of the members left the armoury ignorant of any such proposition, though there when, in desultory conversation, among others it was made and agreed to. It was the resolution of the moment, hardly to be characterized as a deliberate act, and the impulse which prompted it, it seems to me, can be reasonably referred to feelings which would actuate men whose friends and former companions were with the forces to which the arms are asserted to have been forwarded. The number of muskets did not exceed thirty-nine, if all were sent, for I am assured that there never was the number you have given (sixty) in the armoury. These facts are verified by all who can speak from personal participation in the whole or parts of them. The British Guard comprises gentlemen who have large responsibilities entrusted to their charge, and whose absence from the city would result in irreparable injury to the interests confided to their care; and whose word may be received with every confidence as vouchers for the verity of the above statement. The injustice of an order which includes those parties to the act, and those who were not, requires no explanation on my part. I have before observed that it is not my wish or intention to justify the act; my object is to explain its real import, and to diminish the importance which, unexplained, it bears upon its face, by stripping it of features which do not properly belong to it. With reference to that part of your communication which has relation to myself, I would merely add that I furnish, in proof of my official capacity, letters addressed to me, and signed by Earl Russell and Lord Lyons, which, as part of my official register, I must request may be returned to me; and that I am not aware that my accountability for the manner in which I may have fulfilled my duties extends beyond the source from which that authority emanated, and to which your letter will of course be forwarded in all its crudity. In conclusion, I would say that Mr. Burrows, to whom I had exhibited my last communication before sending it, now says that he did tell you that the arms were intended for General Beauregard, but that he could not, from his own knowledge, state whether they were actually forwarded. Referring to my last communication, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE COPPELL,
Her Britannic Majesty's Acting Consul.

THE DESTRUCTION OF COTTON.

The Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser* states that there are about 50,000 bales of cotton in Montgomery, which will be burned on the approach of the enemy. The same paper publishes these orders:—

OFFICE ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL A. M.,
MONTGOMERY, ALA., May 8, 1862.

SPECIAL ORDER No. 29.—1. The large amount of cotton in the city of Montgomery renders its removal to a safe distance a work of time. Circumstances may render it necessary to destroy it before such removal can be effected. To avoid endangering the city by burning, all the cotton which cannot be removed to a safe distance will be removed to the warehouse known as "Gunter's Warehouse."

2. The Railroad Companies are hereby ordered to arrange by Monday next to use all their transportation power, save such as may be required for the service of the Confederate Government, to assist in transporting the cotton which owners may prefer to take from the city.

3. The officer charged with the execution of this order is hereby directed to press into service all the public drays of the city, save such as may be required for the service of the Confederate Government, to aid in transporting cotton from the warehouses in the city to "Gunter's Warehouse," the steamboat landings, and railroad depots.

4. Colonel Wm. H. Chambers, Special Aid-de-Camp, is charged with the execution of this order.

By order of
JNO. GILL SHORTEN,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

H. P. Watson, Adj. and Insp. Gen.

NOTICE TO OWNERS OF PUBLIC DRAYS.

All the public drays of the city are required to remove the cotton, under the military order of the Governor. The owners of licensed drays, except those employed in the service of the Confederate Government, will send them to Schar and Audis' warehouse, at six o'clock on Monday morning next, where they will report to Mr. J. G. Maxwell.

WM. H. CHAMBERS, Aid-de-Camp.

NOTICE TO OWNERS OF COTTON.

I have been informed that, in some instances, parties have removed cotton from the warehouses to their private premises. I hereby give notice that no cotton will be permitted to remain where it will endanger the city; and unless it is forthwith re-

moved, it will be removed, under the military authority, to a place where it can be burned without destroying the city.

WM. H. CHAMBERS, Aid-de-Camp.

RICHMOND, Friday, May 2.

To Maj.-Genl. M. Lovell:—

The following despatch was sent to you on the 25th ult.

A. T. BLEUSOE,

Assistant Secretary of War.

"It has been determined to burn all the cotton and tobacco, whether foreign or our own, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy."

"You will therefore destroy it all if necessary, to prevent them from getting it."

(Signed)

G. W. RANDOLPH,
"Secretary of War."

The Richmond *Whig* of May 21, says, editorially:—

The patriotic work of destroying the staple, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, is still going on with unimpaired unanimity. The Vicksburg *Citizen* learns that on Sunday, the 11th inst., 20,000 bales were committed to the flames between that city and Greenville. Some 9000 bales have been destroyed between there and Grand Gulf. Judge Perkins, alone, consigned 1300 bales to the flames. The Vicksburg *Whig* says: "We learn that cotton all along the river, as high as Napoleon, is being burned. Between here and New Orleans the flames have devoured it. A gentleman who came down the river yesterday in a skiff from Napoleon, informs us that the river was almost one mass of burning cotton. The cotton from Napoleon down has all been burned. He also says it was reported that a few planters who hauled their cotton back and hid it in the cane had been imprisoned."

A planter informs us that he saw the negroes on a plantation above this city shed tears when the cotton was being fired. It is very hard to destroy the labour of a whole year, but it is a necessity that cannot be helped. There will, no doubt, be a quarter of a million of bales burned on the Mississippi and tributaries, worth 12,000,000 dollars at ordinary prices.

The Charleston *Mercury*, of May 14, publishes the following circular, which, it says, is "the deliberate expression of probably the largest, wealthiest, and most influential class of the citizens of New Orleans," and says, also, that "for reasons that will be manifest to all," no signatures are attached to it:—

TO COTTON PLANTERS.—New Orleans has fallen, not degraded or enslaved, but yielding to armed ships with guns levelled at the homes of our defenceless wives and children. The escutcheon of Louisiana is unstained, and her flag has been desecrated but by her enemies. None could be found among us so vile, low, or degraded, as to lower her national insignia. We have yielded to brute force but for the moment.

It becomes now the duty of all planters to display, more than ever, their patriotism and devotion to their country. They have sealed that devotion upon the battle field. Now let us fight our enemies, as well by burning and destroying every bale of cotton upon the river or rivers liable to capture, as well as refusing to overship or sell a bale of cotton until peace is declared and our nationality is fixed. Let their conquest be a barren one.

The merchant fleets of Europe and of Yankeeedom will soon be bringing their riches among us to trade with us, expecting an exchange of cotton. If commerce is once revived we are enslaved for ever. Let Europe howl at the waste the barbarity of the North will have brought upon the country. The United States' Government has promised renewed trade to the world so soon as our ports are opened. If we are true to ourselves, there will be no trade, and the countless millions of foreign products will be without purchasers. How long will they remain idle spectators of such a scene? The Powers of Europe will see that there is no sentiment of regard for the old flag—that we despise the race; and when we withhold or destroy our property, they will find that Unionism is dead for ever.

The *Raleigh State Journal* says:—"An officer of the Confederate army who is engaged in this most important duty, tells us he burned not less than 1553 bales for two persons alone, Messrs. Wm. Grimes and P. Atkinson. He has already burned almost all the cotton at or near the water-courses, in Washington county, Pitt, Martin, and other counties, visiting the plantations even in the interior. He assures us he was aided in this patriotic work cheerfully by the owners themselves, except in one case only. But as a set off to this case, in another, the owner, Pulaski Cowher, Esq., had his burned, though the boat was at the landing to take it off. Not only the cotton has been burned, but large quantities of naval stores. The Buccaneers of the North got absolutely nothing in occupying Washington. This is the true way to defend ourselves. If the Buccaneers get nothing they will soon cease their marauding invasion of our country."

THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THE REBELLION.

Notwithstanding the recall of Bull Run Russell as correspondent of the London *Times*, because he had been kicked out of all the Union camps and ejected from all decent society, in which for a while he was allowed to exhibit his snobbishness, there is no doubt that the secession tone which characterizes his letters was dictated by the managers of the *Times*. This fact is manifested by the reasons given for the discontinuance of Mr. Fickerman as the American correspondent. He was informed that it is the policy of the *Times*, and its owners, to speak favourably of the rebellion and to disparage the Federal Government, with a view to promote, as much as possible, a division of the United States. No doubt is entertained by those who have opportunities to know, that the private instructions to the correspondents of the *Times* show it to be unmistakably a staunch supporter of the rebels and their cause. For this reason it is desirable that their American correspondent should remain *incognito*. There is reason to believe that not only the *Times*, but influential parties connected with the British Government, have been, since the commencement of the rebellion, anxious for an opportunity to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and take the part of the rebel leaders. They have waited to long. If the war had been less vigorously prosecuted by the Federal Government, and the rebels had not been signally defeated at all points until the rebellion has been actually brought to its last gasp, there would have been imminent danger of British interference. As it is, the opportunity has been lost. Great Britain is already involved in an embryo difficulty with France, growing out of the conduct of the triple occupation of Mexico, and the Government has avowed the Mistress of the Seas by an exhibition of its inexhaustible resources and its vast power on land and sea.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through Henry Horze, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered as his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1862.

No News.

PUBLIC curiosity has been disappointed by the steamer arrivals of last week. The imaginative Halleck has not yet discovered the whereabouts of Beauregard; and McClellan, for prudential reasons still stops short within a few miles of the rebel capital. Is not this an eloquent, though silent, comment upon the boasted triumphs of the Federal arms? Is it not a singularly suggestive circumstance that brilliant victories always seem to paralyze the Northern commanders? Halleck's lieutenants gained a brilliant victory at Shiloh, and thereupon he immediately set to work to fortify himself in front and in the rear; and when he had pushed his fortifications, at the rate of a few feet per day, up to the lines of his "defeated" enemy, he finds those lines abandoned the enemy whom he so cautiously approached having gone no one knows whither, several days before, and taken with him the last gun, all his stores, and the last sick man in his hospitals. McClellan gained a brilliant victory at Fair Oaks, driving the enemy before him at the "point of the bayonet," and inflicting "enormous loss;" and yet he lies *perdu*, clamoring for reinforcements, within a few miles of Richmond, in a swamp, where his army is dying of slow fevers. Truly the faith must be great which still kindles bonfires, and chants *Te Deums* over the bulletins of the War Department at Washington.

It is now over three months since General McClellan, amid the derision of the world, returned to Washington from his grand advance upon Manassas, to find an easier road to Richmond. Since then let us balance the gains and losses of the campaign in Virginia. Detained before Yorktown until the Confederates had completed their interior defences, he comes up with the retreating enemy at West Point and Williamsburg, each encounter costing him the destruction of a division of his army. The iron-clad fleet, which was to support him by water, is repulsed, with a loss estimated by the Federals themselves at not less than 1500 men. Thus crippled, he summons his lieutenants to his assistance. One of them is suddenly attacked, and driven headlong across the Potomac, with the loss of all his stores, and half of his army in killed, wounded, and prisoners. And for a moment it is Washington, not Richmond, that trembles for its safety. Another, hastening to retrieve the disaster, rushes into defeat scarcely less disheartening. McClellan himself, when in sight of his coveted prize, has one of his divisions surprised and annihilated. Score up the tallies of those bloody battle-fields—West Point, Williamsburg, Fort Darling, the rout of Banks, the blow to Fremont, and the bloodiest of all before Richmond—and, by the Federal count, the cost amounts to upwards of 30,000 men, probably full one-fifth of the armies which were to concentrate upon Richmond. And these are the casualties of battle only, and do not include the hospital records, by which that number, under the lowest estimates, must be swelled to at least one-half more. These figures, were the full truth known, would doubtless reach even more fearful proportions. But here we have, by their own confes-

sion, an army thrice decimated within three months. Could the most successful defence against invasion have done more? could the most disastrous reverse have been more fatal? At this rate, the Federal army, though it were reinforced by the contingent of all Europe, would disappear like a shower falling upon a desert, before two of its columns, marching from opposite directions, could meet each other in the heart of the country to be conquered. It seems as though the world would not allow the Confederate the credit of victory unless they smote their opponent as the Destroying Angel of the Lord smote the host of the Assyrians. Yet we find it difficult to recall an instance of a better planned and more successfully executed defence against an invader, superior in numbers, resources, and appliances of war, than the last three months' campaign in Virginia, the results of which, to the Confederates, have been to reduce their enemy to two-thirds of his effective strength, and to enrich themselves by the much-needed spoils of many well won battle-fields. What have been the net results to the invader? Not one of the objects of the invasion is yet attained; no position has been gained which may not be lost again by the hazard of a single battle. They are nearer Richmond, but not nearer to its conquest than when the contending armies faced each other before Manassas. We, at this distance, find it difficult to imagine how the Confederates could have done more, or the Federals less.

In the West the condition of Halleck's army appears even more critical than before. It can neither advance nor retreat. In leaving its fortifications it runs the risk of being suddenly attacked at a disadvantage by an enemy who hovers unseen around it. In its rear a storm is brewing which threatens every moment to burst over it. A numerous army is concentrating in the mountain fastnesses of Eastern Tennessee; Kentucky is said to be fast ripening into revolt. A blow is impending—from what quarter it will come it would be vain to speculate, even if we had the information which Halleck so sorely needs. What we may confidently rely upon, from the antecedents of the wary general opposed to him, is, that the blow will come when least expected, and fall with fatal precision.

The interest is absorbed by the two great armies in the East and West, leaving only a secondary importance to the other operations on the vast theatre. In New Orleans General Butler appears to be quietly awaiting the arrival of the yellow fever, from the deadly clutches of which he himself has already prepared a refuge at a neighbouring summer resort. At Mobile no progress had, at last advices, been made by the Federal fleet, though it seems improbable that this city can much longer delay the fate of its sister port. At Savannah and Charleston the Federal Commanders need further reinforcements. How their needs can be supplied, as well as the more imperious ones of Halleck and McClellan, is difficult to conjecture, after such repeated drains upon the military population of the North. Meanwhile gold is steadily rising in New York; the cotton of the South, with which it is hoped to pay the great national debt, is burning, or rotting from exposure to the weather; the alarm has been sounded against the further issue of irredeemable paper; but the Federal Government at Washington, and the mob of which it is the puppet, heed not, and in their self-conceit are deliberately planning another war by land and by sea.

Are the Confederates Rebels?

ALL great political catastrophes appear at the time the sudden freak of some inexplicable and mysterious chance. Posterity, at a later period, perceives and traces in the dim distance the chain of events of which they were the concluding link and inevitable sequence, and wonders that so obvious a result of obvious causes should have taken the world by surprise when it occurred. But it is a law of our nature, that the immediate present and its promises, rather than the past with its warnings,

should engross our attention, and fill our narrow scope of vision. Just as the French Revolution startled mankind as from a dream, though we, a half century later, can see the seeds planting, germinating, and maturing, which brought forth such terrible fruit—so the revolution which rent asunder the American Union, and in its convulsions endangers the prosperity and peace of all civilized nations, appears to us a phenomenon beyond human foresight and comprehension, though to posterity its causes will seem as intelligible as its effects. To posterity the full explanation must needs be left; yet it is not a hopeless task, even at this time, to attempt the solution of some, at least, of the mysteries in which it seems shrouded.

We have so accustomed ourselves to regard the United States as a marvel of rapid growth and unprecedented material development, that we failed to realize practically the hollowness of that dazzling prosperity and the rottenness of the fabric on which it rested. We have so accustomed ourselves to view this agglomeration of self-governing States as a unit, that we utterly lost sight of the irreconcilable differences of national character and interests which it concealed. A ferocious war of fifteen months' duration has revealed these in a lurid light, and we already wonder that we could have been blind to them so long. But this does not explain what sudden spark fired this latent hostility into so furious a blaze. The causes and objects of the war are still imperfectly understood, because the relative positions of the antagonists, both before the war and now, are not clearly defined to European minds.

When, on the 18th day of February, one year ago, the Chief Magistrate elect of the new-formed Confederacy of States took the oath of office, he said:—

It is by an abuse of words that our act has been denominated Revolution. The States here represented have formed a new alliance, but within each State its Government has remained. The rights of persons and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed, but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

In the sense in which the word "revolution" is familiarly used, the successful uprising of a people, or a part of a people, against their constituted Government—a direct popular act directed against immediate superiors—Mr. Davis is assuredly right in saying that the word cannot apply to the act of Secession. In that broader sense, in which the word is made to indicate any great political change, of which foreign nations must necessarily take cognizance, history will doubtless apply the word to the event which founded two great Powers in the place of one. The reinstatement of an exiled monarch, the dethronement of another, an alteration of the dynastic law of inheritance—acts which have been exercised by the British Parliament, though with the sanctity of established law and usage, and without direct interference of the people, are yet acts so grave in their consequences, so rare in occurrence, so dependent for their justification on a great national emergency, that by common consent they are denominated revolutions. The act to which President Davis referred, was somewhat analogous. Secession was not a popular act; it was the act of the several State Governments, exercised according to the forms of law and usage. The States ceased to be members of the Union in precisely the same manner, and with the same formality, that they had entered. In other words, the withdrawal was a repeal, by the same authority which had enacted it, of that law on their statute books by virtue of which they became partners to the Federal compact. The annals of history present no instance of a similar revolution (for such history will nevertheless call it) accomplished without popular commotion, and without the abrogation of a single law binding on the individual citizen.

The question now naturally arises to whom the allegiance of the citizens was owed,—whether to the State Governments, or not rather to the Federal authority as the lord paramount. Europeans have been prone to consider the American States as mere governmental departments designed for the more convenient administration of an unusually extensive ter-

ritory,—departments to which, indeed, large powers of local government were conceded, but which derived those powers from the central authority, and exercised them under the supervision and by the consent of that authority. The whole theory of the Federal Constitution is diametrically opposed to this assumption. It expressly affirms that the Federal Government is formed by the States, that it has no powers save those delegated to it by the States, and that all powers not so delegated are reserved to the latter. A few facts in practice are worth all the deductions of theoretical argumentation. Let us see whether or no these corroborate the assertions of President Davis.

In all countries, the idea of eminent domain attaches to complete sovereignty. The Federal Government of the United States had no eminent domain, except such as was at various times conceded to it for specified purposes, such as the grant of land by Virginia and Maryland for the purpose of building thereon a Federal capital. It could not even erect a fort, or an arsenal, or a dockyard, without obtaining from the State within whose territory the proposed site lay a cession of the same, and paying, therefore, a stipulated price. In all countries, also, justice is administered in the name of the sovereign authority. The tribunals of the United States had no jurisdiction outside of the limits of the grants thus ceded, except in cases of dispute between citizens of different States, or between States themselves; over its own agents, officers, and employés, and over offences committed on the high seas and such navigable waters as were the common property of all the States. Each State over its own citizens was the sole and supreme judge. In each State the tribunals exercised their functions in the name of the State, or commonwealth, or people, according to the adopted formula of its Constitution. A citizen of any State could not be tried for offences committed in another, and could be surrendered to the authorities of another State only with the consent of the chief executive of his State. A man might be a citizen of a State without being a citizen of the United States; and *vice versa*. That is to say, the naturalization laws of many of the States varied from those of the Federal Government, and persons might be electors and eligible to State offices without being so to Federal offices. On the other hand, each State prescribed for itself the conditions of citizenship; and a person might be a citizen of the United States without fulfilling these conditions in any one of the States. Again, each State was at liberty to alter, modify, or change its Constitution at its pleasure, so long as it remained Republican in form, for this condition alone had the States imposed on themselves and all future new-comers when they framed the Federal compact. With this reservation the State Constitutions might differ, and did differ, in the most essential features. It is one of the most prevalent errors of Europeans to lose sight of this fact, and to mistake the Constitution of the United States for the real political institutions of the country. This Constitution applies to the States alone, and only very indirectly to the citizens. With many faults, it is yet an admirable model of well-balanced Republicanism, which, however, nearly all the States have long since forgotten in the wild race to Democracy. For instance, in the Federal polity, only the chief executive and the legislature are elective, and its judiciary are appointed for life; while in too many of the State Constitutions every office, judicial or ministerial, is a prey to the vagaries of universal suffrage. This striking difference between the Federal and the State politics, which latter alone bear on the daily life and public morals of the people, is another instructive fact in our investigation. Without dilating on numerous others, a few more facts will suffice to demonstrate that no direct relations obtained between the people and the Federal Government of the United States. The highest branch of the Federal Legislature, the Senate, was filled by the several State Governments without any intervention of the people whatever. In the lower, so-called popular branch, the State is

theoretically represented in the ratio of population; but even there it was left to its judgment by whom and in what manner its representatives should be chosen, and no numerical apportionment could violate the sanctity of its boundary, and jeopard its integrity as a self-governing State, though its entire population were but one tithe of the constituency of a representative in a larger State. The only other elective functionary of the Federal Government was its Chief Magistrate. Nothing can more strongly prove the amazing ignorance of Europe on American affairs than the fact that many of the most intelligent European statesmen have yet to learn that the President of the United States was, at no period of their existence as a Government, either in theory or practice elected by the direct vote of the people, but by the States as such. Each State had a number of votes equal to its aggregate representation, in both the houses of the Federal Legislature, and exercised the undisputed right to select those who were to cast its votes, either by universal suffrage, or, as in the case of South Carolina, by its Government. The progress of Democracy had made the former the universal practice, with the single exception named, and by an evasion of a constitutional clause the electors were always committed beforehand to designated Presidential candidates, but through these electors the State voted, not the people of the United States. The practical effect is obvious. A Presidential candidate might obtain the majority of State votes, and thus be elected, without having a majority of the popular vote, because a mere plurality would cast the whole weight of a great State like New York and Pennsylvania in the scale for him. This was the case, indeed, with President Lincoln, who, though every Northern State gave its vote for him, obtained but a little over one-third of the entire popular vote cast, and thus, by his very election, affords the most conclusive proof of that independence of State action to trample on and destroy which he has devoted his official career.

These facts—the verification of which is within every one's reach—can leave no doubt as to the relative positions of the States to the Federal Government. The war in America, then, is not a war between a people and their Government. It is a war between States, in which the people who are called rebels obey the same and the only lawful authority which they knew and obeyed in time of peace. In no sense, therefore, except in the bitterness of hate which it has engendered, and the brutality by which it is marked can it be termed a civil war. Whether the causes of quarrel between the warring States justify so disastrous a mode of settlement, and with whom rests the responsibility of provoking it, are questions to be treated separately. Our object has been to direct the reader's attention to the true character of the war, and the broad distinction which must be drawn between men fighting in the name of constituted authority under which they were born and reared to manhood, and men who abjure that authority upon any pretext, whether ill or well founded. The latter are insurgents, and may be termed rebels until success has made their pretext good. The former are engaged in defending what is nearest and dearest to them, and engaged in the discharge of a duty which mankind honours as patriotism and loyalty. Let any man who loves home and country decide for himself which of these characters apply to the people of the Confederate States.

We have spoken of the United States as in the past, because that portion of them which still retain the name and the alliance which it designated have sacrificed to a mad fury the political theories and practices which were the life of the Union. Virtually they are now a huge consolidated despotism or democracy, which amounts to the same, and any description of the United States as they were cannot apply to them. If the world needed proofs of the injustice of their present undertaking, it might find them in the violation of every private and public right, in the falsification of all former professions and principles, and the glaring inconsistencies with the past which became necessary to initiate and prosecute it.

Pickwickian Threats.

THE deference felt for the great principles of national self-government, and for the action of the people, when supported by the imposing forms of state organization, is so powerful that "the universal practice and usage of the present century has," to use the expression of M. Thouvenel, "fully established the right of *de facto* Governments to recognition, when a proper case is made out for the decision of Foreign Powers." With each Power, undoubtedly, rests the exclusive right of judging for itself, independently of the parties engaged in the contest, of the existence of the conditions necessary to constitute a *de facto* Government, and of determining what it considers a proper case calling for its decision. Though, we admit, no precise time has been fixed upon by the general principles of international law when such a decision should be made by existing Governments, "the laws of equity," says M. Fourcix, one of the most eminent professors of international law (in his "*De la Reconnaissance Officielle des Etats Constitués de Fait*") "require that they should act friendly towards a new-born Government, and greet her as a sister entering into the great society of nations. A denial of recognition would be a disregard of all rules of equity and humanity, and would but sanction the power of brutal force to overrule law and right."

We do not pretend to deny that prudence may sometimes recommend not to hasten or precipitate a recognition, for history furnishes examples of Governments disappearing as soon as they were organized; but when a Government is firmly established and supported by the unanimous will of a people determined to endure all the hardships and to confront all the dangers of war, when that people has shown its capacity to oppose to an invading foe an army of upwards of 400,000 men—and such is the case with the Confederate States of America—there can be no possible excuse for refusing it the benefit of recognition, unless, perhaps, this recognition exposes the Government granting it to a war endangering its own safety. These premises are so self-evident that they need no comment. We will, therefore, proceed to examine whether, in extending to the Confederate States a recognition to which international usage and courtesy entitle them, England would incur any risk whatever of being drawn into a war with the United States.

A close examination of the diplomatic records of that country will satisfy the most timorous mind that no such danger is to be apprehended from the present Administration of Washington. These records will demonstrate most conclusively that, taking advantage of the well-known unwillingness of the European Powers, and especially of England, to disturb the peace of the world, Messrs. Lincoln and Seward have, from the outbreak of the American difficulties down to the present period, resorted to a policy of intimidation to check the friendly disposition of Europe towards the Confederate States. They will further prove that, notwithstanding the arrogant and insulting tone of their diplomatic intercourse with foreign Powers, they have invariably construed their threats in a Pickwickian sense, whenever any foreign Government put their hostile intentions to the test. As early as April 10, 1861, Mr. Seward had inaugurated this intimidation policy, which, it must be painfully confessed, has proved but too successful for the commercial interest of the world. His despatch, No. 2, bearing date April 10, to Mr. Adams, United States' Minister at London, says:—

You will, in no case, listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government, under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you should unhappily find her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called Seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly, in that case, that if they determine to recognize they may at the same time prepare to enter into alliance with the enemies of this Republic.

You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly entrenched in the confidence of their respective notions and of mankind.

Despatch No. 4, April 27, 1861, reads thus :—

When you shall have read the instructions at large which have been sent to you, you will hardly need to be told that these last remarks of his lordship's are by no means satisfactory to this Government. Her Britannic Majesty's Government is at liberty to choose whether it will retain the friendship of this Government, by refusing all aid and comfort to its enemies, now in flagrant rebellion against it, as we think the treaties existing between the two countries require; or whether the Government of her Majesty will take the *precarious benefit* of a different course.

You will lose no time in making known to her Britannic Majesty's Government, that the President regards the answer of his lordship as possibly indicating a policy that this Government would be obliged to deem injurious to its rights and derogating from its dignity.

Despatch No. 10.

Washington, May 21, 1861.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such an intercourse would not be the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial; and it might even be more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless, if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun; you will in any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British Government so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country.

It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents, or commissioners, officially.

A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. *No one of these proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States.*

The belligerent rights of the Confederates were recognized, and unofficial intercourse held with their commissioners, without Mr. Seward or Mr. Adams deeming it expedient to construe these instructions rigidly. We come now to the case of the Sumter.

Despatch No. 112, October 29, 1861, contains the following passages :—

In view of these facts, it becomes my duty to instruct you to inform the British Government that the President deeply regrets that Lord John Russell is altogether unable to give to our complaint a satisfactory solution.

When it is considered how important a part commerce plays among the interests of our country, it will be seen that the United States cannot consent that pirates engaged in destroying it shall receive shelter and supplies in the ports of friendly nations. It tends to the universal derangement of commerce when piracy is anywhere tolerated, and therefore its suppression is a common interest of all civilized countries. But if any Power fails to preserve this interest, and to act for the common welfare, then it is easy to see that each State must provide for its own security, *at whatever cost*, and however it may disturb the general harmony of the commercial world.

This Government will consider how its safety must be secured.

This threat having failed to produce the desired effect—that is to say, the refusal of shelter to the Confederate war vessels—England was favoured with another communication of Mr. Seward, No. 122, bearing date November 11, in which he says :—

Great Britain, as we are given to understand by the answer of Earl Russell, allows these pirates to visit her ports, and stay at their own pleasure, receiving supplies without restriction.

We find it difficult to believe that the Government of Great Britain has constituted this exception with full deliberation. I intimated in a preceding despatch, No. 112, a hope that the subject might be reconsidered *before it should be necessary for us to consider what remedies we can adopt to prevent the evils which must result to our commerce from the policy thus indicated by Great Britain.*

Mr. Seward had time to devise remedies; but he does not appear to have thought it prudent to apply any, except new, and equally harmless, threats.

The incidents accompanying the seizure of Messrs. Slidell and Mason are fresh in the mind of every one. No one has forgotten the eulogies passed upon the bravery displayed by Captain Wilkes in attacking an unarmed vessel; every one recollects the resolutions of Congress endorsing the brutal assault of that officer, voting to that would-be hero a sword of honour, and recommending to the President not to surrender the persons of the commissioners; the

official endorsement of the act by the Federal Secretary of the Navy; all of which proceedings were immediately followed by a prompt retraction and shuffling apologies, so soon as it became apparent that Great Britain could not be overawed by threats.

But is that all? Similar arrogant threats were made to the Netherlands Government, with regard to the shelter accorded to the Confederate flag in the port of Curaçao; threats followed by like retraction when proved unavailing. The Sumter having been received in the port of Curaçao, and permitted to coal there, Mr. Seward addresses the Government of the Netherlands as follows, in his despatch to Mr. Pike, No. 15, dated Washington, August 15, 1861 :—

You are instructed to bring this matter immediately to the notice of the Government of the Netherlands. The subject of damages for so great a violation of the rights of the United States will be considered when we shall have properly verified the facts of the case. In the meantime, you will ask the Government of the Netherlands for any explanation of the transaction it may be able or see fit to give. You will further say that the Government of the United States, if the case thus stated shall prove to be correct, will expect, in view of the treaties existing between the two countries and the principles of the law of nations, as well as upon the ground of assurances recently received from the Government of the Netherlands, that it will disown the action of its authorities at Curaçao, and will adopt efficient means to prevent a recurrence of such proceedings hereafter. The United States will expect that the Governor of the Island of Curaçao will be promptly made to feel the severe displeasure of the Government of the Netherlands.

Despatch No. 24, October 4 :—

We therefore hope for satisfactory explanations. But, in any case, you will inform the Government of the Netherlands that the United States will expect them to visit the authorities of Curaçao with a censure so unreserved as will prevent the repetition of such injuries hereafter. An early resolution of the subject is *imperatively necessary*, in order that the Government may determine what is required for the protection of its national rights in the Dutch American ports.

Despatch No. 26, October 17, 1861 :—

With these remarks, I proceed to notice Baron Van Zulen's communication. You will reply to him that the United States *unreservedly* claim to determine for themselves absolutely the character of the Sumter. The United States regard that vessel as piratical, and the persons by whom she is manned and navigated as pirates.

The United States, therefore, cannot admit that the Sumter is a ship of war or a privateer, and so entitled to any privileges whatever, in either of those characters, in the port of Curaçao, nor can they debate any such subject with the Government of the Netherlands.

Should it determine to consider the Sumter otherwise, and not be able to place the conduct of the Governor-General at Curaçao in a better light than it has already done, it will become necessary to consider what means we can take to protect, in the ports of the Netherlands, national rights which cannot be surrendered or compromised.

To this extraordinary document, Mr. Van Zulen makes the following reply, October 29, 1861 :—

The Hague.

You regret that the Government of the King should have adopted the same treatment towards the war vessels of the Seceding States and those of the United States.

Without here entering into an extended discussion, rendered, moreover, almost superfluous by my two preceding communications, I shall merely permit myself, sir, in referring to their contents, to cause you to observe, that agreeably to the doctrine of the best publicists, neutrality imposes upon those nations which desire to enjoy its benefits a complete abstention from all that could establish a difference of treatment between the belligerent parties, and that this principle applies as well to the cases of civil war, or even of rebellion, as that of an ordinary war.

Your Government having expressed the desire that measures should be taken to *prevent a prolonged stay* in our ports of the Sumter or other vessels of war of the Seceding States, we have admitted the justice of the claim; *but these measures shall apply to both parties.*

What follows is almost incredible. In his despatch, No. 31, to Mr. Pike, dated November 11, Mr. Seward says :—

I learn from it that the Government of the Netherlands has made an order which will, it is hoped, practically prevent the recurrence of such countenance and favour to pirates in the ports of that State as we have heretofore complained of. *You will express to Baron Van Zulen our satisfaction with this proceeding.*

It is needless to cite further. The diplomatic notes interchanged between the United States and France, and Brazil; the voluminous diplomacy of Mr. Seward, from the first day of his taking office

to the present hour, all prove the same fact—a trembling fear of foreign intervention, concealed under boastful threats, which were no sooner uttered than retracted, whenever challenged to make them good, but which served the double purpose of amusing the morbid vanity of the mob at home, and of imposing, in too many cases, upon foreign credulity or timidity. It is impossible that the truth should have escaped the scrutinizing minds of Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston. It is, therefore, idle for the Government to withhold from the Southern States the benefits of recognition, upon the plea that it may involve England in a war with the United States.

Financial Prospects of the United States.

A MERCHANT, whom we will call Mr. Jones, finding himself going to the bad, unhesitatingly convened a meeting of his creditors, made a full disclosure of the state of his affairs, and paid a dividend of sixteen shillings and elevenpence three farthings in the pound. After completing this operation he began the world afresh, and gave a small order to a late creditor who had profusely complimented him upon his honourable conduct. To the surprise and disgust of Mr. Jones, he received a formal intimation that the proffered business was declined, except on the hard terms of cash on delivery. The illused gentleman partook himself to the manufacturer, and reminded him that he (Mr. Jones) was an honest man, and had paid sixteen shillings and elevenpence three farthings in the pound, and that Mr. Smith, whose reputation was not altogether untainted, and who had paid only one shilling and sixpence in the pound, had been trusted to a large amount by the firm which had refused him (Mr. Jones) a trifling accommodation. The manufacturer made a very logical reply to this appeal. "My dear sir, I am sure you are honest, and that you divided your last sixpence among your creditors. I have a very poor opinion of Mr. Smith's honesty, and I am convinced he made a lump of money out of his compromise with his creditors. Now, my dear sir, if we trusted you, your honesty would not pay our bills at maturity; whereas, though Mr. Smith is rather a shifty customer, since he has the means we have a fair prospect of compelling him to redeem his obligations."

The above passage from the unpublished history of commerce is, to a certain extent, applicable to the discussion now going on in reference to the financial position of the United States. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the threats of repudiation are no more to be regarded than the menaces of the New York press to whip all creation within a week after the South is subjugated, and the Southerners driven into the Gulf of Mexico, we come to the all-important question as to the ability of the United States to pay its creditors. Our line of argument is, we admit, extremely unpoetical, but, at least, it has the merit of being practical and substantial.

According to the statement just issued by Mr. Chase, the public debt of the United States amounted, on the 29th of May last, to 491,448,984 dollars; but this is one of those ingenious balance-sheets which may tell the truth as far as it goes, but does not tell the whole truth. Mr. Chase's account does not include a large amount of paper money authorized to be issued, and which, ere this, has been put into circulation; nor does it include the debts due to States for advances made in raising regiments; or the Government responsibilities in respect to uncompleted contracts; or the bounty money due to the soldiers on the termination of their service. We may, therefore, without indulging in unfounded speculation, assert, that when Mr. Fessenden, on the 6th inst., informed the Senate that the public debt, on July 1, would be 700,000,000 dollars, instead of exaggerating, he understated the indebtedness of the United States.

But we have before us only the first instalment of

the cost of the attempted subjugation of the South. The war is still going on, and its speedy termination, however desirable, is beyond the range of probability. As the war progresses, it increases in expensiveness, and the North is likely to be gratified by having a public debt vastly "bigger" than that venerable and greatly misunderstood institution—the National Debt of England. How the United States is to pay the debt it longs for, the friends of the North have not thought proper to inform us. When the question is asked, we are referred, in a blustering tone, to the English National Debt, and asked why the United States should not be able to bear a burden which has certainly not proved a hindrance to England, even if it has not, as some persons think, largely benefited her. We will endeavour to show that there is not the remotest analogy between the incidents, and therefore the results of the two cases; and this we may do in a single paragraph.

The English debt was of comparatively slow growth. In a single year the United States has contracted as heavy a debt as we did in a hundred years. The United States has mortgaged the property it may realize in the course of a century: England only spent from year to year her accumulated profits. The United States is engaged in the manufacture of paper money, which, at best, can only be regarded as drafts upon an uncertain future: England only used money actually in existence. The United States has her commerce paralyzed by the costly contest in which she is engaged: England, during the Continental war, did not suffer any loss of trade, but, on the contrary, by reason of her maritime supremacy, enjoyed a profitable monopoly of the commerce of the world; and, notwithstanding her enormous expenditure, instead of becoming poorer, her riches increased. We repeat, England spent her accumulated profits: the United States has spent, and is spending, her prospective profits.

We defy any one to indicate the whereabouts of the gold, or of the property convertible into gold, that is to redeem the United States' obligations. Sooner or later a financial collapse must take place; but we think it probable that, though the crash cannot by any possibility be ultimately averted, it may for some time be postponed. It is true the United States will not be able to get pecuniary assistance from abroad, because if any trust her integrity they are deterred from aiding her by the consciousness of her inability to meet her engagements; it is true that almost every steamer that leaves New York carries away a portion of her remaining and inadequate stock of bullion; it is true the financial bubble may burst at any moment: but it is not less true that the evil day may be put off, and national insolvency may be preceded by national pauperism.

There is a potent element of disturbance which we have not noticed. Besides the Government paper money, there is an unlimited issue of private bank paper money, which is, perhaps, more commercially valuable than the Government issues, because it is not made an enforced currency, but which is equally unrepresented by gold. At the most moderate estimate, the issue of private bank paper money is twice as great as the issue of Government paper money. Mr. Lincoln and his coadjutors view this with alarm, but their position is so critical that they dare not take any effective measures to check it. If this circulation of unredeemable private bank paper money does not precipitate the impending catastrophe, it will, when the fiat of national bankruptcy is struck, make the ruin felt in every homestead in the Union. The facts we are dealing with are indisputable, and the conclusions we deduce, however startling, must be, and are, endorsed by every financier in Europe.

The partisans of the North, who are as careful as the friends of the South not to invest in Federal securities, may twit us with the high price of United States' stocks and the depreciation of Confederate notes. But we reply, that the first is no proof of confidence or wealth, nor the latter of distrust. What is a citizen of the United States to do with his Treasury notes? He cannot purchase with them foreign merchandize. At home he cannot invest them in real property, for no man will part with his real property for inconvertible paper. There is no other

investment for him than the public stocks, and since the public stocks and the floating debt rest upon the same security, there is no objection to change the one for the other. This is the main cause of the buoyancy of the stocks—a buoyancy which, under the circumstances, affords no tangible ground for Federal rejoicing. The reason of the depreciation of the Confederate notes is, that the Confederate Government has not made them an enforced legal tender; and they have, therefore, fallen to their legitimate value. The avowed financial position of the South, however gloomy it may appear, is infinitely better than the unreal, inflated position of the North. The former is at the worst, and any change will be an improvement; the latter is placed in a false position, and must have a downfall. Or, to put it in homely language, the finance of the Confederate States is commercially honest, and the finance of the United States is a huge sham.

Amongst the desperate remedies of the North we may class the suggested duty on cotton. We do not mean that the proposed duty, or a much higher duty, would disable the Southern planter to cope with the Indian grower. Even if India had no more profitable production than cotton, a duty of 15 per cent. on the export of American cotton would scarcely place the Indian grower on an equality with his American competitors. But the absurdity is, that in this year of grace, 1862, when the principles of free trade are so well understood, it should be imagined that an export duty on produce increases the wealth of the country. It would, of course (supposing any cotton should be shipped under the control of the United States' Constitution) bring a revenue to the Government. But who pays the revenue? The foreign buyer? No. As Mr. Bright can well explain to his Northern friends, an export duty is a tax paid by the producer, not by the purchaser. Suppose American cotton was bartered for English iron, if an export duty of 5 per cent. was levied on cotton, 5 per cent. less iron would be given for a bale of cotton. Price is governed by demand and supply, and not by legislation. If the South were still an integral part of the Union the North would gain by a duty on cotton, because it would, virtually, be a tax levied on the South; and if the South had not left the Union the unfair burden would, no doubt, have been imposed. We may also remark, that though the duty would be a tax upon the producer, it would to some extent impede the development of the cotton trade, inasmuch as enhanced price diminishes demand.

It is often assumed that the financial position of the United States will incline the North to put an end to the war; but it should be remembered that the North has no other hope of escape from bankruptcy than by conquering the South, and confiscating the property of 8,000,000 of people. It is an utterly desperate chance, but preferable to no chance at all. It needs great moral courage to meet a difficulty that can be temporarily postponed. If the recognition of Southern independence would pay the debts of the Union, it would, perhaps, induce the termination of hostilities, but inasmuch as the failure to subdue the South means national and individual ruin, we cease to wonder at the continuance of the hopeless and wicked struggle. A financial crisis may necessitate peace; but so long as the ultimately inevitable collapse can be avoided, the enormous indebtedness of the United States is a strong and irresistible incentive to carry on the war.

THE reader will find elsewhere a most interesting summary of the railway statistics of the Confederate States. It is copied from the *United States' Economist*, a Northern publication of established reputation, in which it appeared some eighteen months since. Several important links have since been completed, even since the outbreak of the war, but not of sufficient extent to materially affect the figures given, which may be relied upon as minutely accurate. From this the reader will learn, with surprise, that not only does the South compare favourably with most European countries in the extent of railway constructions, but it has actually surpassed its

Northern competitor within the last eleven years. The reason why securities of this kind have occupied so small a place in the financial market of the Northern States and of Europe is that, with comparatively few exceptions, the Southern railways were not built with borrowed capital, but with the local subscriptions of the districts which they traverse, and the self-imposed taxation of the cities which form their principal termini.

GENERAL Halleck's famous despatch upon the evacuation of Corinth stated:—

For miles out of the town the roads are filled with arms, haversacks, &c., which have been thrown away by his fleeing troops.

We now present our readers with an account sanctioned by the Federal Government:—

[Approved by the Military Supervisor.]

Special Despatch to the *New York Tribune*.

CORINTH, Saturday, May 31, 1862.

Via CAIRO, June 1, 1862.

Yesterday morning our reserve divisions were brought up, and our entire front moved forward, the men having two days' rations in their haversacks. During the day we kept up a tremendous cannonading, shelling the woods furiously. The rebels hardly showed themselves, but replied feebly with a few shots.

Last night we threw up breastworks along the entire front, and slept on our arms within 1000 yards of the enemy's breastworks. At six o'clock this morning General Pope entered Corinth without the slightest resistance, and took possession.

At the same time the Mayor, who had come out on a different road, met General Nelson, and surrendered the town to him.

There were no inhabitants remaining except women, children, and old men, the rebels succeeding in carrying away absolutely everything except a few provisions, which, with the warehouses and railroad depot, were burned before we arrived. They took every invalid from the hospital, and every letter from the post-office. They did not leave a single gun, and had been moving away troops more than six days, and stores two weeks.

The most of the troops had gone toward Grand Junction. The rebel rear-guard, under Bragg, 10,000 strong, marched southward at midnight. Citizens assert positively that Beauregard was there in person, and left with it.

All concern that never more than 60,000 troops were there at once, and usually much less.

The rebel fortifications were five miles long, from the Memphis and Charleston to the Mobile and Ohio Road; but they were much weaker than we supposed. They could have been carried by storm any time. The few prisoners we have are deserters from the rebel rear-guard. There is great mortification in our army.

I have these details from one who was there in person.

WE have, in another part of our impression, reproduced from a paper published under Northern supervision, an account of the seizure of Judge Carmichael. The Federal army seems determined that the world shall know its lawlessness and brutality. We will not discuss the necessity or legality of the imprisonment of Judge Carmichael; but why arrest him when in his court-house, and in the discharge of his judicial functions? Why not have taken him when he entered, or when he left the court-house? We can assign no other reason than the desire of the military to show their contempt for all civil authority. How can we explain the brutality? Why was the defenceless judge knocked about the head with revolvers? Such conduct can only have been prompted by savage ferocity. But what can be expected of an army that tolerates the presence of a General Butler? If the soldiery are already brutalized, how will they be when the war has been continued for some time longer? What vent will be found for such licentiousness when the war is over? The people of the United States may then find that the dire curse designed for the South, comes home to roost.

THE *Patriot* of yesterday contains a paragraph announcing that the three French naval divisions, viz., the squadron of the Coast of North America, the squadron of the Gulf of Mexico, and that of the West Indies, are to be organized into one powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Julian de la Graviere. The paragraph, which bears the signature usually supposed to indicate semi-official communications, concludes with the suggestive remark:—

The concentration in American waters of a fleet of sufficient power to protect the French interests there, is naturally accounted for by the possible contingencies arising from the war between the North and the South, as well as the state of the Mexican question.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

THE TUNE OF DIXIE.

Norfolk, May 5, 1861.

We arrived here at daylight this morning in two special trains, after nearly twenty hours' continued but slow travelling. Our conveyances were again, as for the greater part of our many days' journey, cattle-cars, or box-cars, as they are termed; but these had been well aired and cleaned, a sort of rough benches fitted into them, and the sliding side-doors kept open, so that our situation, if not comfortable, was at least endurable. One passenger car was attached to each train for the officers and sick, of which latter we have already a goodly number, owing to the sudden change of climate, and of water and food, though no serious cases. The officers, for the most part, remained in the box-cars among the men, sharing their discomforts, and assisting in turning them into subjects of merriment.

The scenes on the way were a repetition of those we had witnessed in Georgia and Tennessee. Hordes of girls to greet us wherever the train stopped for wood and water, and gifts of flowers, cakes, and early fruit by the enthusiastic fair. Our "boys" have composed a set of doggerel rhymes to the tune of "Dixie," commemorative of the recent accession of Virginia and Tennessee to the Confederacy, and especially complimentary to the former. This they sing on every appropriate occasion, with marked effect upon the hearts of the Virginian beauties. Such was the popularity of the song at Norfolk, where it originated, that some considerate persons bethought themselves of having it printed on little slips of paper, as "The Song of Dixie, sung by the 3rd Regiment of Alabama Volunteers, on their passage through Virginia." These slips have been plentifully distributed on the road, and, I doubt not, will be preserved as historical relics, when the pretty girls who welcomed us shall have become grandmothers, and relate to the wondering little ones about the times when the first troops of Confederate volunteers came from the far South to fight the Yankees on Virginian soil.

Oh, have you heard the joyful news?

Virginia does old Abe refuse,

Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!

And Tenne-see and brave Kentuck

Will show the North their Southern pluck,

Hurrah! hurrah!

and so on, through a dozen stanzas, each of which ends with the patriotic refrain—

"We 'll die for old Virginia."

It is marvellous with what wild-fire rapidity this tune of "Dixie" has spread over the whole South. Considered as an intolerable nuisance when first the streets re-echoed it from the repertoire of wandering minstrels, it now bids fair to become the musical symbol of a new nationality, and we shall be fortunate if it does not impose its very name on our country. Whether by a coincidence simply accidental, or from some of those mysterious causes which escape our limited intelligence, its appearance in its present form was the knell of the American Republic, and as such it seems to have been instantaneously received by the masses in the South everywhere. What magic potency is there in those rude, incoherent words, which lend themselves to so many parodies, of which the poorest is an improvement on the original? What spell is there in the wild strain that it should be made to betoken the stern determination of a nation resolved to achieve its independence? I cannot tell.

Most persons believe it to be of recent origin, first introduced during the last Presidential contest by an "Ethiopian minstrel's" troop performing in New Orleans. This is only partially true; its real origin is of much older date. Those who have travelled much on Western rivers must often have heard it, in various forms, among the firemen and deck-hands of the river steamers. For years the free negroes of the North, especially those employed on board the steamers on the Western rivers making periodical

voyages South, have cheered their labours with this favourite song:—

I wish I was in Dixie;

In Dixie's land

I'll take my stand,

And live and die in Dixie.

Away, away,

Away down South in Dixie—

expressed the negro's preference for his more genial and sunny native clime, the land which is the negro's true home, and the only land where he is happy and contented, despite the morbid imaginings of ill-informed or misguided philanthropists.

The word "Dixie" is an abbreviation of "Mason and Dixon's line," as the line separating Maryland and Pennsylvania is called, and which, both geographically and rhetorically, has expressed the Northern frontier of the South ever since the line was drawn by the surveyors whose names it immortalizes. Years before I heard the tune I have heard negroes in the North use the word "Dixie" in that sense, as familiarly as we do the more lengthy phrase from which it is derived.

ON THE SCENE OF ACTION.

Norfolk, May 7, 1861.

There can be no doubt that this is to be the field on which we must win our spurs in the country's service. I have accordingly seized with avidity the opportunity afforded me by a friend on the staff of the commanding-general, for obtaining an intelligent comprehension of what must unquestionably be the first battle-field of the revolution. A small military map, traced from the latest United States' Coast Surveys, has been of material assistance to me in this respect. I now more fully understand the hot haste with which we were summoned hither. My anxious prayer is that the enemy may allow us the time for those defences without which we must fall a useless sacrifice. On the other hand, I marvel at the imbecility which caused the precipitate abandonment of so important a place.

It now appears that Commander Prendergrast was frightened away by a *ruse* which almost passes credence that it should have produced such results. Mr. Malone, the President of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad, had heavy trains passing over that road all the day, and until late into the night of the 23rd ult. The noise of these trains could be plainly heard at the Navy Yard, as also the cheers which rent the air when each of them arrived. By the Federals they were supposed to convey large masses of troops, while, in truth, they were employed, and had been run purposely, to create that impression, and prevent any closer inspection into the condition of the town. All communication between the latter and the Navy Yard had for several days past been prevented by the authorities, aided by a Vigilance Committee truly deserving the name. Norfolk, however, besides its own citizens, armed as best they could, had at the time but 500 troops, who had hastened from Petersburg to its assistance. On the same night the powder magazine, at some distance from the yard, had been surprised and seized. This corroborated the fears of the Federals that they would be attacked, and some show of placing obstructions in the channel of the river inspired the further fear that their retreat would soon be cut off. I have the testimony of my own eyes to the panic with which they abandoned the place, without even giving themselves time for its destruction. The Merrimac, which, with immense stores of powder on her, they set on fire and scuttled, is already raised, and the ammunition in her hold is uninjured. She sank before the fire reached below the gundeck, and her hull and machinery are as serviceable as ever. The old frigate United States is also but little injured. None but the sheds, officers' quarters, and a few of the minor buildings, are consumed by the flames. All that is essential for our use remains. The explosion of the dry-dock is said to have been prevented by one of their own men, who managed, in the confusion of departure, to get away and turn the water on, thus extinguishing the train. When we, in turn, must abandon the place, which, in all probability, will be before long, we shall set about

the work of destruction more deliberately, and more successfully. For this we are now preparing, even while working day and night at the defences; for it is almost too much to hope that the Federals, recovered from their panic, will allow us to complete the latter. Much of the rich booty has already been removed to Richmond. Some 1100 naval guns of various sizes, and considerable stores of provisions, and ammunition still remains, including some 30,000 shells. When all shall have been removed to a place of safety, I shall breathe more freely.

At present I can see nothing to prevent the Federal fleet from returning. Elizabeth River might be hotly contested at Sewall's Point and Craney Island; but at the former we are only just building a battery, and at the latter we have only a few guns. Both will be tenable in about a month, but not sooner. The approach by land is more difficult, but yet practicable. Norfolk is enclosed, as by a pair of forceps, between two deep, marshy creeks, or rather tide-water inlets, —Tanner's Creek and Broad Creek—the heads of which are only one and a-half miles apart. The bridge which spans the former is ready for the torch at the first signal of alarm. The only other practicable road to Norfolk, when this is burned, lies between the heads of the two creeks; and there it is now our first and most pressing duty to erect breastworks—also a work requiring, with the utmost zeal and diligence, at least four or five weeks. If the enemy grant us that time we may defy him by land and by water. It will be a wonderful good fortune on our part, and unpardonable stupidity on his, if he does.

Several regiments from Georgia, Louisiana, and North Carolina, have joined us here already, making in all about 4000 men. A recent copy of the *New York Herald* estimates our number at 20,000, upon the authority of a correspondent purporting to write from here.

Reviews.

MR. TROLLOPE ON SECESSION. *

MR. DICKENS very felicitously makes Weller the elder advise the immortal Pickwick to avoid the unpleasantness of incarceration for debt by a voluntary exile, suggesting America as a place of asylum, for many good reasons, but especially that the sojourner could employ his leisure in writing a book on the Americans, which, particularly if spiced with abuse, would be sure to sell, and pay the author's travelling expenses, and leave him a handsome margin of profit. In the English literary market there is not a safer investment than a Transatlantic journey. We admit it is extremely difficult to produce a good book on America, seeing that the accomplishment of such a task needs comprehensiveness of conception, combined with the rare faculty of giving the reader a vast perspective in a few lines; and also the somewhat opposite qualities of a cool, analytical judgment, and a warm, appreciative imagination. It is, then, idle to expect many first-rate books on America. On the other hand, from the inexhaustiveness of the subject, and the intense and mirth-provoking individualism of the United States' people, which passes with foreigners for semi-insane eccentricity, it is next to impossible for any one, though unblest with genius, and possessing mental endowments below mediocrity, to produce an absolutely unreadable book on America. Just as a commonplace bust or an ordinary engraving of Napoleon the Great is worth a glance, because artistic inferiority cannot veil the pre-eminent and speaking individuality of the original; so, in reading about America and the Americans, there is nothing downright wearying in the repetition even when the beaten track is followed by writers of very inferior calibre.

We are not surprised that Mr. Trollope should have determined to write "a book about the United States;" and, from his antecedents, we might have expected an amusing, though not a profound work. Curiously enough, he resolved to treat "on the nature and operation of their political arrangements, which had produced the social absurdities" described by his mother thirty years ago, although he confesses his inability to perform the task, truly observing, it "is a work which some man will do who has secured a right by education, study, and success, to rank himself among the political sages of his age." In the two volumes before

* *North America*, By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Two Vols. London Chapman and Hall.

us, the author has demonstrated, in a wonderful manner, the accuracy of the gauge he has made of his own powers, and of his utter incapacity to deal with political questions.

Being resolved to temporarily forsake his natural line of business—literary genteel comedy—and to essay the part of a political sage, we cannot understand why he should regret the occurrence of the contest which at present engages the attention of the world. Is it possible to conceive a better opportunity for judging of the soundness and value of political institutions, than when they are undergoing a fiery trial? The endurance and seaworthiness of a ship is tested in the raging storm, not when the weather is fair, and the waves unruffled. But, assuredly, “a man who professes to use a light pen, and to manufacture his article for the use of general readers,” displays a want of taste, and we must add, of that generous sympathy which is the prevailing element of civilized humanity, in writing lightly about a country in the cruel throes of intestine warfare. We do not intend to offer any criticism upon Mr. Trollope’s description of places and of the domestic manners of the people. They are often caricatures, yet on the whole, worthy of the “light pen,” professing to “manufacture for the general reader.” In the midst of carnage and devastation, we are in no mood to enjoy the humorous sketching of a “light pen.” Under no circumstances, should we be pleased with Mr. Trollope’s coarse attack upon the manners of Northern ladies. His apostrophe to Niagara is very well in its way, and is ingeniously made use of to inform the “general reader” that Mr. Anthony Trollope is not to be confounded with the herd of bookmakers who gather knowledge in the British Museum, and vegetate in suburban lodgings; but that he has been to Florence, to Rome, to Paris, to the “peaks of the Alps,” to Switzerland, to the Tropics, and to the Blue Mountains of Jamaica; but at this juncture, we have something grander than the Falls of Niagara to engage our attention, and an addition to the thousand and one accounts of them is obtrusive, even though it is in itself a fair specimen of “light pen” sketching.

Mr. Trollope’s political views are so singularly devoid of originality, that we should not have thought it worth while to answer them; but being covertly introduced into a work not professing to be a treatise on Secession, we deem it proper to expose their fallaciousness. We shall not trespass on the patience of our readers by noticing all our author’s errors, but confine our attention to a few of the most prominent of them.

In the general introduction, and in the third chapter of the second volume, the right of Secession is discussed but not very fully. Mr. Trollope denies, *in toto*, the constitutional right of Secession.

Nobody, no single Southerner, can really believe that the Constitution of the United States, as formed in 1787, or altered since, intended to give to the separate States the power of seceding as they pleased. It is surely useless going through long arguments to prove this, seeing that it is absolutely proved by the absence of any clause giving such license to the separate States.

Now it happens that, besides the partizans of the North, no one disputes the legality of Secession. The more the Constitution of the United States, and the history thereof, is studied, the more apparent becomes the fact that in entering into a Federal compact the sovereign rights of the separate States were solemnly guaranteed and reserved. Irrespective of this solemn guarantee and reservation, the very essence and meaning of Federation is a compact entered into and maintained by Sovereign independent States. It is absurd to assert that Sovereign States rebel, or are revolutionary, because they withdraw from a political alliance with other Sovereign States. Against whom did the Confederate States rebel? If the answer is, against the United States—and accepting Mr. Lincoln’s doctrine, that the Southern States are yet an integral part of the Union—we are forced to the rather strange conclusion that the Southern States are in rebellion against themselves. Mr. Trollope is loud in his advocacy of the right of revolution, in order to drown any remonstrance against his assertion of the rebellious character of Secession. The right of revolution is indeed necessary for any possible defence of the North. To bring back by force the seceded States into the Union, the North has remorsefully trampled on, and in every way violated, the Constitution. Mr. Trollope will tell us that such proceedings were indispensable, in consequence of the rebellious proceedings of the South; that revolution could only be met by revolution. Did not Mr. Trollope perceive that he was treading on dangerous ground when he opposed the right of Secession, because of “the absence of any such clause giving such license to the separate State?” It is at least quite as strong an argument in favour of Secession that there is no clause providing for action in the event of Secession; and that the Constitution is so framed that Secession cannot be opposed without vio-

lating the Constitution. Nay, according to the law of all civilized countries, an act not punishable under some existing law, is lawful. If Mr. Trollope were as astute as he is smart, and as unprejudiced as he is honest, he could not fail to perceive that the Constitution of the United States assumes the right of Secession. The most rabid Northerner cannot dispute that before the Constitution of the United States was accepted by the States, the States were independent Sovereignities, at liberty to accept or reject the Federal compact. We presume that Mr. Trollope, though he “manufactures for the general reader,” is too conscientious not to have read the debates in Convention when the Constitution was being framed by the delegates, and that he has also made himself familiar with the ordinances of the several States by which they accepted the Constitution. In Convention the great battle and contention was to preserve the sovereign independence of the several States, and the amendments and the declarations of the several States all evinced a similar anxiety. Mr. Trollope cannot say that the States, at the formation of the Union, imagined that they were giving up their sovereign independence. A clause giving license for Secession was not inserted in the Constitution, because it was unnecessary, seeing that the sovereign rights of the States were reserved; and, further, it was tacitly but unmistakably acknowledged by the absence of any provision to oppose it.

The next point to which we refer is the opinion expressed by Mr. Trollope, that the South was fully prepared for Secession, that pro-Southern Presidents had unduly stored arms and ammunition in the South, and that Mr. Buchanan “sent military materials to the South with the self-acknowledged purpose of using them against the Union.”

I am not aware that Jefferson Davis is a traitor; but that Buchanan is or was a traitor admits, I think, of no doubt. Under him, and with his connivance, rebellion was allowed to make its way. Under him and by his officers, arms, and ships, and men and money, were sent away from those points at which it was known they would be needed if it were intended to put down the coming rebellion, and to those points at which it was known that they would be needed if it were intended to foster the coming rebellion.

That Secession was anticipated some day, we do not deny. It was even advocated in the North. European statesmen foresaw that the huge and incongruous Republic could not always hold together. Mr. Trollope himself must have looked forward to a division, for he frankly admits that there will be ultimately a Southern, Western, and Northern Union. But we do not believe that the leaders of Southern Secession anticipated separation from the Union in 1860. It was precipitated by political intrigues, we might almost have said, by a political accident. When the proximate cause of the formation of the Confederate States is known, its insignificance will give rise to universal astonishment. But be this as it may, it is untrue, it is a dishonest ignoring of palpable facts to affirm that the South was prepared for war with the North. Had the South prepared a fleet to protect her forts and commerce? No. Had she furnished herself with artillery and small arms for carrying on a war? No. Had she erected powder mills, and established foundries? No. The assertion is utterly false. Never was a nation involved in a war so unexpectedly, as was the Confederate States. If they anticipated Secession in 1860, we may rather charge them with culpable negligence, and unwise credulity in confiding in the constitutional integrity of the North, instead of putting themselves into such a state of defence as to secure their independence against attack. If the South had been prepared for war, the North could not have entered into the contest.

Mr. Trollope displays the most unmitigated ignorance with respect to the wealth of the South. We will quote a few passages to show that “unmitigated ignorance” is a mild term to apply to such monstrous fallacies:—

No doubt the North had done much for the South;—had earned money for it; had fed it;—and, moreover, in a great measure, fostered all its bad habits. It had not only been generous to the South, but over indulgent.

It must, I think, be conceded that the Gulf States have not suffered at all by their connection with the Northern States; but in lieu of any such suffering they owe all their national greatness to the Northern States; that they have been lifted up by the commercial energy of the Atlantic States, and by the agricultural prosperity of the Western States, to a degree of national consideration and respect through the world at large which never could have belonged to them standing alone.

The Tropics can produce; but the men from the North still sow and reap, and garner and enjoy.

There is much more of such assertion, including predictions of the decadence of the South when Secession is accomplished, that we do not think it worth while to reproduce. We confess we are surprised that even an author who professes to manufacture for the general reader, should have fabricated such ridiculous falsehoods, especially when there was a host of United States’ official documents to refute them. The South has produced food enough for her own consumption, and con-

tributed to the supply of the Northern deficiency. The wealth of the North has been created by the South. In a paper we published in our seventh number, upon the productiveness of the South, it was shown, from calculations based upon United States’ official documents, that of grains which constitute food the North and West, allowing for the difference of population, produced in 1850 nearly 50 per cent. less than the South; that the total agricultural products of the South (not including cotton) was 498,030,077 dollars, and of the North and West 541,663,717 dollars, being about a dollar a head in favour of the South; the cotton crop in 1859 was worth 233,500,000 dollars; in that year the total exports of the United States amounted to 278,392,080 dollars, of which 188,693,496 dollars were of Southern origin; that the amount of Northern manufactures sold in the South reached 240,000,000 dollars; and that in 1850 the value of Southern manufactures amounted to 164,579,937 dollars. The North has been fostered by the South. We cannot explain what is meant by the North sowing and reaping in the South, but we fully appreciate the “garner and enjoy.” Hence this wicked war. Because the South is rich and enriches the North, the North is willing to risk all things, and to resign social and political freedom, to subjugate her. Had the South been poor, the North, which Mr. Trollope describes as a dollar worshipping community, would not have warred against Secession. Mr. Trollope himself, with incredible inconsistency, thus writes:—

The South and West are both agricultural producing regions, desirous of sending cotton and corn to foreign countries, and of receiving back foreign manufactures on the best terms. But the North is a manufacturing country; a poor manufacturing country, as regards excellence of manufacture; and, therefore, the more anxious to foster its own growth by protective laws.

With some parts of Mr. Trollope’s chapter on “The Causes of the War,” we entirely concur. He admits fully and unreservedly the inherent differences of the people.

It would have been surprising had they not desired Secession. Secession of one kind, a very practical Secession, had already been forced upon them by circumstances. They had become a separate people, dis severed from the North by habits, morals, institutions, pursuits, and every conceivable difference in their modes of thought and action. They still spoke the same language, as do Austria and Prussia; but beyond the tie of language they had no bond, but that of a meagre political Union in the Congress at Washington.

Is it not, then, madness, and worse than madness, to attempt to hold together people so widely separated? Further, our author says, the contest between the sections has been going on for thirty years, “and almost always to the detriment of the South;” that the South has, “in truth, been the losing party as regards national power;” that “when Mr. Lincoln was elected, the South knew its day was over;” that “an evil day was coming on the Southern politicians, and it behoved them to be prepared;” and that “as part of the Union they were too weak to hold their own if once their political *finesse* should fail them. That day came upon them, not unexpected, in 1860, and therefore they cut the cable.” Entertaining such views, it passes our comprehension how Mr. Trollope can assert that Secession was not justified. He tells us, and it is perfectly true, that for thirty years the South has done its utmost to keep in the Union, and that the cable was cut only when the last effort was frustrated. Are we to be told that it was the duty of the South—of 8,000,000 of the Anglo-Saxon race, inhabiting a country of more than 800,000 square miles—to submit to political annihilation?

And since Mr. Trollope thinks the United States must some day be divided, we should like to know if he can conceive a more fitting opportunity than when the whole of a section is unanimous in demanding independence; and when the only choice lies between Secession and political serfdom?

Mr. Trollope’s opinions on negro slavery will shock ultra abolitionists.

The abolitionists hold that the negro is the white man’s equal. I do not. I see, or think that I see, that the negro is the white man’s inferior through laws of nature; that he is not mentally fit to cope with white men—I speak of the full-blooded negro—and that he must fill a position simply servile. But the Abolitionist desires him to be the white man’s equal. But yet, when he has him at his elbow, he treats him with a scorn which even the negro can hardly endure.

Charming pictures are drawn for you of the negro in a state of Utopian bliss, owning his own hoe and eating his own hog. But the enfranchised negro has always thrown away his hoe, has always eaten any man’s hog but his own,—and has too often sold his daughter for a dollar when any such market has been open to him.

Everybody knows that “Abolition, in truth, is a political cry.” The North hates and loathes the black race, and provided the South had submitted to political dependence, and been contented to fill the pockets of the North, the dollar worshipping people would not have cared if the South had been foolish enough and wicked enough to maltreat the slaves in the way set forth by Mrs. Stowe. In no respect was slavery a cause of the war.

In a chapter on the army of the North, we are treated to an abstract of the report made to the House of Representatives touching Government contracts. Such complete rottenness, such wholesale, unblushing speculation, is almost incredible. Passing by the cases of Messrs. Comstock and Starback, who only swindled the Government to the extent of £6,000 or £7,000, we come to the remarkable history of Mr. George D. Morgan, brother-in-law of Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy. This person retired from the grocery trade and became the Government agent for purchasing vessels. It was not his fault that he knew nothing about ships or their value; but there were numerous officials who were competent to discharge the duties assumed by the ex-grocer, only the ex-grocer happened to be the brother-in-law of the Secretary of the Navy. In five months Mr. Morgan managed to mulct the Government of £20,000, besides paying fabulous prices for ships, and, it is probable, getting tips from the owners. Mr. Trollope unhesitatingly expresses an opinion that Mr. Welles shared the plunder. Indeed, the Committee say in their report, they "do not find in this transaction the less to censure in the fact that this arrangement between the Secretary of the Navy and Mr. Morgan was one between brothers-in-law." Yet Mr. Welles did not resign, nor was he dismissed.

The case of Cummings, the friend of Mr. Cameron, Secretary-at-War, is truly sensational. He was entrusted with £400,000, and bought selected herrings and ships at the vendors' prices; amused himself by paying £4 8s. for carbines that had been twice sold by the Government as useless for 14s. each, and finally forgot to mention, in his accounts, a little balance of £28,000. Mr. Cameron resigned his office, but he was not disgraced; as a compliment to Russia, he was appointed Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

General Fremont, through the agency of a person named Beard, outwitted the doings of the friends of Messrs. Welles and Cameron. Mr. Trollope recites a long string of offences and remarks:—"After that, who will believe all the money went into Beard's pocket? Why should General Fremont have committed every conceivable breach of order against his Government, merely with the view of favoring such a man as Beard?" The same General Fremont is now in high command; and, our author remarks, "is as probable a candidate as any other that I could name for the next Presidency." Is it at all wonderful that the South should shrink from political contact with and submission to a Government so corrupt that a man guilty of speculation and the betrayal of public trust is regarded as a likely candidate for the Presidency?

In a chapter on "The Constitution" the political corruption is again referred to:—

The very word "politician" is foul and unsavory throughout the States, and means rather a political blackleg than a political patriot. It is useless to blink this matter in speaking of the politics and policy of the United States. The corruption of the various politicians of the nation stinks aloud in the nostrils of all men. It behoves the country to look to this.

And yet the Constitution that has fostered, and still fosters, such corruption is held up as an object of envy.

But in the States a system of government has been produced under a written Constitution, in which no Englishman can disbelieve and which every Frenchman must envy.

Mr. Trollope has certainly very little knowledge of French character, if he imagines that that proud and honourable nation would submit to a corrupt and degrading Government. As to the sympathy of Englishmen, it is sufficient to remark that the working of the United States' Constitution has made us intensely conservative, and the idea of an extended franchise utterly distasteful.

Mr. Trollope denounces the unconstitutional proceedings of the Lincoln Government, but still he is sanguine enough to hope that the people of the United States will shortly be restored to the enjoyment of those social and political liberties of which they have been so recklessly deprived. We do not sympathize with these anticipations. When a nation, to preserve its independence, sorrowfully and for a time gives up its social and political rights to strengthen the hands of the Executive we are bound to suppose that when the danger is past the sway of the constitution will be restored. But the United States has sold her freedom for the purpose of trampling on the freedom of another people. Instead of sorrowfully submitting to the gagging of the press, the despotic embargo on all expression of opinion, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*—the bulwark of personal immunity from tyrannical arrest—the Lincoln despotism was hailed with enthusiasm. It was evident, too, from the very commencement of the war, that King Mob had decreed the downfall of the civil authority. The army of the United States is drawn from the governing classes, from the electors of the Government. Well, how did the army comport itself towards the civil power? Why it is notorious that the officers, who, be it remembered, in

the United States' army are on a social equality with the privates, missed no opportunity of manifesting their contempt for members of Congress. Or look at the conduct of Federal Generals; how constantly they have assumed a military dictatorship, and issued edicts contrary to the law of the United States, and infringing on the rights of the President. Or look at the case of General Fremont. We cannot suppose that the Lincoln Government willingly bestowed a high and responsible command upon an officer who had shamefully and notoriously abused his public trust. But King Mob and the army are one; and King Mob thinks none the worse of an officer because his hands are fouled with gross speculation. We do not say the contempt for the United States' Government is unmerited; but, be that as it may, we cannot ignore the fact that, virtually, the United States is under military domination. If the subjugation of the South could be effected, the army, flushed with victory, would be little inclined to give up its authority. And when it is manifested that the 800,000 square miles of territory, and the 8,000,000 of the Anglo-Saxon race cannot be conquered and held in base servitude, the disappointed mob will find an outlet for their rage in subjugating law and order at home. We do not predict the perpetuation of military despotism, but we are convinced that many years must elapse, and terrible and humiliating sufferings be endured, before liberty, so wantonly outraged, will again smile on the unhappy country.

Even with regard to the finances of the United States Mr. Trollope is hopeful. We will not enter into a discussion as to the willingness of the country to pay its debts; we prefer looking to its ability. The debt is not only large, but it has attained its present dimensions in a wonderfully short time. Mr. Chase has put forth a statement that the public debt on May 29, 1862, amounted to 491,448,982 dollars. Assuming this account, as far as it goes, to be correct we must bear in mind that it does not include 44,120,000 dollars of paper money in hand, and which, ere this, has been issued. Then there are the current obligations to contractors, and to the States for advances made in raising regiments. It was stated in the Senate by Mr. Hensenden, after Mr. Chase's account had appeared, that the Government debt would, on July 1, amount to 700,000,000 dollars, and even to this indebtedness we must add the promised bounties to the soldiers. It was not altogether an idle boast of the *New York Herald*, that the United States spend as much in one year as Great Britain spends in a century. And this is one reason that makes a comparison between the indebtedness of this country and of the United States fallacious. Besides, our money was spent in foreign wars, and our trade was not impaired, but, on the contrary, we became the carriers of the world. And further, England could look forward to peace without diminished resources. Not so the United States. Suppose the South conquered; the North could not hold her conquest without a large army of occupation; for it is now clear, even to the North, that instead of Union sentiment in the South, there is only bitter hostility. Nor will the independence of the South give any immediate help to the North, in respect to its pecuniary burden. The monopoly of Southern trade is gone for ever. There is no chance of Europe being made to pay the duty on cotton that has so vauntingly and angrily been proposed, because Southern cotton will not find its way to Northern ports, and it will be many years before international animosity has sufficiently subsided to allow the North her natural share of Southern commerce. Besides Mr. Trollope, we do not suppose there are ten sane Europeans who think there is any other prospect for the United States but national insolvency.

We will conclude by quoting a very eccentric passage in reference to slavery, and which would be laughable if it were not horrible:—

I am no abolitionist. * * * There are the slaves, and I know they cannot be abolished, neither they nor their chains; but, for myself, I will not willingly join my lot with them. I do not wish to have dealings with the African negro either as a free man or as a slave, if I can avoid them, believing that his employment by me, in either capacity, would lead to my own degradation.

To this is added an explanatory note, but which explains nothing:—

In thus speaking of the African negro, I do not venture to despise the work of God's hands. That He has made the negro for His own good purpose, as He has the Esquimaux, I am aware. And I am aware that it is my duty, as it is the duty of us all, to see that no injury be done to him, and, if possible, to assist him in his condition. When I declare that I desire no dealings with the negro, I speak of him in the position in which I now find him, either as a free servant or a slave. In either position he impedes the civilization and the progress of the white man.

Avoid the negro! Let him not come near you either as slave or free labourer! He is God's creature, so is the serpent. Treat the negro kindly, but treat him as the leper with whom contact is doubly accursed! Dare

we believe that the beneficent Creator made the negro for such a purpose? Surely a more revolting doctrine was never enunciated. We have not misstated the sense of the above passages; but we trust, for the sake of humanity, that Mr. Trollope, when he wrote them, did not comprehend their significance.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL. *

No. vi.

THE death of William was a sore affliction to the people, but it did not give rise to a thought of submission. The worthy Hollanders did what they could under the circumstances. Maurice of Nassau was chosen as leader, and preparation was made for the long struggle that was to ensue. We do not propose to treat on that contest. We should, indeed, have to repeat the lessons we have endeavoured to inculcate. The battle of freedom was often lost yet ever won. Antwerp fell, and Flanders was weakened. Whenever the people placed reliance on foreign aid (we are referring to the period between the death of William and 1590) they were disappointed. Although they loved Queen Elizabeth, and, likely enough, the virgin queen sympathized with the Provinces, yet, owing to the fears entertained of exciting Spanish anger, and from the half-consciousness that Philip meditated unfriendly designs, the support of England was uncertain; and even whilst the Armada was getting ready for the conquest of England, Elizabeth was willing to give over the Provinces to Philip for some paltry considerations, the chief of which was that she should be repaid about £70,000 which she had advanced. But though the prospect was often very dark, it was never so profoundly gloomy as at the moment when Father William, the terror of Spain and the hope of his country, was cut off by assassination. If national liberty could survive that blow, and emerge from such a position, there could never be a reason for despair.

We frequently see it announced by the people of the Northern States, that if they conquer the South they can get from it the treasure they so much need. An enslaved country is never productive, and after the first exactions, becomes a charge, and not a profit, to the conquerors. Commerce will not domicile in a land subject to foreign dominion. It has been so in all countries and all ages—it was so with the Netherlands:—

If the effects of despotism and of liberty could ever be exhibited at a single glance, it was certainly only necessary to look for a moment at the picture of the obedient and of the rebel Netherlands.

Since the fall of Antwerp, the desolation of Brabant, Flanders, and of the Walloon territories had become complete. The King had recovered the great commercial capital, but its commerce was gone. The Scheldt, which, till recently, had been the chief mercantile river in the world, had become as barren as if its fountains had suddenly dried up. It was as if it no longer flowed to the ocean, for its mouth was controlled by Flushing. Thus Antwerp was imprisoned and paralyzed. The docks and basins, where 2500 ships had once been counted, were empty, grass was growing in its streets, its industrious population had vanished, and the Jesuits had returned in swarms. And the same spectacle was presented by Ghent, Bruges, Valenciennes, Tournay, and those other fair cities which had once been types of vigorous industry and tumultuous life.

The Federals think that as soon as they possess themselves of the cities and rivers of the South, they will be able to restore the trade of those cities, and once more cover those rivers with shipping. They have been in possession of New Orleans for some time. General Butler, the soldier who makes shameful war upon defenceless women, is master of the city. He can plant as many United States' flags on the public buildings as he pleases; he can suppress annoying newspapers; he can and has sent forth a shower of appeals to planters to bring their cotton to market; he has grossly insulted foreign consuls; he has done all that Parma could do in a city of the Netherlands. He has, too, been supported by his Government. The Cabinet at Washington has not evinced any displeasure at proceedings that have disgusted the civilized world. The blockade has been raised and merchants invited to trade with the reopened ports. In vain are all these efforts. The Lincoln Government can destroy, but it cannot create. Commerce will not attend to its mandate, or obey the commands of a military dictator. The attempt has been made over again to get commerce by force of arms, or by acts of legislature, but such attempts never have succeeded and never can succeed. So long as the presence of the invaders desecrates the South, there will be no Southern commerce. The idea of the commerce of the South obeying the military rule of the North is as absurd as the suggestion of restoring and cementing the Union by carnage and devastation.

In our survey of the first years of the Netherlanders' struggle for liberty, we have been anxious to set forth the weakness and dangers of Federalism, the infusibility

* *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. *History of the United Netherlands.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London: John Murray.

of races, and the impossibility of destroying the independence of a liberty-loving people. And the last has engrossed the greatest share of our attention.

Not that we think the South needs encouragement. We have abundant proof of her inflexible resolve not to submit to Northern domination. As difficulties and dangers have increased, there has been manifested a sterner determination to maintain the unequal contest. Every success that has attended the Federal arms has taught the Confederates that any sacrifices are better, are light, in comparison with the sacrifice of nationality. The tyranny of General Butler is not without its use, since it has convinced the most sceptical in Europe of the stern necessity of Southern resistance. The burning of cotton, the destruction of property, the invincible loyalty of the people, have proved to everybody, except the United States' mob, that Federal conquests in the South are not only barren victories, but still further estrange the already divided nations. We repeat, we are convinced there is not the slightest occasion for encouraging the South to persevere in her heroic defence of her national independence; and our object in producing these papers has been to encourage the European friends of the South, who may possibly have felt disturbed by the isolation of the Confederate States, and the reiterated boastings of the North. It is always unfortunate to have to receive the testimony of an enemy, but still more so when that enemy is notorious for unscrupulous mendacity. If Southern news was generally as accessible as Northern news, no one, not even the partisans of the North, could believe that the Federals had made the slightest progress towards the conquest of the Confederate States; for a nation is not conquered by the mere fact of invasion, or by the occupation of its frontier cities.

We have directed attention to some of the analogies between the Netherlands' resistance to Spanish tyranny, and Southern resistance to the Northern attempt at subjugation. We will, in conclusion, point out a few of the differences that make the wicked lust and cupidity of the United States doubly certain of being defeated.

Spain was the most powerful nation on earth, in territorial extent, in resources, and in possessing the finest troops in Europe. The United States is by no means a dominant nation. In population and in resources she is inferior to every leading Power in Europe. She has to learn the art of war—an art that is not learnt in a single campaign, or, indeed, in a single warfare. The same may be said of the Confederates, but in the Netherlands, it was veteran troops against new troops, while in America, it is new troops against new troops.

Spain had hereditary rights in the Netherlands, and though they were justly forfeited by her misconduct, from first to last they gave her considerable influence. The United States has no more right to interfere in the Confederate States than has England, or France, or the Emperor of China.

Though Philip himself was too shrewd to suppose that he was serving God by robbing and devastating the Netherlands, his ignorant and bigoted soldiers were sustained by the belief that they were fighting for religion. The United States' soldiery are inspired by no higher motives than the gratification of intense cupidity and semi-barbarous cruelty. The plea of abolition humanitarianism was too transparent a sham to be put forth. It would not do to tell the Federal troops that they were to risk their lives for the sake of a race whom they abhor and treat as reptiles.

The Netherlands was a small country, and therefore its conquest did not seem desperate. A glance at the map will show that the size of the Confederate States makes their conquest by the United States impossible.

The Netherlands were disunited—the Confederates are a singularly united people. The Netherlands were extremely parsimonious in contributing the funds necessary for the defence of their rights—the Confederates are ready to sacrifice everything they possess.

The climate of the Netherlands was not obnoxious to Spanish occupancy—but the climate of the South is a deadly foe to the invader. The Netherlands trusted time after time to foreign mercenaries, and were repeatedly defeated, and, indeed, the same fate befell the patriot armies. The Confederates fight their own battles, and have never been routed except when the enemy has been aided by gunboats.

We might add to this list, but we have written enough to demonstrate the impossibility of the South being subjugated by the North. We are surprised at the endurance and success of the Netherlands in resisting the attempted subjugation by Spain; future generations will marvel at the folly as well as the wickedness of the United States in essaying the conquest of the South, and that civilized Europe hesitated to acknowledge a national independence so nobly defended and of which the consummation was so inevitable.

SOUTHERN RAILROADS.

(From the *United States' Economist*.)

Nothing can give a more forcible idea of the growing importance of the Southern States than a survey of their immense railroad system. There is a too numerous class of persons, resident in the Northern States, who, from defective information or perverted party statements, have adopted most erroneous impressions as to the commercial status of the vast section of country located south of Mason and Dixon's line. They pride themselves on the idea that all the commercial enterprise of the country has by some unknown means centred amongst the Northern people. It is a settled fact in their minds that the Southern States are half a century behind the advanced civilization of the North, and that that region of country is in an altogether raw and undeveloped condition. The railroads of the South, however, are a standing refutation of all such misconceptions. We know of no surer indication of the wealth and enterprise of any people than the extent of their railways. If their roads are few and ill conducted, there is either a lack of capital or of commerce, or of both, or there is an unwholesome adherence to old ideas; if, on the contrary, their roads are numerous and well managed, the inference is clearly legitimate that a large amount of commerce is pressing for accommodation, and that it is under the control of a competent and intelligent people. Measured by this standard, the South has something of which to be proud. We have compiled the following statistics, showing the extent and the value of railroad property in the several Southern States. The figures date up to the close of 1859, and show the length of road constructed or in course of construction, the length in actual operation, and the cost of the roads, including building and equipment:—

State.	Length.	In operation.	Cost.
			Dollars.
Virginia	2,058.5	1,525.7	43,069,360
North Carolina..	1,020.0	770.2	13,998,495
South Carolina..	1,136.0	807.3	19,083,343
Georgia	1,617.2	1,241.7	23,687,220
Florida	730.5	289.8	6,368,699
Alabama	1,822.4	798.6	20,975,639
Mississippi	445.1	365.4	9,024,444
Louisiana	1,160.0	419.0	16,073,270
Texas	2,667.0	284.6	7,578,943
Arkansas	701.3	38.5	1,130,110
Missouri	1,337.3	723.2	31,771,116
Tennessee	1,434.4	1,062.3	27,348,141
Kentucky	698.4	468.5	13,852,062
	16,828.1	8,794.8	235,960,842

It will be observed that Virginia has a greater length of road in operation than any other State, and that she has invested a much larger amount of capital in those works than has any other section of the South. The total length of line in that State is 2058 miles, and the length in operation 1525 miles, the cost of building and equipment having been over 43,000,000 dollars. In 1855, the total mileage of road in operation in Virginia was 986 miles; the increase since that period having been 539 miles, or about 58 per cent., a progress most creditable to the enterprize of that State. Next in importance comes the State of Missouri, which, although its length of road is not equal to that of some other States, has yet expended an amount of capital in its road surpassed only by Virginia. Upon an operative mileage of 723 miles, that State has expended nearly 32,000,000 dollars. Tennessee, with 339 miles more road than Missouri, has invested only 27,348,141 dollars in structure and equipment; whilst Georgia has built and equipped 1241 miles (518 miles more than Missouri), at a cost of only 23,687,220 dollars. Alabama has secured a large extent of road at a comparatively light cost, having opened 998 miles at an outlay of 20,975,639 dollars. The growing wants of that State have caused the projection of a much larger extent of railway accommodation, there being at the present time 1024 miles of road awaiting completion. In South Carolina the cost of the roads has been still lower than in the last-mentioned State—the length of road being nine miles additional and the aggregate cost nearly 2,000,000 less. The cost of the North Carolina lines has been even still lower than that of South. For somewhat less than 14,000,000 dollars, that State has constructed and equipped 770 miles of road, the average cost per mile having been only 18,179 dollars. Louisiana, on the other hand, has invested a large capital for much more limited results. Her length of road in operation is 419 miles, at a cost of over 16,000,000 dollars; the average cost per mile being 38,361 dollars, or 20,182 dollars more than that of the North Carolina roads. Louisiana has at the present time 741 miles of road uncompleted, which, if finished at the same rate of cost as that already in operation, will involve an additional outlay of 28,425,501 dollars, making the total cost of railroads in that State nearly 44,500,000 dollars. Kentucky is somewhat behind some other parts of the South in the extent of her railroad works. Her neighbouring State, Virginia, has 1525 miles of road in operation, with a population of 1,500,000; whilst, with a population of 1,000,000, Kentucky herself has only 468 miles of operating line. The comparatively heavy cost of road-building in this State may have tended more or less to limit the extent of railway accommodation, the average outlay per mile on the completed lines having been 29,600 dollars.

Mississippi does not own a great length of road, ranking in this respect tenth among the States of the South. She has, however, the great Mississippi River skirting her entire western boundary, which renders unnecessary a proportionate length of road; and it is to be taken into the estimate that her population being only 600,000, she has not such large requirements as have some of the more populous States. Texas has yet a great work to perform in railroad construction. She has only 284 miles of completed line for development of her immense

territory. With a population, however, of 350,000, she cannot be expected to do much more immediately; and the probability seems to be, that she must wait patiently for some years ere the 2383 miles which her enterprize has projected can be completed. Five years ago she had only thirty-two miles of road; and it is highly creditable to the State, that, with so few inhabitants, she should have completed 250 miles of line in the interim. The roads of Florida, though limited, are probably proportioned to her wants—290 miles of railway to less than 100,000 inhabitants being a very fair ratio of accommodation. Arkansas is as yet only commencing her railroad works. With a large territory, and a population of about 400,000 she has need of vastly more than thirty-eight miles of railway, of which she seems to be fully aware, having in contemplation the construction of 663 miles additional. In 1855, the total length of line in operation in the Southern States was 4426 miles; and since that period 4368 miles have been completed, at a cost of about 115,000,000 dollars: no evidence, certainly, that our Southern citizens are deficient in either capital or enterprize. The entire length of road completed in the whole of the United States since 1855, is 11,248 miles, of which 6822 miles belongs to the Northern States and 4426 to the Southern States; from which it is apparent that, according to population, the South has built a greater length of road than in the North.

In the States of the South there are 745 miles of road more than in the whole of Great Britain; the total cost of the Southern roads being 233,960,842 dollars, against 1575,000,000 dollars of capital expended on the British lines. The total mileage of road in operation in the three countries of Austria, France, and Prussia in 1858 was 9139—an excess over that of the Southern States amounting to only 345 miles! The total capital expended upon the lines of those countries is 680,000,000 dollars—or three times the amount of that invested in our Southern roads.

THE CAPTURE OF THE CIRCASSIAN.

The following letter has been published in the *Times*.—

SIR,—Your well-known willingness to afford publicity to any wrong must be my excuse for troubling you with the following specimen of what cannot but be considered a gross outrage on international law, and also a private wrong to many innocent sufferers.

The facts are these,—1, with the rest of the officers and part of the crew of the steamship *Circassian*, joined her in London to go thence to Cardiff and afterwards to Bordeaux, and there await orders as to our final destination.

On our arrival at Bordeaux we were informed that our vessel was to proceed to Havannah, after taking in a general cargo for that place.

The goods (consisting chiefly of wines and spirits) were accordingly shipped, and we proceeded on our voyage, and, after touching at St. Thomas's for coal, we had arrived to within about thirty miles of Havannah, and were at the same time, not more than seven miles from the coast of Cuba at nine a.m. of the 4th of May last, when we discovered an American war steamer approaching us from the offing. On nearing us, after asking us our name, "where from, and where bound?" and receiving in reply our name, port of departure, and destination, we were ordered to "heave-to" and stop until they should search us, this order being, as we considered, in direct violation of the right of search. We still continued our course, with the English ensign still flying. On our persisting on our course, which still was and always had been direct for the harbour of Havannah, the American steamer (the *Somerset*, Captain English) immediately commenced firing, first a blank shot, and then live shells from her rifled guns in quick succession, which burst in all directions, luckily wounding but one man slightly, but doing a good deal of injury to our rigging, &c., the whole of the port side of the fore shrouds being completely shot away.

We then, in order to save life and further damage to the ship (being completely unarmed), heave-to, on which they ceased firing, and sent a boat on board, well manned and armed. They then examined our papers, but finding them correct, commenced broaching and examining our cargo, and although they found nothing contraband of war, they took possession of the ship and cargo in the name of the President of the United States, assigning no reason whatever for so doing.

After taking possession of the ship they sent more men, heavily armed, and a number of marines on board, who were drawn up on the quarterdeck, and ordered to "load with ball cartridge," and "fix bayonets," which being done, they hauled the English ensign down and hoisted the American flag in its place, at which the crew of the *Somerset* commenced cheering vociferously, in honour of their daring achievement. Half of our crew were then ordered on board the *Somerset*, and we were taken in tow by her to Key West, where we remain still.

A few days after our arrival here a boat from the *Somerset* came alongside with more men and marines (at about eight o'clock in the evening), who immediately were placed as sentries to all our cabins, those officers of our own ship being required to remain on deck, where they happened to be when they placed the sentries, and we were one by one ordered to accompany an officer and two marines to each of our cabins, which were then minutely searched, and all our private letters and papers seized, and have not yet been returned.

The Commodore, having arrived in the meantime, ordered our crew, who were prisoners on board the *Somerset*, to be sent back to the *Circassian*, and the English ensign to be once again hoisted.

I have further to add that on our arrival here the Captain repeatedly asked permission to go on shore to the English Consul, but was each time refused, and we had not the benefit of his advice and counsel until we had been in the port three days.

This, Sir, is the substance of the case, and I have only now to subscribe myself your obedient servant,

Key West, May 22.

AN OFFICER.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, U.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, U.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, U.S.A., Commission
Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, U.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, U.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, U.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, U.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, U.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
sent of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEED AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDIN AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

**REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.**
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rainford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
U.S.A.

Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS,
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
and descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, U.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BRESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissioners for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HOGGTON, New Bond-street

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE.

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. Hebrew and
French Books—Philology, Metaphysics, &c.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. ENGLISH CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FRENCH BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organized,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organized in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interests that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganized trade.
The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. To ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.
The Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science is in
connection with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaisance, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Soirées will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirées, &c.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C., and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.

For every 45 subscribers to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C., by Messrs. Messers, Bouvier,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Finance Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Bois de Boulogne, offers
quarters of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Langier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 31st November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gardin, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE: 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,333,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 600,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,750 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1850.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poux.
C. Rowland.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Stocomb.
B. F. Voorhies.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,576 74
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets on 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 31st September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £43 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 3s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 329th section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, any dangerous goods, or any goods
of any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to IX. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to "but one side of the
quarrel." It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX" it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street, and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—June 26, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I.—No. 10.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	145
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	146
Manchester Letter	147
Tobacco Market	147
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Further List of Killed and Wounded at the	
Battle of Shiloh	147
Southern Account of the Battle before Richmond	148
Private Letters and Extracts	148
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
Summary of Confederate Official Report of the	
Campaigns in the West and East, during the	
months of February and March	149
Washington	150
Paris	150
Brussels	150
LEADERS—	
The End of the Spring Campaign	152
The Approaching Prorogation of Parliament ..	152
The Ingredients of the Contending Armies ..	153
The Cotton Famine	154
REVIEW OF BOOKS—	
Southern Statistics	155
The Colonial History of Virginia	156
OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN	
HAMPTON ROADS	158
ADVERTISEMENTS	160

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

GENERAL McCLELLAN has sustained another disaster. It does not appear that on this occasion the Confederates "took advantage of a terrible storm," but merely availed themselves of the vulnerability of the Federal lines to make an excursion to the enemy's rear, destroy some of his property, seize some of his stores, cut the telegraph wires, injure the railroad, kill and wound some Federal soldiers, and to capture a considerable number of troops. By a singular oversight, Mr. Stanton has not proclaimed this sortie to be a great Federal victory; hitherto whenever the Confederates have captured stores and made prisoners, it has always been styled in Washington a Federal triumph.

It appears from Northern accounts that a body of cavalry and artillery left Richmond, under the command of Colonel Fitz Hugh Lee, passed round the right flank of the Federal army, penetrated the Federal lines, and the next day drove in the Federal outposts of Old Church. The Confederates then proceeded to Garlick's Landing, on the Pamunkey River, where they burnt two schooners engaged in unloading forage, and captured seventy-five waggons laden with stores. Many of the Union troops at that point were killed, and the rest made prisoners.

The Confederates then marched to Tunstall's Station, fired into a train, killing or wounding a Federal colonel, and killing a Federal private. The railroad was then torn up for some distance, and the telegraph wires were cut. The Confederates next proceeded to Baltimore cross-roads, where a small number of the enemy were captured and a large amount of medical stores; they then crossed the Chickahominy between Bottom's Bridge and the James River, en route for Richmond. The correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* is correct in remarking that the Confederate "entrance was made by the right, though their exit was effected by the left."

Such is the substance of the Northern narrative, and if we are to receive it as the whole truth, we must conclude that General McClellan is a wonderfully incompetent general, or that his troops are greatly disorganized and demoralized. We are told that the Confederate forces did not exceed 1500 men and six pieces of artillery, and some accounts place the number of troops at less than 1000. We are told that the Confederate force remained for some hours in the Federal lines unobserved. Why does not General McClellan employ some balloons to look after his own lines? But when the Federal outposts were driven in at Old Church, the presence of the Confederates could no longer have been a secret. To what point were the Federal outposts driven? We presume they were forced back on the main body of the division to which they belonged. But how was it the division, thus roused, did not prevent such a small body of the enemy from quietly burning shipping and capturing stores and men at Garlick's Landing, and afterwards cutting the telegraph wires and injuring the railroad at Tunstall's Station? Was the division defeated or panic-stricken? This suggestion is rendered more probable by the wording of the Northern telegram, which says the Confederates "destroyed forage and tents, took many prisoners, and retreated safely." The forage and prisoners may be accounted for by the attack upon Garlick's Landing; but what tents were destroyed? The destruction of tents is surely a sequence of defeat.

After the demonstration at Tunstall's Station, we are informed that the Confederates "retreated safely." This "retreated safely" means that instead of retiring to Richmond by the way they came the Confederates made their exit by the left, having entered on the right, seizing on their march more prisoners, and a large booty of medical stores. They were allowed to enter unmolested on one side, and to carry off their booty unmolested on the opposite side. Comment is needless, such facts speak for themselves.

General McClellan is harassed by small Confederate bands in his rear, and is making urgent appeals to Washington for more men. The Northern telegram, dated June 18, says:—

The rear of McClellan's army before Richmond continues to be harassed by guerilla movements.

McClellan is not in sufficient force to resume the offensive. He has demanded large reinforcements. The demand has been partially complied with, but the Government has not the force at its disposal to grant him immediately all the men he requires.

We hear, per North America, under date June 21, that

An active skirmish has taken place before Richmond, the Confederates assuming a more menacing attitude.

The Confederates opened fire upon the Federal fleet at City Point. The Federals returned the attack, silencing the Confederate batteries.

It is significant that the result of the active skirmish is not stated. Perhaps that skirmish will account for the currency of "wild rumours of the defeat and success of McClellan." We may be sure that if the Federals had met with any success the Government would not have kept back the news.

The telegraphic summary of the Federal commander's despatch is really pathetic.

General McClellan reports this afternoon (June 21) that "things are pretty quiet to-day, and there is not quite so much shelling as usual. Our preparations," he continues, "are progressing well. The enemy opened fire with some heavy guns yesterday, but did no harm."

It must be highly gratifying to the people of the North to know that on June 21 their idolized General is preparing to make a beginning. A trifle less of promising, and an instalment of performance, would probably be very acceptable to his ardent admirers.

The Federal left-handed victory of May 31 has crippled General McClellan. The losses are much heavier than at first stated or even now admitted. A correspondent of the *Times*, whose letter we publish, puts the number of killed, wounded, and missing at 16,000, and advises his friends not to heed the newspapers or official despatches. In our Southern intelligence will be found a very interesting account of the fighting on May 31 and June 1.

General McDowell, who commanded General McClellan's rear, has effected a junction with the forces of the latter.

The *Times*'s New York correspondent reports that a telegram authorized by the Federal Government, which stated some days ago that Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, had been occupied by a Federal force under General Curtis, is unfounded. That city still remains in the possession of the Confederates.

The brilliant operations of General Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley, and for a late account of which we refer to our Foreign Correspondence, have completely destroyed the Federal plans. The Northern prints publish the following document, which they say was found in Winchester after General Jackson left that place:—

Head-Quarters, Department of Northern Virginia,
May 27, 1862, 9 o'clock, 15 minutes.

To General T. J. Jackson.

General,—I have just received your letter of yesterday, by Lieutenant Boswell. A copy of a despatch telegraphed by that officer from Staunton reached me this morning. After reading, I wrote to you by a special messenger, suggesting a movement threatening Washington and Baltimore, unless the enemy still has in your vicinity force enough to make it rash to attempt it. He has no force beyond the Potomac to make it dangerous; only what he has on this side need be considered.

You cannot, in your present position, employ such an army as yours upon any enterprise not bearing directly upon the state of things here, either by preventing the reinforcements to McClellan's army, or by drawing troops from it by divisions. These objects might be accomplished by the demonstrations proposed above, or by a movement upon McDowell, although I fear that by the time this reaches you it will be too late for either. The most important service you can render the country is the preventing the further strengthening of McClellan's army. If you find it too late for that, strike the most important body of the enemy you can reach. You compel me to publish orders announcing your success so often that you must expect repetition of expressions.

Yours very truly, J. E. JOHNSON.

If these were General Jackson's instructions they have certainly been rigidly obeyed. On June 18,

General Fremont's army is reported short of supplies, and in a precarious position in the Valley of the Shenandoah.

General Jackson has been heavily reinforced, and Fremont is falling back to Mount Jackson.

The last Northern advices state:—

General Jackson has a considerable force at Harrisonburg and Fort Republic.

General Shields has concentrated his forces at Strasburg. Fremont is advancing to New Market, and an engagement is expected in the Valley of the Shenandoah.

Perhaps General Jackson, with true Confederate obstinacy, may refuse the battle so nicely arranged, and elect to defeat the enemy in his own way. The most sanguine Northerners cannot think the Federal position in Virginia very promising.

Per Persia, under date June 18, we are informed:

General Beauregard is still in the field, at the head of 8000 men at Okolona.

Per North America, with date three days later, we hear:—

Beauregard is at Okolona with 80,000 men. Kirby Smith is at Chattanooga, 20,000 strong; and Vandorn, with a small cavalry force, is at Granada.

It is singular that General Beauregard's force should have increased from 8000 to 80,000 in three days. Under the circumstances, we are not surprised that "General Pope has relinquished the pursuit of Beauregard," especially as General Pope has never been in pursuit of the Confederate General.

It is reported in the Northern papers that the Confederate force at Granada is 65,000.

Our next item deserves attention:—

It is reported that the Federals will now form a defensive line from Corinth to Memphis, and abandon their aggressive policy in the West during the summer months.

Will any one be good enough to tell us something about the "aggressive" policy of General Halleck that is now to be abandoned? We are under the impression that aggression and inaction are not the same thing, and we know that General Halleck has done nothing. Possibly he has determined, during the summer months, to relinquish his romantic pen, and not gain any more paper victories, or capture any more prisoners with his goosequill.

Commodore Farragut has failed in his attempt to reduce Vicksburg, and it is rumoured that Captain Davis is preparing to attack it on the other side. The Federals before Charleston are to be reinforced with the troops from the West. It is reported that great efforts will be made to defend Mobile. General Buell's army has left for East Tennessee, *via* Huntsville. It is said that the "Federal gunboats have captured a Confederate battery on White River after a sharp engagement." This may be true, or only a Stanton invention to make the Federal accounts a little brighter.

The following paragraphs are suggestively vague:

Severe fighting has occurred in the neighbourhood of Baton Rouge, but the result is unknown.

Fighting has also taken place at James Island, near Charleston, without decisive results.

At Baton Rouge there was evidently a result, and it is curious that the fight should be reported, and not the result. "Without decisive results" has hitherto stood for "the Confederates had the best of the encounter;" and this was most likely the case at James Island.

Our Foreign Correspondence contains an account of the Confederate operations during the months of February and March, compiled from official documents. Our readers will also find in another part of our impression the official account of the celebrated naval battle in Hampton Roads.

At Memphis it has been found necessary to appoint a Federal supervisor of the press, and "Federal sentinels have received orders to shoot any persons attempting to lower the Federal flag or to molest Union citizens."

The Hon. Pierre Soule has arrived at New York, and is confined in Fort Lafayette. It is rumoured that the charges against him are that he is President of a society formed to oppose the Union, and that he composed the spirited letter sent to Commander Farragut by the Mayor of New Orleans.

General Butler, who has lately had the pleasure of hanging a man for lowering the Federal flag from the mint, has defended his shameful edict in the following letter to the Mayor:—

Head-Quarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, May 16.

Sir,—There can be, there has been, no room for misunderstanding of General Order No. 28.

No lady will take any notice of a strange gentleman, and a *fortiori* of a stranger, simply in such form as to attract attention. Common women do.

Therefore, whatever woman, lady or mistress, gentle or simple, who, by gesture, look, or word, insults, shows contempt for, thus attracting to herself the notice of, my officers and soldiers, will be deemed to act as becomes her vocation as a common woman, and will be liable to be treated accordingly. This was most fully explained to you at my office.

I shall not, as I have not, abated a single word of that order; it was well considered; if obeyed, will protect the true and modest women from all possible insult. The others will take care of themselves.

You can publish your letter, if you publish this note and your apology.

Respectfully,

BENJ. F. BUTLER, Major-General Commanding.

John T. Monroe, Mayor of New Orleans.

General Butler fully admits the enormity with which he was charged. He admits he has licensed his soldiers to treat as harlots any Southern ladies who, in the opinion of his officers and soldiers, may by *gesture, look, or word*, show contempt for the invaders of their country. Any Federal officer or private may treat a New Orleans lady as a harlot, and be excused by saying that her *gesture or look* was not respectful. The explanation is as bad, if not worse, than the edict.

The House of Representatives has passed a bill confiscating the slaves of "rebels;" and likewise the Senate Bill prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States. It would be wise, we think, for the North to conquer the South before commencing the work of confiscation. Mr. Lincoln is too shrewd to dispose of the lion's skin until the lion is killed. In reply to the Emancipation Committee, he said, "that an emancipation proclamation would not attain the desired end, as the Constitution itself cannot now be enforced in the Southern States." It is true, Mr. Lincoln would have been more correct if he had said that it was no use confiscating Southern property until the *violation* of the Constitution could be enforced in the South.

The protective policy of the North is being eagerly pursued. The Committee of Ways and Means have reported a bill largely increasing the temporary duties upon imports, imposing an additional duty of 25c. per gallon upon brandy, and an additional duty upon all spirits, iron, copper, coal, carpets, woollens, books, tobacco, coke, and drugs; in fact, upon all articles of foreign importation.

The United States is determined to try how many insults and threats England will submit to. The Circassian has been condemned. The Naval Committee have reported a Bill to Congress establishing naval depôts and yards on Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Ontario. The idea of invading Canada is exceedingly popular, and therefore the Government encourage it.

Mr. Lincoln is about to make a call for additional troops, and it is likely he will find it easier to get men than the money to carry on the war.

On June 21 gold was 6½ premium, and the City of Washington had that day left with 2,400,000 dollars in specie. A financial crash is generally supposed to be imminent.

On Monday, in the House of Commons,

Mr. Hopwood asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether Government intended to take any steps to endeavour to put an end to the civil war in America.

Lord Palmerston said, I trust I need not assure the hon. member and the House that Her Majesty's Government are deeply sensible of the sufferings now existing in the cotton manufacturing districts. We know that the privations in those districts are great, and also that those who suffer them have endured them with the most heroic fortitude and patience (hear, hear), thus doing the greatest possible credit to their understanding and intelligence. They know that the sufferings which they endure have not resulted from any bad legislation or any misconduct on the part of the Government of the country. They know they are caused by circumstances in other countries over which we have no control. (Hear, hear.) Her Majesty's Government would be most happy if it were in their power to do anything which would be likely to afford relief to those unhappy classes of the population. But I am sure the House will see that anything like interference with the war now going on would only aggravate still more the

sufferings of those now under privation. (Hear.) With respect to mediation and good offices, there is no doubt whatever that both Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Emperor of the French would be delighted to avail themselves of any opportunity that appeared to offer a fair prospect that such a step would be attended with success. But in the present state of the contest, while the two parties seem animated with the most vehement anger and resentment against each other, I am afraid that any proposal of that kind would not be well timed, and would be sure to meet with objection on both sides. If, however, at any time, a different state of things should arise and a fair opening appear for any step which might be likely to meet with the acquiescence of the two parties, it would be not only our duty to offer our services, but would afford us the greatest possible pleasure to do so. (Hear, hear.)

In the House of Lords, Lord Brougham called attention to the war in America. He said:—

For upwards of sixty years he had been known as a warm advocate at all times of the American Government and the American people. Same might recollect that he was once called the partizan of Jefferson and the Attorney-General of Madison. Others, too, who had uniformly taken the part of the Americans, were now most cruelly shocked and disappointed by the present course of events. If the civil war continued they would be bound to admit that the worst stain on the American character was not domestic slavery. The white men had suffered more in the war than ever did the negroes under the most cruel of their masters. The present strife was doing more mischief, creating more misery, and laying the foundation of more lasting animosity, even than slavery. If the Americans would only listen to the voice of their true friends they would, if they regarded the continuance of their reputation in this country and of our affection towards them, see the absolute necessity of putting an end to this horrible war. He could not, for his life, believe that the good sense of those among the Americans who were better informed and capable of calm reflection, would not, sooner or later, be exerted to put a stop to this calamitous quarrel.

The report of the emigration during the past year to our North American colonies has just been published, and shows that they have benefited in this respect by the American war. The number of persons landed at Quebec during the season was 19,923, or 9773 more than in the previous year. There were also 4664 arrivals in Canada by the American route. At all times, however, a large proportion of those who sail hence for the St. Lawrence intend to proceed to the United States, and on the present occasion the total was 10,700, so that out of 24,587 arrivals in the province the aggregate that actually remained was 13,887.

The latest intelligence from Mexico is considered very favourable by the French. No doubt is entertained of the perfect safety of General Lorencez's army.

The principal domestic event of the week is the marriage of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse. It was solemnized at Osborn on Tuesday last.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 2, 1862.

The past week has been in every point of view a more extraordinary one than the preceding, whether we consider the amount of sales, the advance in prices, or the furious speculation and excitement. Indeed, it is doubtful whether a parallel can be found to it in the whole history of the cotton trade of this port.

Our last report left Middling Orleans at 15d. and Fair Dhollerahs at 10½d. to 11d. On Thursday the demand continued good, much additional business being done in the afternoon on telegrams from London, the sales reached 20,000 bales at ¾d. to 1d. advance in Surats, but no change in American. On Friday the Persia's news came to hand about two p.m., and strengthened the feeling already prevalent that the forces of the two parties were so evenly balanced that nothing but a protracted conflict was possible. An immense demand at once sprang up in the market, and the sales reached 25,000 bales at ¾d. to 1d. advance in American cotton, and ¾d. in Surats. In cotton "to arrive" a very large business was done, and Dhollerahs, which were selling freely in the morning at 10½d. were eagerly bought in the afternoon at 11d.

On Saturday the excitement in our market grew wilder than ever. 30,000 bales were sold at a fresh advance of ¾d. on both American and Surats. Fair Dhollerah was pushed up to 12½d., and middling Orleans to 15½d. An enormous business was also done "to arrive," and the closing quotations were 1d. to 1½d. above the rates of Friday morning, actual cases occurring in which re-sales were made at 1½d. advance on the day before. Dhollerahs of early shipment were sold at 11½d., and Broach was understood to be done at 12½d.

On Monday speculators returned to their task with unabated eagerness, the sales reaching 20,000 bales, and again prices were started about ¾d. Fair Dhollerahs at 13d. and middling Orleans at 16½d., but cotton to arrive showed a smaller advance, and 12d. was the extreme price attained for Dhollerah. On Tuesday morning there seemed some disposition to take breath, and wait the response from Manchester, but as the day wore on large orders arrived to buy, and the business reached 15,000 bales, at a further rise of ¾d. to 1d. To-day the "North Americans" news was before us, and gave increased confidence to buyers. Attention was called to

the precarious situation of McClellan's army before Richmond, and the reported resolutions of the Federals to adopt a defensive policy in the South-west confirmed the general opinion that the progress of the war would be slow and indecisive. A very heavy business has again been done, sales reaching 25,000 bales, and the demand running more on America than formerly, and prices are about 3d. up for that class and 3d. for Surat. In Brazil and Egyptian cotton very large sales have taken place at a greater rise than in America. Those descriptions have long been relatively cheap, and are now being bought freely to mix with American cotton.

The quotations for Middling American may be given to-day as 16 1/2d. for Orleans, 16 1/2d. for Mobiles, and 16 1/2d. for Bowdles. In Surats it is hardly possible to fix the values of the different grades, as the market is already swept of desirable parcels, and the various qualities are all huddled together in the most extraordinary manner. Fair Dhollerah and Omrawtee may be put at 13 1/2d. to 3d.; Broach, at 14 1/2d.; and Saw-ginned Dharwar, at 14 1/2d. to 15d. Scarcely any cotton can be found under 12 1/2d., and very poor stuff, indeed, is selling at 13d. In cotton "to arrive," a very heavy business has again been done to-day, and the current prices now paying for early shipments are 12 1/2d. to 12 3/4d.; for Dhollerahs, 12 1/2d. to 12 3/4d.; for Omrawtees, and 13d. for Broach. The total advance in our market since this day week is therefore 1 1/2d. to 2d. on American cotton, 2 1/2d. for Surats on the spot, and 2d. on cotton afloat. The returns last Friday showed sales of 158,000 bales, leaving the stock at 210,000 bales; it is not impossible that the returns next Friday may show the sales and stock for the week equal. Perhaps the nearest approach to this occurred in the year 1825, when 101,000 bales were sold in the week ending April 23, out of a stock of about 120,000 bales, and the rise in prices for the week was 2d. on American, 3d. on Brazil and Egyptian, and 2d. on Surats. Fair Bowdles were then quoted at 18d. per lb., having risen to that point from 9 1/2d., at which they stood at the beginning of the year; and it may be added that they kept declining almost without a pause till they reached 7 1/2d. at the end of the same year.

It is hard to believe that this furious speculation in our market will prove an exception to all former experience, and escape the inevitable retribution. However strong the prospects may be ultimately, it is evident that speculators are determined to discount them to the uttermost farthing, and take out of the market in two or three weeks all the advance which could justly be looked for in several months. A perfect frenzy has now got possession of the public mind, and all sorts of persons are rushing into the market under the impression that prices must go on advancing indefinitely till some fabulous point is attained. Attention is exclusively fixed on the decreasing stock and the ruinous state of affairs in Manchester is quite overlooked. Spinners there are wholly unable to get an advance at all corresponding with that on the raw material; where they are paying 5d. more for their Surats in the month, it is doubtful whether they can sell their yarn at 3d. advance, and it seems inevitable that there must soon be a further great contraction of the consumption, and then, when the excitement in our market calms down, the usual result must follow. The trade having bought large stocks, and facing a ruinous loss, will reduce their purchases to a mere trifle, while the export demand will cease in sympathy; the business may fall to 10 or 15,000 bales per week, while large arrivals of Surats take place, and in that sensitive state the market would be peculiarly open to political rumours from America. This period of mad excitement may be followed by one of great stagnation and depression, and the high water mark reached now may remain like that of the 9th January—a long time high and dry before the tide covers it again.

Prices of Surat Cotton are now far higher relatively than American, and the tendency is to throw the trade back more freely in the latter class.

MANCHESTER, July 1, 1862.

This market has been daily excited by accounts from Liverpool, and few sellers remain willing to accept what offers they receive. All more or less, are asking wide advances, or have withdrawn their goods entirely. Now that stocks have been much reduced by late operations, manufacturers feel themselves at liberty to wait, especially since the capital released from holding goods has been reinvested in the raw material, with every prospect in the latter of less and less supplies hereafter. Accordingly, buyers have had to be content with what goods they could obtain, and for necessary wants have had to pay whatever was required. Such absolute orders have again chiefly been limited to yarns mainly, warps and cops for the Continent, and mule to the East; but, in odd transactions, special cloths have also really felt a gain of 6d. per piece. Transactions of this character have, however, been the exception; as a whole, a merely distant response has been given to the surpassing energy of the cotton demand.

At to-day's market the continued excitement in Liverpool has further influenced holders of yarns to advance their prices, and business has been considerably checked by the enhanced quotations. Buyers, however, have been compelled to pay a large advance on the prices given this day week, more especially where quality of material has to be regarded in the fulfilling of imperative orders.

Little business is going on in a regular way. Where holders of stocks meet buyers at more or less of a compromise, they are effecting sales.

This state of things will lead to a further curtailment of production, and it is heartrending to anticipate the inevitable distress which must necessarily arise from the effects of the fratricidal war now raging on the other side of the Atlantic, cutting off the supplies of the raw material and causing ruinous disaster, not only to the operatives but to their employers.

THE TOBACCO MARKET,

LONDON, July 2, 1862.

It may be well to call attention briefly to the position and prospects of tobacco as it is affected by the war, a reference only to the stock of lbs. weight in the United Kingdom as just published in the Board of Trade Returns for the month ended May 31, might mislead. We have a large stock in the country, sufficient, probably, for a year and a half's consumption at the ordinary rate. There is no present deficiency; and whilst cotton has now advanced in price fully 100 per cent. above its average market value, under the plain indications of a rapidly diminishing stock, and small prospect of any substantial replenishment. Tobacco has not been the subject of any general speculation, the market having attained its present point, say about 50 per cent. above the average rate, in a gradual, steady advance and with little more than the ordinary operations of the

trade. This is owing, no doubt, to the fact of the large stock, and we must look a-head to discern any cause for uneasiness from deficient supply to be actually expected from a war waged in the Border States, in which tobacco is chiefly cultivated.

The stocks in warehouses in Great Britain and Ireland:—

In lbs. weight, Dec. 31, 1860 ..	63,073,434
" " May 31, 1860 ..	55,155,841
" " Dec. 31, 1861 ..	70,523,892
" " May 31, 1862 ..	55,861,381

So that stocks, at the close of May last, were about as low as at the same time last year, notwithstanding the excess of upwards of 7,000,000 lbs. at the beginning of this year.

The gradual melting of supply is attributable to two causes, diminution of import and increase of export.

The imports for the periods as above were:—

	1861	1862
Five months to May 31	9,668,902 lbs. ..	6,355,215 lbs.
The Deliveries:—		
Home use	14,511,142 ..	14,489,159 ..
Exportation	2,484,588 ..	6,382,670 ..

The revenue derived in Great Britain is about five and a-half millions, and in France, equal to 8,000,000 sterling. The other regions of Europe derive a heavy revenue from the Government monopoly. The continuance of the war will, therefore, severely affect the revenue of most European Governments, so far as derived from American tobacco, as the prevalence of the war in the tobacco States has certainly greatly curtailed the cultivation of tobacco, and its preparation in the interior for European markets. The crop of 1861 is now coming forward from Kentucky and Tennessee, and will be received in this country in the Autumn of this year; in Virginia it is looked up, and will not be reclaimed till the war is concluded, or the blockade raised. But in Virginia the chief seat of a war which has diverted all the ordinary labour of the country to its own wasteful purposes, hardly any tobacco can be raised, and in the other tobacco States only such amount as may consist with the inducement to grow the absolute necessities of life, and the proportion of hands that can be spared for agricultural purposes at all.

The real deficiency in tobacco created by the war will not be felt till next year; but it will assuredly be felt then, and this coming event might cast a good long shadow before it.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

FOURTH LIST OF KILLED AND PARTIAL LIST OF WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

LAFORCUE CREOLES AND GUARDS.

The killed in the Lafourche Creoles are Alcide Bare, Guedry, Hymel, McEvers, Rouvert, Achée, Auguste Boudreaux, Brogde, J. Bottle Guillot, Levron, Parés Rouge, Dantin, White. Wounded: Bourgeois, Chac, Falgout, Joseph Leonard, Franklin Ancon, Thibodaux, Buck, François Guillot, Badaux, Delaney, Gbori, Lombas, Pedras, Knoblock, Dos. Boudreaux, Marcel, Ledet. Killed in Lafourche Guards: Auicksall Corbit and Prosper Le Blanc.

CRESCENT REGIMENT.

Crescent City Guards, Company A.—Killed: Private William Meeker. Wounded: Lieutenants B. E. Hand and L. H. Legay; Privates William Waterson, and — Dysart.

Crescent Rifles, Company B.—Killed: Sergeant John Laurens; Privates — Johnson, R. S. Camm, F. R. Grimshaw. Wounded: Captain Andrew F. Haynes; Sergeants Charles E. Black, and C. F. W. Danks; Privates F. J. Baldwin, Jr., B. Frist, J. D. Kemper, Edward Carter, Jr., F. R. Southmayd, William L. Black, Ben Wall.

Louisiana Guard, Company C.—Killed: Captain G. H. Graham; Privates John Sinclair, D. A. Clark. Wounded: Sergeant L. D. Cook, Colour-Sergeant H. T. Shilling, Corporal T. B. Chance, Privates John B. S. Dimitry, E. C. Kelley, Paul Laparie, A. M. Pepper, Isidore Richards, Joseph O'Brien.

Beauregard Rangers, Company D.—Killed: Private W. J. Mason. Wounded: Sergeant P. Carpiette, Privates H. Ries, J. Mulhall, E. W. Mudge, W. A. Smith, S. A. James, G. F. Fuchs.

Twiggs Guard, Company E.—Killed: Sergeant Henry Sherry, Privates James Cullen, F. H. Salles, Corporal J. M. Kennedy. Wounded: Charles Pagod.

Crescent City Guard, Company F.—Killed: Private B. Horner. Wounded: Privates W. S. Wiggins, Thomas Healey, Sylsbe and Harnett, Sergeant Geo. P. Betts.

Ruggles' Guard, Company G.—Killed: Privates C. M. Price, and J. B. Joseph. Wounded: Corporal Buchanan, Privates R. Kuck, J. F. Rehbein, Charles C. Kennedy, E. N. Stringer, and Corporal H. C. Swain.

Orleans Cadets, Company H.—Killed: Private Theodore Shulta. Wounded: Lieuts. S. C. Fisher, Lieut. H. C. Perry, Sergeant R. W. Kennedy, Corporals D. Wicks and M. Powers, Privates P. A. Newton, R. B. Cenas, H. Surgi.

Crescent Blues, Company I.—Killed: Privates Samuel B. Todd, Carl Sodawasser, (drummer). Wounded: Capt. John Knight, Corporal B. F. Chambers, and Privates G. W. Stone, John Thiner, Geo. French, F. Ostreich, John G. White, W. R. Elliott, Fred. de Meza, A. Reese.

Sumter Rifles Company — Killed: Captain C. C. Campbell, Private H. Macanlay. Wounded: Sergeants John Collins, and W. D. Hyer, Corporal A. Myers, Privates Thomas Leggin, Conner, Larkin, D. Peters, Geo. D. Hipwell, Oscar Czarnowski, J. G. Gorman, Samuel Laycock.

Alexandria Rifles, Company K.—Killed: Privates Beck and Kennedy. Wounded: Lieut. Fellowes, Privates Dunmore, Walter O'Crain, M'Grath.

PARTIAL LIST OF THE WOUNDED.

Jas. Winborn, 3rd Miss., Jno. Kegan, 2nd Tenn., J. J. Thomas, 4th Ky., Wm. Adams, 5th Ky., Jas. Chancellor, 5th Ky., Ed. Kerns, 5th Ky., Craig Taylor, 5th Ky., E. S. Trask, 15th Mi., Clark Owen, 4th Ky., R. G. Methvin, 16th La., Thos. Babin, 15th Tenn., G. P. Gett, 2nd Ky., G. L. Miller, 5th Miss., W. A. Fulger, 27th Tenn., D. Gootamer, 4th La., John Rider, 16th Mo., Albert Marsh, 6th Miss., Millhorne 19th Tenn., Lieut. A. S. Lee, 23rd Tenn., Lieut. C. W. Todd, 23rd Tenn., Wm.

Hurd, 5th Tenn., Pat Forely, 15th La., Phillip Connel, 2nd Ark., Geo. Nelson, D. O. Neil, 20th Tenn., R. Goss, 45th Tenn., P. H. Clay, 6th Tenn., Jacob Miller, 154th Tenn., J. M. Manes, 23rd Tenn., S. J. Hoke, 31st Ala., Jas. Nelson, 1st Mo., Willie Collough, 13th La., B. Cotton, 4th La., John Davis, 4th La., Capt. Ishin, 9th Ark., W. M. Laseter, 5th Tenn., Lieut. B. King, A. A. Gen. to Gen. Ruggles, since dec'd, M. L. Bickam, 17th La., J. L. Williams, 1st La., M. Divine, 2nd Ark., W. O'Donogh, 9th Tenn., C. Perkins, 7th Ark., S. Abain, 4th La., William O'Conough, 2nd Ark., M. Divine, 2nd Ark., Jas. Mugger, 18th La., J. A. Dijnac, 18th La., W. D. Huff, 13th La., Sergt. L. Hurkee, 1st La., R. G. Sims, 22nd Tenn., G. W. McClelland, 6th Miss., T. M. Ballard, 1st Tenn., Wm. Smith, 1st La., W. D. Brink, 9th Tenn., R. M. Mabry, 28th Tenn., H. C. Robeiro, 18th Ala., Joe Tipton, 18th Tenn., A. L. Hines, 15th Tenn., S. R. Timberlake, 15th Miss., Wm. Cullena, 23rd Miss., T. Elkhart, 1st La., B. C. Cordon, 44th Tenn., J. Ferguson, 1st La., W. Dougherty, 1st La., C. Malloy, 1st La., T. Carter, 1st La., M. F. Calaway, 9th Ark., Dennis Stone, 19th Tenn., J. M. Rieves, 23rd Tenn., W. J. Whittington, 4th Ky., Jos. Dutret, 13th La., J. S. Whittington, 4th Ky., A. Hart, 22nd Ala., Jno. Gray, 19th Tenn., C. Cohen, 1st Ark., Jno. Hodge, 1st Ark., C. Wright, 1st Ark., W. H. Cook, 4th La., W. J. Fletcher, 31st La., J. M. Jones, 15th Miss., J. R. Wilkins, 15th Miss., J. H. Shepperd, 15th Miss., E. D. Crawford, 19th Tenn., E. Sexton, 1st La., J. J. Powell, 15th Miss., Wm. Mitchell, 1st Ark., T. Graies, 15th Miss., H. Sundown, 1st Ark., H. C. Arrington, 23rd Tenn., John Lowery, 26th Ala., Capt. Trezevant, 1st La., Capt. W. F. Hanby, 19th Ala., R. Latham, 9th Ark., R. C. Reap, 9th Ark., J. M. Ezell, 20th Tenn., J. A. King, 21st Ala., John Hines, 15th Tenn., H. F. Finkley, 3rd Miss., W. Corters, 21st Ala., Jno. Ruff, 2nd Miss., T. J. Bigley, 20th Tenn., Col. M. Martin, 23rd Tenn., David Parsons, 1st La., P. Payton, 15th Miss., Jno. M'Farland, 15th Tenn., R. Allen, 1st La., J. H. Pratt, 27th Tenn., Lieut. R. S. Anderson, Shoup's Bat., A. Milton, 1st La., W. B. Booty, 27th Tenn., T. L. Roswell, 27th Tenn., Isaac Abbott, 13th Ark., D. C. Seales, Q. M. Depot, J. J. Richardson, 12th Tenn., J. D. Vaughn, 25th Ala., J. T. Walker, J. B. Morgan, 27th Tenn., B. H. Smith, 6th Tenn., A. J. Kennedy, 12th Tenn., C. W. Raglan, 7th Ky., J. M. Rea, Hooper's Battery, Wm. Taylor, 12th Tenn., S. M'Call, 1st Mo., J. E. Peacock, 15th Miss., W. H. Oglerie, 20th Tenn., J. H. Johnson, 20th Tenn., T. Falvey, 20th Tenn., B. F. Clark, 1st La., Robert M'Elwin, 1st La., John Murteff, 1st La., W. E. Fugh, 15th Mi., P. Sweney, 21st Ala., A. T. Embry, 6th Ark., C. C. Frierson, 15th Miss., M. W. Tate, 4th La., J. H. Plunkett, 6th Ark., John Porter, 1st La., A. J. O'Neal, Smith's cav., Jas. Williams, Smith's cav., G. C. Meek, 19th La., T. R. Carter, 19th La., T. Olson, 22nd Miss., Lt. Col. J. Holtzlaw, 18th Ark., Sam. Reynolds, 3rd Confed. Miss., Eli Sparks, 25th Ala., Sterling Hedron, 2nd Confed. Miss., G. M. Drake, 1st Mo., Capt. S. Fowl, 154th Tenn., John O'Brian, 1st La., Jno. Holly, 1st La., W. H. Perkins, 15th Miss., J. F. Gandy, 3rd Miss. Batr., W. Walker, 154th Tenn., F. M. Green, 3rd Miss. Bat., R. H. Hall, 3rd Miss. Bat., Jarvis Seal, 3rd Miss. Bat., H. K. Vinkley, 3rd Miss. Bat., J. Nicholson, 2nd Ark., Capt. A. E. Mixson, 6th Ark., W. H. Daniel, Hubbard's Battery, R. E. Mixson, 6th Ark., W. K. Harrison, 6th Ark., Jas. Larkin, 8th Ark., C. A. Yarbrough, 2nd Tennessee, G. M. Crowell, 16th Ala., Thos. Redd, 16th Ala., D. Smith, 1st Ark., P. H. Phillips, 6th Ark., D. Cassard, 13th La., Lieut. J. W. Hunt, T. Whitty, 8th Ark., Lieut. Allan, 13th Tenn., J. B. Tyler, 6th Ark., F. M. Anderson, 27th Tenn., W. T. Eppinger, 1st La., Thos. Kearny, 1st La., M. Stewart, 1st La., P. Knowland, 1st La., H. Brothers, and G. A. Kirk, Bligh's Miss. Regt., E. M. Roach, 27th Tenn., I. I. Thompson, 27th Tenn., B. J. Semmes, 154th Tenn., J. Fmdy, 21st Ala., S. L. Mosely, Forest's cav., J. M'Wase, 154th Tenn., Wm. McDonald, 1st La., Capt. W. L. Huff, Bligh's Miss., J. Sanderson, 27th Tenn., R. A. Morton, 11th Ala., Lieut. Pat Henry, 6th Miss., C. C. Honus, 22nd Ala., Co. D, John Field, 1st La., J. C. Myrick, 154th Tenn., Wm. James, Bligh's Miss., L. P. Roberts, 26th Ala., W. G. Stanfield, 154th Tenn., M. Cummings, 154th Tenn., J. A. Hagathy, 15th Tenn., Capt. J. C. Brannon, 44th Tenn., F. Weller, 154th Tenn., Sergt. Chas. Johnson, 1st La., Pat Ryao, 1st La., Ed. Bue, 1st La., John Taylor, 1st La., — Spain, 154th Tenn., M. V. Todd, Bligh's Regt., C. M. Crouch, 4th Tenn., Jno. Cruise, Co. E, La., J. W. Petit, 154th Tenn., W. T. Percb, 20th Tenn., F. Johnson, 18th Ala., T. L. Lewis, 18th Ala., Jas. King, 27th Tenn., N. Higgins, 20th Tenn., D. Dennin, 3rd Confederates, B. H. Montgomery, 8th Ark., D. Sutton, 22nd Miss., W. Boreland, 12th Tenn., J. M. Hawkins, 22nd Tenn., Lieut. Pat Kerns, 2nd Tenn., Col. Allen, 4th La., Lieut. B. F. Myers, 5th Tenn., Wm. Ramsey, 13th Tenn., Jas. Neill, 13th Tenn., Jas. Morgan, Wm. Horman, 1st Ark., C. J. Witt, 15th Tenn., W. C. Haviland, 16th Ala., Lieut. R. B. Reddick, 12th Mi., W. W. Patrou, 16th Ark., M. C. Jones, 1st Ark., W. A. Hart, 15th Miss., J. Paizee, 18th La., John Calhoun, La. Independent, D. W. Gibson, 22nd Ala., J. H. McNeil, 22nd Ala., R. D. M'Cutcheon, 154th Tenn., B. F. Seth, 16th La., H. Garr, Smith's Battery, R. C. Kennedy, 1st La., Ed. Craigen, 13th La., Frank Mulligan, 2nd Ark., Felix Williams, 45th Tenn., J. H. Shipley, 10th Ark., P. Murphy, 1st La., R. I. Ogilvie, 45th Tenn., H. Simmonds, 5th Tenn., M. Thompson, 3rd Confed. Miss., W. J. Taylor, 24th Tenn., Thos. Peay, 11th La., R. L. Flyno, 6th Ark., J. E. Byum, 22nd Tenn., C. F. Bright, 2nd Tenn., M. J. Black, 26th Ala., J. H. Harper, 27th Tenn., R. Crough, J. W. Owen, J. E. Morton, S. A. Carr, 5th Tenn., M. M'Dermott, 1st La., C. Myer, J. Egan, 2nd Tenn., R. Collaugh, 1st La., Lieut. H. Cary, 3rd Confed. Miss., Capt. Cameron, 3rd Confed. Miss., G. Williams, 16th Ala., J. Jennings, Bligh's Miss., J. Roah, 22nd Ala., Capt. W. B. Yowat, 154th Tenn., Pat. Branon, 1st La., A. G. Bush, 2nd Tenn., Jas. Mullins, 1st La., J. Hark, 16th Ala., Gen. T. C. Hindman, Ark., Lieut. N. C. Biscoe, L. F. Brazil, 16th Ala., Ed. Bryant, 22nd Ala., S. Murphy, 2nd Tenn., W. F. English, 1st Ark., W. J. Conran, 154th Tenn., J. B. Ball, 154th Tenn., Capt. C. De Vaux, 21st Ala., S. Baggett, 13th Ark., A. M. Vandyke, 13th Tenn., J. H. Childs, 15th Miss., O. T. Rice, 27th Tenn., Lieut. P. Augustine, 21st Ala., J. W. M'Hughes, 13th Tenn., Seth Thomas, 27th Tenn., W. M. Bell, 2nd Tenn., Major Winn, 26th Ala., J. C. Glascock, 31st Ala., Wm. Rufferty, 2d Ark., W. O. Lucas, 15th Miss., D. T. Murley, Co. B, 4th La., T. L. Robinson, 9th Miss., W. J. McKinsay, 6th Miss., Wm. Brooks, 1st La., A. J. Wallace, 9th Ark., A. W. Sherrill, 9th Ark., Chas. Retchfort, 13th La., W. J. Wallace, 9th Ark., J. E. Rudolph, 9th Ark., F. A. Walters, 1st Ark., E. L. McCloud, 6th Miss., J. Russell, 18th Ala., E. T. Collins, 18th Ala., Lieut. T. Murry, 22nd Miss., G. W. Brown, 22nd Miss., A. A. Cooper, 22nd Miss., W. J. Falkner, 18th Ala., D. A. Greyer, 2nd Miss., E. Canterbury, 22nd Miss., M. Fox, 18th Ala., Lieut.-Col. C. G. Nelms, 22nd Miss., Jas. Shelby, 13th Tenn., Wm. Davenport, 13th Tenn., Fairfield, Cruise's Tenn. Battalion, Wm. Morris, Cruise's Tenn. Battalion, Wm. Walker, 15th Miss.

A SOUTHERN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND.

Special correspondence of the Memphis (Tennessee) Appeal.
RICHMOND, May 1, 1862.

The storm of last evening was one of the most violent and long continued that we have known in Virginia for years. From half-past four in the afternoon till long past midnight, the sky was a sea of fire, so vividly and incessantly did the flashes of lightning succeed each other; while peal upon peal of thunder broke upon the ear with startling vibrations. There was something awfully impressive in the elemental fury, coming upon us as it did when the rage of battle was expected, and causing two great armies to pause in their hostile operations and witness the grandeur of nature.

The effects of the tempest we have no means of knowing as yet to the full extent. Just at its height, about half-past nine in the evening, all the lights in the city were suddenly extinguished by the inundation of the gas works—leaving the vast majority of our citizens without other illumination than the momentary glare of the lightning.

This morning an officer came into town and reported that the camp of an Alabama regiment had been visited by a thunder-bolt, which struck a tall pine, and, descending to the earth, scattering in every direction, killing two men, and prostrating thirty or forty others, besides destroying the horses of the field-officers. I give this statement as narrated to me by that officer himself, without vouching for the truth of it.

The vast quantity of water discharged from the clouds is shown in the James river to-day, which is several feet above its accustomed level, and pours over the falls with angry volume. The drivers of the market carts tell us the Chickahominy is swollen far beyond any freshest of late years; and as the heaviest portion of the cloud was in that direction, this would seem extremely probable.

About one o'clock to-day a furious cannonade was commenced, as near as we can judge from the sound, in the neighbourhood of Bottom's Bridge, thirteen miles east of the city, and has been kept up with little intermission to the time of this writing, six p.m. The reports were louder and in more rapid succession than any we have yet heard. The streets are full of rumours with regard to the occasion of the firing, but no couriers have arrived from the field to bring definite intelligence. The story runs that a large body of the Yankees, variously estimated from twelve to forty thousand, crossed Chickahominy yesterday, and being unable to get back again, in consequence of the flood, were vigorously attacked by Generals Huger and Longstreet, sent for this purpose since daylight. If this be so, there is every probability that the whole body has been captured or driven pell mell into the turbid waves of the swollen stream. Heaven grant this may prove true. I have no idea that a general battle is going on, but certainly the numbers engaged in the skirmish are large, for all day the authorities have been sending ambulances down the Williamsburg road to bring in the wounded from the combat.

The Hon. R. M. T. Hunter arrived in town to-day, and was greeted with great enthusiasm by his friends, as the apprehension had been felt that he was in the enemy's hands. Mrs. Lee, the wife of General Lee, and her daughters, are prisoners at the White House, on the Pamunkey River, having been caught there by the ascent of the guaboats past West Point.

DIXIE.

RICHMOND, June 2, 1862.

The heavy cannonade and rattling fire of musketry, heard throughout Saturday, as stated in my last letter, proved to have come from an obstinately contested and bloody battle fought within eight miles of the city. I shall endeavour to give you an account of it, such as I have been enabled to make up from the statements of intelligent officers and men who were active participants.

A very large force of the enemy, variously estimated at from 35,000 to 50,000, having crossed the Chickahominy as early as the 29th of May, had entrenched themselves at several points along the Williamsburg-road, and further strengthened their position by felling the trees in the woods, and thus making a considerable abatis. The purpose having been formed to attack and dislodge them, the divisions of Generals Hill, Longstreet, and Whiting, with a portion of General Huger's division were sent to the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy's advance position at an early hour on Saturday morning, and arrived upon the ground about ten a.m. Very soon thereafter the battle was opened with musketry, and maintained on our side most gallantly by two or three regiments of Hill's division (the 2d Florida, 6th Virginia, and 5th South Carolina) thrown out as skirmishers, their fire being hotly returned by the Yankees from the cover of the woods. This lasted for an hour or more, when the regulars of Longstreet, the same who won the day at Williamsburg, came upon the ground, and began to move upon the enemy with alacrity, though meanwhile the Federal artillery had commenced to play with sad havoc upon the open ground between the woods, concealing them and the Confederate lines. The 2nd Mississippi and 28th Georgia were the first to dash vigorously against the foe sheltered behind the fallen timber, and driving them through the woods, caused the destructive infantry fire for a time to slacken. But the Yankees retreating to their breastworks and again making a deadly use of their Enfield rifles, the 4th North Carolina was ordered forward, and little recking the murderous discharges of the enemy, succeeded in carrying the first line of earthworks, which, however, they were unable to retain, in consequence of the fearful rain of canister from the Yankee howitzers that bore upon the spot.

Falling back in excellent order, they were reinforced by fresh arrivals of Longstreet's command, and a battalion of Louisiana troops, who continued the attack supported by Latham's battery, which opened upon the Yankees with such tremendous energy that they abandoned their four brass howitzers in confusion. The valor and steady determination of our troops up to this point can only be appreciated when it is stated that their advance to the enemy's entrenchments was for a long distance through a deep bog, where the men were frequently up to their knees in the mire, and where it was well nigh impracticable that artillery could be moved at all.

A desperate fight now ensued in which victory seemed doubtful, so obstinately and bravely did the Yankees sustain their position. At length, after a furious fire given and received by the 1st Virginia (which was literally annihilated, bringing only twenty-six men out of the action) the 1th and 6th South Carolina, and the 12th Mississippi, and other regiments, supporting and strengthening their columns, the intrenchments of the Yankees were carried and all their artillery (nine pieces), together with their camp, fell into our hands. Night then closed over the scene, but not before the courage and persistency of the gallant Tennesseans had been brilliantly illustrated in another part of

the field in repelling an attempted flank movement of the enemy. I regret that I cannot give you the numbers of the Tennessee regiments which achieved this noble success, following the flying Federals into the waters of the swollen Chickahominy up to the waist, amid the cheers of their companions in arms, who looked on with delight. They were commanded by the brave General Hutton, who here received his death wound.

When dusk had seen the gas lamps spurring into light throughout the city, the wounded men began to arrive in ambulances from the field, and late into the night did the streets contain excited groups of citizens, eager to hear the latest intelligence from the contest. Committees also were already at work in receiving the sufferers, and directing their removal to the places to which they were assigned.

Early on Sunday morning the whole city was astir. The fortunate individuals who could secure horses, were in the saddle after an early breakfast, and on the road for the battle-field, while hundreds, without the means of conveyance, went afoot, eager to be witnesses of, or volunteers in the conflict of the day. Random guns had been heard at sunrise, and discharges at long intervals were kept up for three or four hours, when the battle of the day previous was renewed suddenly enough, at a few minutes past nine o'clock a.m., by a murderous volley discharged by an invisible foe, into the unformed line of the 9th Virginia, Lieut.-Col. Goodwin commanding, from a dense wood in front of them. The 9th sprang quickly to their arms, and forming in order of battle, rushed upon their unseen assailants across the fallen timber of the abatis, and drove them from their covert. The 3d Alabama and 12th and 31st Virginia regiments, coming immediately to the assistance of the 9th, pressed forward upon the enemy, and from that moment until four o'clock in the afternoon the fight was a continual advance of our troops and retreat of the Yankees, until we had carried all their entrenchments, and taken the camp occupied by them the previous night, with large quantities of knapsacks, india rubber tent cloths, small arms, and overcoats, and some stores, such as coffee and lemons, &c.

Our loss in the two days fighting cannot be accurately ascertained as yet, but it will probably not exceed twelve hundred nor fall short of one thousand, in killed and wounded. We lost no prisoners, but took about 600. At least two to one of the enemy were killed, though their number of wounded will, perhaps, be less than ours. A large majority of our wounded were shot in the hands or arms, the result of a cross fire, the bullets taking effect as their pieces were at an aim. Of the casualties few names can be given which are not to be found in the Richmond papers of this morning. The lamented General Hutton I have already mentioned. Colonel Lonax, of the 3rd Alabama, was killed instantly, on Sunday morning, soon after the combat was opened. General Pettigrew, of South Carolina, fell the same day. General Joseph E. Johnston was wounded slightly on Saturday, in the shoulder. For a few days he will be disabled from the command, which will be assumed by General R. E. Lee.

Our troops fell back last night, because of the miry nature of the ground, and of the horrible stench already filling the air for a mile around the field, from the rapid decomposition of the unburied corpses under the hot sun of June. To-day it was supposed the fight would be again commenced along the whole line, but the enemy sent a flag of truce asking a suspension of hostilities for the burial of the dead, and both armies are engaged in this work of humanity.

Among the trophies captured on Saturday, were the magnificent colours of the 92nd New York, General Casey's brigade, which were sent to the Spotswood House for the inspection of Mrs. Johnston, but have since been taken to the War Department.

We have a rumour to day that the Yankees are crossing the James River below Drury's Bluff, under the protection of their gunboats, with a view of attacking our batteries from the land side, while the fleet should shell them in front. This is probably intended to make a diversion, but if it be a serious movement, we are not unprepared.

The President, the Secretary of War, General Lee, and Governor Letcher were all on the field on Sunday.

I need not undertake to describe the appearance of our city, nor the manner in which the people of Richmond have met the duties of this trying hour. All business is suspended. Every house is a hospital, and but one thought occupies the public mind—how the brave defenders of the capital, who are suffering from the enemy's well-directed fire, shall be made comfortable.

DIXIE.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

On April 15, in New Orleans, at the McGehee Church, by the Rev. J. B. Walker, B. A. Hoffman to Miss Kate E. Barnes, both of that city.

DIED.

On April 14, at Corinth, Miss, Asou Jerauld, eldest son of E. H. Fairchild and Mary A. Harrington, aged 18 years and 10 months.

On Tuesday, April 8, at half-past one p.m., at New Orleans, Henry W. Rayburn, a native of Tennessee, a resident of that city for fifteen years.

On Tuesday evening, April 8, at half-past four o'clock, at New Orleans, Dawson Canonge, son of B. Z. Canonge and Belzire Forstall, aged 35 years.

On Wednesday morning, April 9, at ten o'clock, at New Orleans, Mr. Hugh Fisher, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, aged 35 years.

On Wednesday, April 9, at his residence in Casacalvo-street, between Port and St. Ferdinand streets, New Orleans, James D. Beck.

On Wednesday evening, April 8, at nine o'clock, at New Orleans, Gavino Ledda, born at the city of Sassari, Island of Sardinia, aged 40 years.

On Wednesday night, April 9, at half-past eleven o'clock, at New Orleans, John Ewing, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, aged 32 years and 6 months.

On Tuesday, April 1, at New Orleans, of typhoid pneumonia, on board steamer 35th Parallel, Lieut. George Mather Turcaud, of Scott's Cavalry Regiment, aged 23 years.

On Thursday, April 10, at one o'clock, at New Orleans, William Thelford, a native of Belfast, Ireland, and for the last twenty-years a resident of this city, aged 69 years.

On Thursday, April 10, at two p.m., at New Orleans, George S. Wilbanks, eldest son of the late G. H. Wilbanks and Janephine Guerin, aged 9 years and 2 months.

On Sunday, April 6, in the Battle of Shiloh, Delphin Coutourie, a native of the Island of Guadalupe, and member of the Orleans Guards Battalion, aged 27 years.

"A handful of dust in the land of his choice,

And a share in song and story,

'Moog names which Fame, with her brazen voice,
Shouts—'Died on the field of Glory!'"

On Sunday, April 6, killed in the Battle of Shiloh, James Russell Grimshaw, son of James Grimshaw, of New Orleans, in the 19th year of his age.

On Saturday, April 5, at Clifton, parish of West Baton Rouge, Helen Eliza, only child of A. Sidney and Maria A. Robertson, aged 12 years, 1 month, and 25 days.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following extract comes to us from a highly respectable source, and for this reason we insert it, though without vouching for its correctness, concerning which we confess to grave doubts:—

NEW YORK, June 12, 1862.

Since I last wrote you, many changes have taken place; within the last three weeks we have gained three glorious victories, and I have just heard that the Monitor was taken by surprise. In a few days it will come out, but the Government will not allow any news to be published which is not favourable to them.

This news about the Monitor was told me by a gentleman who is appointed by Government to see all despatches, says it is true. I only hope so.

A great number of our men were brought here last Sunday wounded, and among the number was General Klink, from Charleston; he had his leg amputated—he died yesterday. I am doing everything in my power for our men by nursing them. Among a hundred wounded expected here is Johnson Pettigrew, A. Cochman, and Lieutenant Robertson, all of Charleston. All the women and children have been removed to the country, and we expect to hear every day of a bombardment. Some gentlemen from there, via Nassau, said the place would be burned if it could not be defended.

—, WISCONSIN, June 6, 1862.

A fortnight ago a gentleman was nearly strangled at the dinner table of our principal hotel, for merely venturing to doubt the military talents of General McClellan. About the same time a Confederate prisoner of war, suffering severely from dysentery, was taken unwell before he could get as far off as the sentry thought he ought to have gone, and, in consequence, he was abused in a most savage and brutal manner; his brother, also a prisoner, remonstrated, upon which the soldier shot him dead, and no notice was taken of it by any one. I find, to my surprise, Secession rife among the principal inhabitants here. * * * A Liverpool man (W. P.), lately in Halleck's army, at Pittsburg Landing, has returned here for his health, and reports that the mortality among the troops is frightful, amounting to hundreds and almost thousands per day.

REBO. HOPKINS, Co. Kr., May 30, 1862.

The horrors of the cruel and unholy war which one section of the Union is waging against the other, to subdue or bring it under their unnatural yoke, are not likely to be lessened by its progress; and the heart of every good man must be sickened at the thought of what is yet to come; for my part, I confess I am all the time oppressed by it, to think of the unparalleled trouble and distress, continually on the increase, which pervades our whole land. I acknowledge, my dear sir, that I am greatly troubled, but do not despair. The North, I know, is, in her resources and numerically, the stronger of the two; but the battle is not always to the strong, for the Lord, the righteous judge of all the earth, who rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm, is, I doubt not, so guiding and directing this terrible strife as in the end to bring all things out right; and, relying as I do upon the justice of our cause amidst all the gloom which surrounds me, I have an abiding confidence that the South will at last prevail. You will soon hear better news from here; you will hear of Lincoln's earnest appeal for more help—for all to come up to their aid; as I believe I have heretofore said to you, I am very sure the last Southern man will die in the ditch sooner than surrender. I have already been sadly bereaved; the son, whom I lost so early, was to me very dear; of kind and amiable disposition, of industrious and steady habits, and upright and honourable in all his deportment; and I had looked upon him as one who would be the prop of my declining years, and had fondly hoped to have left him as the guardian and protector of the younger members of my family. Those only know how keenly I feel his loss who have suffered in the same way; but many better men than I will go down in sorrow to their graves because of this cruel, unnatural, and unholy war. Pardon me though, my dear sir, for thus giving vent to my feelings; they come up as I write, and I cannot well restrain them.

WHAT THEY THINK OF OUR WOMEN.—A correspondent of the *New York Times*, speaking of the letters found at Fairfax Court-house, Va., says:—"Many of the letters are from mothers and sisters. It is wonderful the energy with which these dear little rebels enter into the cause of the Confederate States. Not one appeal is there to son or brother to return home. It is, 'Fight, John! let me hear from you in the front ranks.'"

Foreign Correspondence.

SUMMARY OF CONFEDERATE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE WEST AND EAST DURING THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY & MARCH.

[The subjoined letter, although long in its way and referring to events which have lost the interest of freshness, will yet repay perusal by all who desire to form an intelligent opinion of the progress of the war. It throws a clear light upon events which have never before been satisfactorily explained to the European public, and may be implicitly relied upon in all its details, both on account of the high character of the writer, and his free access to the archives of the Confederate Government, from which it is compiled.]

RICHMOND, April 5, 1862.

THE reverses to our arms at Forts Henry and Donnelson and at Roanoke Island are of course known to you, but the nature and extent of those disasters have doubtless been so exaggerated by the Northern press that a correct summary may be of use.

FORT HENRY.

Fort Henry, an open earth-work, situated on the banks of the Tennessee, mounting eleven guns, was on February 8 attacked by a fleet of the enemy's gunboats, seven in number, and mounting fifty-four guns, while their transports landed an army of 12,000 men, with a view to the capture of our small force, of less than 3000, stationed there for the defence of the batteries. The contest was at once seen to be so unequal as to leave nothing to be done but to withdraw with the least possible loss. Under these circumstances, General Tilghman, in command of the Fort, determined to hold it with some eighty men to the last moment, in order to cover the retreat of the army. This object was effected, and the forces were marched in safety across the land to Fort Donnelson, on the Cumberland River, without loss. General Tilghman, after sustaining the bombardment of the battery for several hours, and having had all his guns dismounted except four, was compelled to surrender with the few men, less than sixty in number, who remained to serve the guns.

FORT DONNELSON.

Fort Donnelson, situated on the bank of the Cumberland river, was a work of much greater importance than Fort Henry, and covered the approach to Nashville, which, as you are aware, is accessible to boats of large class at high water. General A. S. Johnston, commanding the Western Department, was fully aware of the value of this position, and lost no time, nor did he spare any effort for its defence. His whole force, however, then stationed at Bowling Green, was nominally but 30,000 men, and in effective force not more than 24,000. He had in his front General Buell, with an army of 60,000 men, while Fort Donnelson was threatened by the army of General Grant with a like number, and by the gunboat fleet of the enemy, flushed with its recent success at Fort Henry. The fall of the latter fort had already rendered imperative the abandonment of Bowling Green, as the possession by the enemy of the Tennessee River cut off the army of General Johnston from that of General Polk at Columbus, thus leaving it free to the enemy to attack either division with his entire force. Under these difficult circumstances, General Johnston sent to the aid of Fort Donnelson rather more than one half of his small army, retaining the remainder to cover the withdrawal of his stores and munitions of war, and to check the advance of General Buell, and prevent his direct march to Nashville. After four days' desperate combat, during which the enemy's gunboat fleet was greatly damaged, defeated, and driven back, the constant reinforcements of fresh troops, by which our small army was incessantly assailed, leaving them not an instant's repose, finally succeeded in reducing them to such a state of physical exhaustion that a surrender was deemed unavoidable; and although a considerable body of our men made good their escape, together with Generals Floyd and Pillow, (the two senior generals), the enemy succeeded in capturing the remainder of the force, between 6000 and 7000 in number, together with General Buckner and a large number of commissioned officers. The victory was

dearly bought, as the loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners (the latter taken in a victorious sortie) cannot have been less than 5000 men.

FALL OF NASHVILLE.

The capture of Fort Donnelson necessarily involved the fall of Nashville, which was soon after taken possession of by the enemy, who have since remained masters of the northern part of central Tennessee.

THE EVACUATION OF COLUMBUS.

These operations rendered the evacuation of Columbus a military necessity, its position on the Mississippi River being too far north to permit our shattered forces to maintain it against a land attack from the combined forces of the enemy, and the armament was accordingly withdrawn, and the evacuation conducted with entire success, while a new position was assumed at Island No. 10, situated about twenty miles above New Madrid.

CONCENTRATION AT CORINTH.

In the meantime General Johnston, reassembling and reorganizing the shattered remnants of the army of Fort Donnelson, and uniting with a small division under General Crittenden, has succeeded in accomplishing one of the most masterly movements of the war. Anticipating the enemy—who, by their enormous fleet of transports on the Cumberland and Tennessee, have the means of rapid concentration in large masses, and in opposition to the advice of all his officers—he succeeded, by a forced march across the country, in moving his forces, with all their baggage train and supplies, to Decatur, in Alabama, which he reached just in time to find himself in front of the enemy, who had endeavoured, by a rapid ascent of the Tennessee River, to place themselves between him and the army of General Polk, now commanded by General Beauregard.

This movement has united into one grand army the forces of General Johnston, the army which evacuated Columbus, now commanded by General Beauregard, and a third force of about 10,000 men under General Bragg, withdrawn from Pensacola. These, with large reinforcements from the States of Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, constitute an army that cannot now number less than 80,000 men, concentrated at Corinth, Mississippi, near which point a great battle is hourly impending.

ISLAND NO. 10.

In the meantime our position at Island No. 10, fortified and reinforced, has been the object of unremitting assault from the enemy's gunboats and mortar fleet, but after fifteen days' incessant firing, accompanied with no appreciable loss to us, and considerable damage to their fleet, they seem to have abandoned in despair the effort to descend the Mississippi River by forcing the passage, and to be now awaiting the operations of the land forces.

ROANOKE ISLAND.

The fall of Roanoke Island occurred on February 8. It yielded to the combined attack of a fleet of gunboats, and an army of 10,000 men, which succeeded in effecting a landing, and forcing the capitulation of our troops, about 2500 in number. This disaster derives its importance from the basis thus afforded to the enemy (commanding, as he does, the navigation of the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds) for concentrating forces for expeditions against the coast of North Carolina, but chiefly for an attack on Norfolk in the rear. The gathering forces of the enemy on the Peninsula in the neighbourhood of Fortress Monroe, and the strong reinforcements pouring incessantly through Hatterass Inlet, to the aid of General Burnside, indicate an intention to spare no effort for the capture of Richmond; and we are hourly in anticipation of heavy engagements in this neighbourhood.

NEWBERN AND WASHINGTON TAKEN.

The army of General Burnside, after the capture of Roanoke Island, has made two further captures, viz., the towns of Newbern and Washington, North Carolina. At the latter place there was no defence, the town being quite insignificant, the population not exceeding 1200 or 1500 souls; but at Newbern a very gallant defence was made by about 4000 men

against the combined fleet and army of the enemy, and, although our forces were compelled to retreat, the loss of the enemy cannot have fallen short of 1500, while the results of the capture of the town are unimportant.

CONDITION OF PUBLIC FEELING.

It is most gratifying to observe that the series of disasters, of which I have given you an impartial narration, have had the most beneficial effect on the temper, tone, and spirit of our people. The long inaction to which we had been condemned by the inferiority of our forces had produced its usual effect on our troops. A feeling of listlessness; a growing belief that there would be little more fighting; the irksomeness of camp life when unvaried by active service; the prevalence of camp diseases; the desire to revisit home and family—all had combined to produce a state of things under which our army was wasting away, and the spirit of volunteering had almost died out. The change has been magical. Our people are alive to the magnitude of the contest. A stern and resolute spirit is manifested, far more promising than the unreflecting enthusiasm under which the volunteers first rushed to our standard. The whole people are at war with our deadly foes. Nothing is wanted but an ample supply of arms and munitions to place on foot the most formidable array of modern times. Entire confidence in the result of the contest is felt to the very core of the national heart, and you need entertain not the slightest hesitation in giving every assurance that this contest can by no possibility, and under no stress of human power, end in aught but final separation between the contending parties. The temper of Congress cannot be better evinced than by the following resolution, unanimously adopted on March 5:—

WHEREAS the United States are waging war with the Confederate States, with the avowed purpose of compelling the latter to reunite with them under the same Constitution and Government; and whereas the waging of war with such an object is in direct opposition to the sound Republican maxim, that "all government rests upon the consent of the governed," and can only tend to consolidation in the general Government, and the consequent destruction of the rights of the States; and whereas, this result being attained, the two sections can only exist together in the relation of the oppressor and the oppressed, because of the great preponderance of power in the Northern section, coupled with dissimilarity of interests; and whereas we, the representatives of the people of the Confederate States, in Congress assembled, may be presumed to know the sentiments of the said people, having just been elected by them, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Congress do solemnly declare and publish to the world that it is the unalterable determination of the Confederate States (in humble reliance upon Almighty God) to suffer all the calamities of the most protracted war, but that they will never, on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who are guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens.

BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE.

Far up in North Western Arkansas, there was fought, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of March, one of the most obstinate battles recorded in history, the result of which, although highly creditable to our arms, can scarcely be claimed as a victory. General Earl Van Dorn, in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, having succeeded in effecting a junction between the forces of General McCulloch and those of General Price, who had retreated from Missouri before overwhelming numbers, determined to give battle to the enemy, notwithstanding the great disparity in arms and equipment of the two forces. The numbers on the two sides did not vary materially, being near 30,000 each. But our troops were principally armed with short guns, squirrel rifles (as they are called by the country people), and in many instances not even with these, but only with such rude weapons as the men could hastily fashion for themselves. The first day's combat resulted in driving the enemy from their position by a desperate charge ending near dark; and our troops slept on the battle-field. But we lost precious lives. General McCulloch and his second in command, General McIntosh, both fell at the head of their columns, and Colonel Hebert, commanding the Louisiana troops, was wounded and made prisoner. The combat was renewed next day by a fresh attack from our army on the enemy, who had assumed a strong posi-

tion some two or three miles beyond the battle-field of the first day. The result of this second attack was less favourable, owing to the discouragement produced in one wing of the army by the loss of their Generals; and the combat ended by the withdrawal of each party from the field. The enemy retreated into Missouri, and our Generals, after giving the needful repose to their troops, advanced eastward, with a view of co-operating for the defence of the Mississippi River with the armies of General Johnston and Beauregard. I subjoin the general order of the commanding General in relation to the battle:—

Head-quarters of the Trans.-Mississippi District,
Van Buren, Ark., March 16, 1862.

The Major-General commanding this district desires to express to the troops his admiration of their conduct during the recent expedition against the enemy. Since leaving camp in Boston Mountains they have been incessantly exposed to the hardships of a winter campaign, and have endured such privations as troops have rarely encountered. In the engagements of the 6th, 7th, and 8th instant, it was the fortune of the General commanding to be immediately with the Missouri division, and he can therefore hear personal testimony to their gallant bearing. From the noble veteran, who led them so long, to the gallant S. Churchill Clark, who fell while meeting the enemy's last charge, the Missourians proved themselves devoted patriots and staunch soldiers. They met the enemy on his chosen positions, and took them from him; they captured four of his cannon and many prisoners; they drove him from his field and slept upon it. The victorious advance of M'Culloch's division upon the strong position of the enemy's front was inevitably checked by the misfortunes which now sadden the hearts of our countrymen throughout the Confederacy. M'Culloch and McIntosh fell in the very front of the battle, and in the full tide of success. With them went down the confidence and hopes of their troops. No success can repair the loss of such leaders. It is only left to us to mourn their untimely fall, emulate their heroic courage, and avenge their death. You have inflicted upon the enemy a heavy blow; but we must prepare at once to march against him again. All officers and men must be diligent in perfecting themselves in knowledge of tactics and of camp discipline. The regulations of the army upon this subject must be rigidly enforced. Officers will recite daily in tactics, and all must drill as many times daily as other duties will permit. In every company the prescribed roll-calls will be made. The arms will be daily inspected, and a careful attention be given to neat police of the camp. Commanders of brigades will publish and strictly enforce these orders.

By order of Major-General Earl Van Dorn.

DABNEY H. MAURY, A.A.G.

BATTLE OF KERNESTOWN.

On March 23, Major-General Jackson, commanding in the valley of Virginia, made an attack of extraordinary vigour on a vastly superior force of the enemy. With a body of little more than 2500 men he impetuously assailed forces now known to have reached 18,000, kept them at bay for five hours, and when finally withdrawing towards night, had inflicted on them a loss fully equal to the whole number of his own forces, and with a loss to his own troops not exceeding 300 men. Among the enemy's wounded was General Shields, whose arm was so shattered that it is reported amputation has become necessary.

BATTLE OF VALVERDE.

Far away even in New Mexico the hostile forces are in collision. General Sibley, in command of our army, has advanced with a view to the capture of Fort Craig, and the liberation of the territory from the presence of the Federal forces. We have news of a combat on February 21, at Valverde, about ten miles from Fort Craig, in which the enemy were thoroughly routed, all their field artillery captured by a desperate charge of the Texans, bowie-knife in hand; and at the last account the defeated and disheartened enemy were shut up in Fort Craig, and our troops preparing to storm the works.

WASHINGTON, June 21.

Stonewall Jackson has proved himself the great man of the war. He has defeated the combined forces sent against him, and he has compelled them to fall back before his victorious army. Fremont was on Saturday last at Middletown, about sixteen miles from Winchester. Shields had been cut off from Fremont, with a river in his rear, and there seems to be no doubt that his command has either been captured or is in a fair way for it. The Government can give no account of him. A gentleman from Winchester, who left there on Sunday, says both Banks and Fremont had given up Shields as lost.

Banks and Sigel had commenced to entrench Winchester, to cover the retreat of Fremont, in case he is hard pressed. They have sent all the sick and wounded from there, and on Friday commenced sending off their stores. Banks says he cannot hold the valley against the Confederate forces.

3 P.M., June 17.

I have just learnt a piece of news, on which you can rely. Burnside has been compelled to withdraw his forces to reinforce M'Clellan. They have already arrived at Norfolk. At last accounts they were *en route* for M'Clellan's army. This movement has been brought about by the operations of Stonewall Jackson in the valley of the Shenandoah. Thus North Carolina is free again from Northern rule.

PARIS, July 1, 1862.

The obstinate refusal of the British Government to co-operate with France in the attempt to pacify America, has, it is said, but strengthened the determination of the Emperor to check the progress of the flames which threaten to destroy all the staples of the Confederate States. It is asserted, and generally credited in Paris, that the Emperor, annoyed at the unaccountable forbearance of England, has, at the last Cabinet Council held at Fontainebleau, expressed his opinion upon the policy of Lord John Russell with somewhat embittered feelings.

So far as regards the public feeling of France, it has been exasperated by the last order of Butler, confirming his infamous proclamation respecting the ladies of New Orleans, and especially by the approval of that proclamation by the official organ of Washington. The result of these outrages is, that it is difficult this day to meet with a man in Paris who does not declare that the laws of humanity and Christianity, as well as the necessities of the operatives of France, require imperiously that the Government of the United States should be taught that their disgusting brutality, both towards the Confederate States and towards the European Powers, is no longer to be tolerated. Every one is fully satisfied that, tired of waiting for a decision of the English Government, the Emperor has decided to act alone. And, strange to say, far from being depressed at the prospect of a single-handed war with the United States, the French people seem to rejoice at the idea of distancing the sluggish movements of England, which, after all, they think capable of abandoning France in America, as it did in Mexico. Finally, every one sincerely believes that the immense naval force which has been ordered out to the Atlantic coast of America, under the command of Admiral Jurien de la Graviere, and the 30,000 men about leaving for Mexico, under the command of General Forey, are not solely destined to operate against President Juarez.

The Admiral la Graviere, who, by-the-by, has never disguised his deep sympathies for the South, and his antipathies for the land of Yankeeism, is soon expected to proceed to the West Indies. He has had several long interviews with the Emperor, who is said fully to approve of his course in Mexico, and to have placed in his hands sealed instructions to be opened when he reaches Havannah. The new steam iron-cased frigate *La Normandie* is now being fitted out to receive the Admiral, his staff, and the pennon flag.

Notwithstanding all the rumours to the contrary, it is now certain that a portion of the troops destined to Mexico will be embarked in a few days; the transport ships have already sailed for Africa to take them on board, and thence to proceed at once to the West Indies. Two battalions of Turcos have asked permission to join the expedition, and have been allowed to do so.

Since the Emperor has ascended the throne, France seems determined to reconquer her true position among the civilized nations, and to take the lead in all the great political questions which agitate the world. Conscious that the noble and chivalrous Prince who rules her destinies aspires to have the tri-coloured flag wave high over and above the colours of all other nations, France blindly follows her leader without fear, and regardless of consequences. England again will have to be content with a secondary position. The Southerners have little cause to feel towards her any especial friendship, and they may remember, to her cost, that in the rules of political economy which govern the commercial intercourse between nations there are such things as differential tariffs.

The day after the adjournment of the Corps Legislatif, the Count and Countess Morny left Paris for Fontainebleau. Among the Imperial visitors are also the Prince and Princess de Metternich, the Prince and Princess Czartoriski, and the Prince de Reuss (General Prim). Though very courteously received by the Emperor, the Prince de Reuss is said to look very much embarrassed in the presence of his Majesty. It is natural it should

be so, for it must have been quite an uneasy task for him to give a satisfactory explanation of his extraordinary behaviour in Mexico.

After the departure of his guests the Emperor is to go to Vichy, where he is expected to remain during the whole month of July.

The criminal proceedings instituted against Mirés were called to develop the most astounding features ever recorded in the judiciary annals of the legal world. You, no doubt, recollect that, after having been convicted by the Court of Paris, Mirés was remanded to the Court of Douai, which, after a long and tedious trial, gave a verdict in his favour. By a singular disposition of the French laws, an appeal of this judgment was taken to the Court of Cassation by the Procureur General "*to vindicate the law*."

Before the argument delivered by M. Dupin, M. Faustin Hélie read his report to the court. Among the documents composing the docket was a most extraordinary letter from the Minister of Justice, in which his Excellency deplores the judgment rendered by the Imperial court of Douai, and declares that if the facts contained in Mirés' indictment could possibly be received without being reached by the law, that then it would become the duty of the Government to restrain commercial liberty.

Public opinion has been singularly shocked by such declarations emanating from Messrs. Delangle and Dupin. Well it might be, for they can be construed in no other light than an attack upon the integrity of one of the most honourable tribunals of France. M. Delangle has, in fact, assumed that the judgment of that tribunal constituted a real social danger. M. Dupin has boldly asserted that the decree appealed from had completely destroyed all the guarantees of the law of 1856, thus protesting against the judgment and tainting the court itself with suspicion.

The Court of Cassation has, as was expected after such urgent appeals on the part of the Government, reversed the judgment of the Court of Douai.

What is to become of Mirés I cannot tell, for I am entirely ignorant of the French laws bearing upon the subject. But I understand, from eminent members of the bar, that though this right of appeal by the Government cannot be denied, yet Mirés' case is one of the few, if not the only one, in which it has been resorted to.

These proceedings but confirm the opinion I formerly expressed with regard to Mirés' position. He can be but considered as the victim of some powerful enemies, deeply interested in his utter ruin and fall.

To finish with a more pleasant subject, I will say a few words about a certain morning undress coat, to which the attention of the fashionables was particularly attracted a few days ago. This coat was to be seen in the beautiful show-case of Pomadere, one of the most fashionable tailors of the Boulevard des Italiens. It is made of light Victoria blue cloth, of the most elegant and *distingué* cut, and that which will render it extremely agreeable for your Southern friends to wear is, that Pomadere has named that frock-coat a Jeff Davis.

P.S.—It is this moment rumoured at the Bourse that the British Cabinet has asked explanations from the Tuileries about the concentration of the French fleets in the West Indies.

BRUSSELS, July 2, 1862.

Some years ago I had been roughing it on the banks of the Brazos River, under the sunny sky of Texas, and a happy souvenir, and a deep souvenir, have those days impressed on my memory. I was then at the plantation of Dr. Peebles, his kindly treated guest, and I do hope that my noble friend under his hospitable roof may, with the least possible misery, get through these trying times. I found there some French books and newspapers, and amongst the lot was a letter by Alphonse Karr, on the use of tobacco. It was written with the magnificent wit of the author of "*Les Guêpes*." He fancied a fellow coming to the Minister of Louis XIV. and offering him a plant, a weed, brought over from "*the Islands*," as they called the new continent; a thing tedious in its cultivation, extremely exhausting of the soil, perfectly useless for the food of man or beast, having not one feature that could be made available for manufacturing purposes, of no good whatever as a medicine; but which had the advantage of containing one of the most deadly poisons in existence; then Karr gave a true and shocking description of its effects as a poison. The inopportune fellow would have added to such a nice picture, that after awhile, people would take to it so kindly, from the crowned heads of nations down to the "*Chiffonniers*," that it would become one of the fairer sources of revenue to the Exchequer. What a caning would the poor crazy devil have got at the hands of Colbert. And yet I can read in the *Independence*, that great journal of ours, independent of

everybody except the paying cashiers of one, or two, or three emperors—I can read, while smoking a cigar in the *Café des Mille Colonnes*, that “the French exciseman’s heart is rejoiced at the increased revenue from tobacco. During the year 1861, not less than seven thousand millions of cigars were consumed in France, and Government reaped a net profit from the weed of 216,000,000 of francs.”

Why, the very absurdity of the fact comes at the right moment, for I had been for an hour wondering at the strange freaks into which the human race at large seems to be indulging just now, and one more anomaly is but in keeping with the rest.

Brussels is a sort of an *avant-scène* from which we can quietly gaze upon Europe, and, as a consequence, upon the whole civilized and uncivilized world.

But lo! what sort of a farce are they performing to-day. Let me try and express in words what the two barrels of my opera-glass are showing at a single glance:—

1st barrel.—Here is England marrying a lovely Princess, and good humouredly and courteously inviting all foreigners to her Great Exhibition.

2nd barrel.—There is Spain attesting to the “accouchement” of Isabella (*sic* worded in etiquette records), and the Spaniards forcing into a deadly fight the French workmen who have come to benefit her with railroads.

1st barrel.—Here is the Italian Ministry fondly supposing that Garibaldi has quietly returned to Caprera.

2nd barrel.—There is Garibaldi, who has unexpectedly turned up at Palermo, where he is making stump speeches and preaching concord.

1st barrel.—Here are the citizens of Mexico, who are getting up a subscription to offer “*une épée d’honneur au Général Prim*,” and Zaragoza, “*le grand Général de l’Armée d’Orient*,” subscribing a few dollars.

2nd barrel.—There are Count de Lorencez, Dubois de Saligny, and Almonte, each of them sending a special envoy of his own to Paris.

1st barrel.—Here is General Prim, Prince of Reuss, indulging in an after-dinner speech in New York against some very *high located folks*.

2nd barrel.—There is General Prim, Prince of Reuss, having had a short and pleasant passage to Europe—here is General Prim, Prince of Reuss, at Fontainebleau!

1st barrel.—Here is the book of Victor Hugo, “*Les Misérables*,” breaking out when it was believed that literature had migrated to some parts unknown, with nothing but military bulletins and chief-tain’s *ordres du jour* to fill its place; “*Les Misérables*,” which is said to be a masterly representation of the men of this century.

2nd barrel.—And there is Nadar and his electric light taking to the Paris catacombs; a caravan d’hommes d’esprit et de femmes élégantes, to look at what remains of the men of the centuries before.

1st barrel.—Here is the English army, who recently covered itself with glory in India.

2nd barrel.—There is the English navy looking quietly at her flag trampled down by the Yankees.

1st barrel.—Here is Russia supporting Montenegro, intriguing everywhere against Turkey.

2nd barrel.—There is incendiarism rampant all through her empire, while General Luders is shot in the capital of poor oppressed Poland.

1st barrel.—Here is the Pope, quiet and dignified, in his threatened capital.

2nd barrel.—There are the King of Italy and his sons, fretting and voyaging from north to south.

1st barrel.—Here is Count de Chambord ordering his 4000 devotees, each and every one of whom is a man of considerable importance at home, to abstain from all and every political act.

2nd barrel.—There are busy preparations made at the Ministry of the Interior in Paris for the elections.

1st barrel.—Here is mild M. Assolant, who, unable to prevent English girls from being unmercifully beaten by clowns in the streets of London, has applied to the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, so that when he comes again to London he may oppose, at least, some of the English brutality.

2nd barrel.—There is poor M. Busquet, who has taken so kindly to English drinks that he is seriously injuring his health; but he hopes that he may be buried near James Watt, in Green Park, under a tuft of grass.

1st barrel.—Here is M. Mirés preparing to fight some new law battle.

2nd barrel.—There is the Cour de Cassation, unable to reverse practically the decision that declared him innocent, as the case is in every civilized country, yet cancelling morally the acquittal.

Here . . . but let us stop; it would take three barrels this time.

At the door of your great London Exhibition one

could see three men actually brought close together by the pressure of the crowd. One is Ledru Rollio, one is Duke d’Aumale, one is Prince Napoleon!!!

There exists in the neighbourhood of Naples a lunatic asylum much vaster than Bedlam. Its name is the *Manicomio d’Aversa*. The present director has attained remarkable success by means of a quite new mode of treatment which he has submitted a number of them to. He makes them perform tragedy and comedy. He was so elated with the favourable results that he wished his actors to perform before the public, and one evening of last week the troop of lunatics actually played, at the Theatre del Fondo, a tragedy of Alfieri, “*Brutus I.*” The house was crowded, and all the outlets of the stage were carefully guarded by the male and female nurses of the hospital. The Neapolitan people were amazed at seeing these unfortunates performing Alfieri’s masterpiece with consummate talent.

Alas! was not that performance about which I was gossiping with you, and which the Brussels *avant-scène* allowed me to see all over the world, wasn’t it also suspicious of the soundness of mind of the millions of performers?

But why should we stop to-day looking at the follies and meanness of mankind. There are still noble hearts and vigorous minds—we have heard, blessed be the news, that our friends fighting for their families, their homes, the inheritance of their children, the sacred homes of their births—that our friends are everywhere driving back the invader—the blood-thirsty, the woman insulting, the hated invader.

Every man who hates despotism, and loves independence, who hates mob-law, and loves order and civilization, whose heart can beat for his country—has received joyfully the cheering news, and earnestly hopes you will soon announce to us that every Yankee has been driven out of your young Republic.

NEW YORK, June 17, 1862.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

Sir,—Notwithstanding the Morill Tariff was intended to be prohibitory in its character, importations are beginning to be quite large. The Southern and Northern States are bare of manufactured goods; we are without the raw material, and have to rely upon other countries for supplies. The cash duties paid during May were 4,716,354 dollars, against 979,145 dollars, the corresponding month in 1861. The total imports since the 1st of January have been 72,714,180 dollars, while the exports have amounted to only 48,956,541 dollars, showing a deficit of 23,757,639 dollars, which has been partially made up by the shipments of specie to the extent of 18,108,737 dollars. It is estimated that the imports during June, July, and August, will be 58,000,000 dollars, and that the exports cannot exceed 16,000,000 dollars. When the war broke out we had large quantities of foreign goods on hand, and our manufacturers were well stocked with cotton, all of which has been consumed. Our exports since the fall of Fort Sumter sum up 140,000,000 dollars, 30,000,000 dollars of which was made up by shipments of Southern produce, and the remainder consisted principally of bread-stuffs. So with good crops in Europe, we will have nothing to balance the importation but gold, and it is likely that the Government may prohibit the precious metals leaving the country. The want of clothing material will soon become a serious element of trouble in the North.

Much anxiety is felt as to whether Mr. Chase will be able to pay the semi-annual interest. We are aware that it has to be settled for in specie. The banks have taken advantage of the speculative mania, and sold out the 70,000,000 dollars Treasury notes, with which they were saddled last September. The contemplated issue of an additional 150,000,000 demand notes by Mr. Chase has created ill-feeling between him and the banks, and it is doubtful whether they will come to his relief as formerly.

THE BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND.

The following has appeared in the *Times*. It is furnished to that print by F. Smith, Esq. (J. P. Co. Staff), who vouches for the veracity of the intelligence:—

Fortress Monroe, June 4, 1862.

I now realize war in all its horrors. I have witnessed such scenes as would make the blood curdle to read about, but to look upon them is truly horrible.

I have seen within two days past, more than 12,000 men torn in all parts of the body with balls and bayonet wounds. I went on board of the Vanderbilt this morning, and saw lying all over the boat 850 wounded and dying men. I sickened at the sight, but was compelled, for the sake of humanity, to do all I could to aid them. I there saw Colonel Bratton, of South Carolina, a rebel colonel, who fell upon the field, not dead, but badly wounded. Some of the wounded were hit in four or five places.

Those men are less than one-quarter that fell upon the field of battle on last Saturday near Richmond. The rebels there attacked the Union troops and completely routed them, taking all their stores, ammunition, artillery, &c.

On Sunday there was some fighting, which the papers report

as being terrible, and that they regained all they lost on Saturday, but this is not so. The rebels fought terribly hard, and I very much fear McClellan’s army will be completely routed if he does not soon receive heavy reinforcements.

Yesterday Sumner’s division was attacked again by the rebels, but we have not received any news of the result, as the wires are down from head-quarters.

We have lost a great many officers, numbers of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, &c. I was informed one boat alone was filled with officers.

Colonel S— was wounded, as was his captain, and his company was terribly cut up, but few men remaining.

The Pennsylvania regiments suffered terribly; only 150 men are left in the 104th regiment.

The number killed, wounded, and missing in the two days’ fight approaches 16,000 certain. Don’t believe anything you see in the papers. I know they lie awfully.

Official despatches are worth nothing.

A SCENE IN THE SENATE

In the United States’ Senate, on the 6th ultimo, in a debate on the motion to reconsider the vote laying a tax on slaves,

In the course of the debate, Mr. Cowan said it might be said he intended to lecture the Senate. He thought it deserved it by passing acts which were calculated to trample upon the Constitution. It might be said he was dogmatic. Well, he intended to be dogmatic.

Mr. Wade (in his seat): “All but the matie.”

Mr. Cowan: When the Senator settles his little account with his colleague in the other house it will be time enough for me to pay attention to that kind of a remark. Till then he must excuse me.

Mr. Wade spoke to Mr. Cowan as having a right to be a mere advocate and watch-dog of traitors in the field, but should not come here to lecture the Senate. Whoever heard of him? He was willing to be criticised by some one having authority. He had rather be lectured by anybody than the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Cowan said he might be very humble, inexperienced, and unknown, but he was here as a representative of Pennsylvania. He represented two millions of people, and was not going to apologize for his people, for his inexperience, or his youth. He never understood that age or long service here would satisfy folly, or give character to Billingsgate, which might be learned of any fishwoman. After further discussion a vote was taken, and the reconsideration carried—22 against 18.

ADVICE TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

The *New York Herald* concludes a long leader, abusing the French Emperor, with the following advice:—

The only other alternative left to the Ruler of France is to create a quarrel with England out of the Mexican *imbroglio*, and invade her at once. Spain is not a foe worthy of his steel. But in England he has the mortal foe of his uncle and of his own dynasty—the hereditary enemy of France for many hundred years. With that greedy and aggressive Power he has accounts to settle reaching back for several centuries. By invading her, as he can successfully do with his iron-clad fleet, he would become a second William the Conqueror, and, carrying out the unfinished programme of his uncle, establish in Europe such an empire as it has never yet seen. He is the man of destiny to whom the first Napoleon has bequeathed the legacy of avenging Waterloo and St. Helena. If he does not take the tide of fortune at the flood he will soon find himself a stranded wreck, washed ashore upon the same lonely rock where his uncle gazed out his heart. Russia would not interfere with his enterprise—indeed, could not in time. Prussia, by any feeble hostility she could offer, would only provoke the seizure of her Rhenish border; and the rest of Germany is in too revolutionary a condition to permit any movement of its princes against France. The game of Napoleon, therefore—the sure and winning game—is to attack England at once; and that he will do it is extremely probable. It is his only salvation.

THE MEANING OF SUBJUGATION.

From the *Richmond Examiner*, June 14.

Thanks to their own acts, performed already in New Orleans, Nashville, Norfolk, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Southern people now know what subjugation means. Even if the people of the Confederate States were the worst race of cowards that ever disgraced the face of the earth, the Northern Congress has been kind enough to do for us what renders cowardice a source of strength. That Congress has prepared, before our eyes, all the implements and engines of torture—the abolition, the negro intercourse, the confiscation laws, the whole machinery of judicial murder and robbery to be inflicted on the South; laws before which every man of us has forfeited his life and heretofore his family of property; enactments which reduce an entire people to the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Yankee appropriators of their land; provisions that annihilate entire States, and place the broad land and all it contains at the absolute will and mercy of wretches whose name has never, at any time, been heard without the fear and loathing that is felt at the view of a scorpion or a snake: the Andy-Johnsons, the Butlers, and Stanleys. Congress has left no doubt as to the consequences of subjugation. With pleased malignity and diabolical confidence, it has arranged before our eyes its racks, thumb-screws, gibbets, axes, pinchers. The hangmen stand at ease, full in view, waiting with folded arms the moment when the military work is ended, and the judicial business begins. The Congress of Washington has shut the door on cowardice. If all the South were overrun, but one only county, defended by one solitary company of infantry, it would hold together and fight to the death, rather than live to endure the miserable fate prepared for those who can neither win liberty nor gain an honourable death.

An officer of the 37th Regiment, writing from Baltimore, says that on arriving at that city, after seventeen hours’ travel, they were welcomed by a pouring rain storm, and remained all night in a railroad shed. He adds:—“Baltimore is a perfect hot-bed of Secession—not a cheer or a flag for Union troops. I rode in a city car with a most beautiful young lady, but she turned her head away, and when I got out she gathered her dress in so that I would not touch it. I pass on safely through the streets, but very often sneered at. I might easily imagine myself in New Orleans before the reign of Picayune Butler. Our soldiers guard the railroad depot.”—*New York Post*.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through JAMES HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1862.

The End of the Spring Campaign.

THE news of the past week, like that of the preceding, has been deficient in that stirring tragic interest to which the spectators of the great gladiatorial contest in America had of late become accustomed. The *dénouement*, though long foreseen, appears further off than ever; but in a spectacle on so grand a scale attention can never flag. The dearth of important events affords us time for a more careful study of the relative position of the combatants, now that, with the close of the Spring campaign, the curtain drops upon another act of the great drama. On this much light has been thrown since our last survey of the field.

In the West, Halleck, according to the latest advices, is about to abandon his "aggressive policy" and assume the defensive. Many on this side of the Atlantic were not aware that he had ever assumed any other since the disaster at Shiloh. The paragraph, however, probably means that he is conscious of the state of paralysis in which that event left his army, and is preparing the public mind for its consequences. After anxious search he has at last discovered the whereabouts of Beauregard; and so soon as discovered, we have the gratifying intelligence that General Pope magnanimously "relinquished his pursuit." It is somewhat surprising to learn that, after the repeated captures of whole brigades by this General (which, by some strange accident, were never confirmed by any subsequent details), the "rebel" chieftain is still at the head of 80,000 men. It is mathematically demonstrable, from the Federal accounts, that he ought to have 40,000 less than none; witness his losses by Pope's captures, by disease and desertion, estimated at 30,000; his reinforcement of Richmond, of Jackson's *corps d'armée*, and of Charleston, by about 20,000 each, say 60,000 more; Kirby Smith's division detached from the main body, 20,000; General Van Dorn's at least 10,000; making in all 120,000 men withdrawn from an army which, according to authentic data obtained from Richmond, and published elsewhere in this impression, did not exceed a numerical force of 80,000 men before the battle at Shiloh. But Federal figures must not be scrutinized too closely, and no one who had read former bulletins of Halleck's believed in the wholesale captures or the wholesale desertions.

From the information before us, such as it is, it may be assumed, then, that Beauregard, with his main force, still confronts Halleck, barring his southward progress, while a flank attack is probably preparing from Eastern Tennessee, which his Lieutenant (Buell) is gone to avert, at immense risk to himself; that Van Dorn's division forms the left wing of Beauregard's army, stationed so as to endanger Halleck's communication with Memphis; that Kirby Smith, in an admirably selected position among the natural defences of Chattanooga, forms the connecting link between the Confederate armies of the East and West, ready to reinforce either, or to make a sudden dash upon Nashville, as occasion may favour, or an emergency require.

In the East the interest is divided between Jackson's brilliant strategy in the valley of the Shenandoah and the critical position of McClellan before Richmond. As we assumed from the beginning, it

is now understood that the former's operations had for their object to prevent the junction of the Federal armies concentrating upon the Confederate capital. In this he has had to perform a task not unlike one of the most admired exploits of the old Napoleon in the first Italian campaign, and thus far with astonishing success. So long as he is able to bolder in check the triple columns of his antagonists—Banks, Fremont, and Shields—Richmond may be considered safe, and McClellan the besieged, not the besieger. In accomplishing this work, General Jackson will most probably continue the same rapid movements, alternate retreats and advances, alluring the enemy into dangerous situations, and never assailing him except when under a disadvantage; and we therefore doubt whether he will fight that pitched battle which at latest advices was deemed imminent.

McClellan, meanwhile, had had to look to a different quarter for reinforcements. Our Washington Correspondent, whose facilities for obtaining information entitle his statements to much consideration, asserts positively that General Burnside, having suspended his operations in North Carolina, is *en route* with his force to join McClellan, *via* Fortress Monroe. The later advices received through the War Department at Washington are silent on this point, but the statement, independent of the authority on which it rests, possesses strong intrinsic probability. If confirmed, it proves the desperate straits to which McClellan must be reduced; for the abandonment of North Carolina would undo the work of many months, performed at an incredible expenditure of men and money. Whether the addition of some 20,000 or 30,000 men to his effective strength by this means would enable McClellan to resume the offensive successfully, is still problematical, but the Confederates might justly claim in that event a fair offset to the evacuation of Richmond. Some fears were entertained by the friends of the South that the late rise of the James River might facilitate a second attack by the Federal iron-clad fleet upon the water defences of that city; but those acquainted with the topography of the locality, pronounce these fears as groundless, and at the last advices the Federals claim no important advantage at that point. General McClellan, then, is wholly dependent upon his land forces, and this dependence is daily becoming more precarious. It is a strikingly suggestive fact, that a small body of Confederate cavalry should have been able to completely circumvent his camp, brush by his left flank, around his rear, and returning safely, with valuable booty, from his right. This is, assuredly, the boldest and most successful reconnaissance on record; for it must be remarked that the Northern accounts of the exploit, which are the only ones we as yet have, prove that not in one place only, but along their whole course in skirting the Federal camp, this adventurous party marked their path by death and destruction of property. They temporarily interrupted the hostile General's communications by land and by water, burnt two of his store-ships, and many waggons and tents, fired into his railway-trains, cut his telegraph lines, and without suffering any loss themselves accomplished their round, carrying with them the prisoners, horses, and medical and other stores they had captured. We are now informed that similar demonstrations are becoming frequent, that guerilla bands hover on the flanks and rear of the invading army, which is not yet 200 miles from its own territory; and that, in fine, the Confederates are growing bolder and "more menacing." The reverse may be assumed as being the case with the army which is thus harassed. It is asserted that McClellan's position ensures him against any present attack, being in a low and densely wooded swamp. But to defend himself in such a spot was not the object of a General at the head of a great army of invasion, and even this brief respite he pays at a fearful cost; for the press and private correspondence of the North is filled with heartrending details of the condition of the hospitals. It is scarcely probable that a more favourable moment will recur than that which he has already lost; for while his army dwindles by disease, that of the

Confederates is swelled by reinforcements, and every day they gain additional strength to their defences.

The spring campaign is now closed. Ere this the fate of Richmond must have been decided. If, contrary to all the probabilities of recent events, it has fallen, the Confederates have retreated where the invader dare not follow them until the sultry-summer months are past. If, on the other hand, the Confederate flag, as we firmly believe, still waves defiantly over the temporary capital, there is nothing left for McClellan but to withdraw to a more healthful position. The North will then, for the hundredth time, have falsified its boastful promises and threats; and it will be seen whether the patience of Europe is really without bounds, or its credulity fathomless.

The Approaching Prorogation of Parliament.

ONLY a few weeks, if not days, remain of an unusually dull and prosy session of Parliament. Its ordinary business is transacted, and but for the distressing war in America, Parliament might, and perhaps would, have been prorogued a month since, without detriment to the public service. Yet every one feels that while so grave an international question remains pending, the legislators of the realm should not leave their seats without doing something, though no one appears to know what that something is. It really would seem that, after eighteen months, England had not yet recovered from her first surprise at the American catastrophe, and that her greatest intellects felt themselves unequal to the task of grappling with a fact which can neither be revoked nor ignored. Time brings a cure to many ills, but time cannot cure a festering wound. The American question demanded quick resolve, and decisive action. Procrastination, always the confession of weakness, has made it only more difficult to deal with. Four months ago it was susceptible of an easy solution. One word then, if firmly spoken, could have pacified the Western World. To-day it may, or may not, be too late, but certain it is that four months hence it will.

It is difficult to even conjecture the shifting reasons which have caused this fatal procrastination ever since the disruption of the American Union became to all eyes a practical, undeniable fact. The only consistent reason—and this far be it from us to ascribe to any one whom England honours with confidence or power—would be, that the two combatants must be deliberately and purposely incited to inflict wounds from which both would bleed to death, and that therefore each of them alternately should be flattered by vague hopes lest his courage might flag. This, we believe, for humanity's sake, could not have been the motive, but the effect has been the same as though it were. Certainly, but for the passive attitude of this country, there was a time when the North would have stopped in its mad career. Certainly, also, at another period and in another mood, the North was only egged on to more exhaustive efforts by favours supposed to have been shown to its opponents.

We said the motives were shifting and varying. At one time it was argued that the recognition of the Confederate States, the only form in which Europe can act with any practical results, would imperil vast financial interests which this country has at stake in the Northern States. By allowing these States to persevere in an undertaking long after it had become hopeless, and thus to consume not only the resources of the present, but of many future generations, until universal bankruptcy shall have become the last remaining relief from still greater evils, precisely that has been produced which it was desired to avert. At least, in the case of war and wholesale confiscation, the British holder of American securities could console himself with the almost certainty that the armed power of his nation would force the refractory debtor into unwilling restitution. But if universal bankruptcy of Government, corporations, and individuals, converts these same securities in his pocket into waste paper, what will

fleets and armies avail with a debtor who has not the wherewith to pay?

Again, the marvellous development of Northern naval power was used as a threat to ubiquitous and timorous commerce. The truth was that the United States improvised a navy, which was, indeed, effective against an opponent who had not a ship at sea, nor a long-range gun on land, but which could have been swept from the waters as a housemaid sweeps cobwebs with a broom. At the outbreak of this war, the United States, though they had a mercantile marine second to no other, and could, therefore, inflict no injury to which they were not as vulnerable, as their antagonist, were not even a fifth rate Maritime Power. Little Denmark equalled, if not excelled them, in the number of its armed ships. Since the war, not a sea-going vessel has been launched from their dock-yards. They have withdrawn their merchant vessels from the pursuits of commerce, which no longer needed them, until now they have little more to lose on the ocean, and have converted them into engines of war. Crafts, like the *Mercedita*, quite competent to insult or capture peaceful ships, and, therefore, to blockade neutral ports, and to bully, but which would shake to pieces on the discharge of their own broadsides, swell the catalogue of Federal men-of-war. But, while it is confessed that the probability of a war with the United States is not removed, it is proposed to delay it until, in the superhuman strength of a mad fury, by efforts of which, in their sober senses, they would be incapable, they shall have built a real navy of iron-clads, out of the very means which should have paid the principal and interest of British debt.

Much stress has been laid upon the argument that the United States were an arrogant, quarrelsome, self-conceited, insolent Power, and no man cares to deny these premises. They themselves rather glory in these avowable attributes, than disclaim them. By a marvellous train of logic, they were therefore to be treated as an indulgent parent treats a very badly spoiled child. Their insolence and arrogance were met with bland politeness; their threats with mild forbearance, so as to teach them how to form a humbler estimate of their grandeur, puissance, and glory. All the world admiringly testifies to the wisdom of this system of teaching.

The dangerous position of Canada has been another of the motives upon which the astute Premier of the Washington Cabinet, and his emissaries, have played with much skill and some effect. On pain of summary vengeance in that quarter, this country is required to give its direct, or at least, implied moral support to the subjugation of a free people of our own race, until the Federal armies, from raw volunteers, shall have become veterans, until the war which now gnaws the vitals of the North shall have become an incentive to still greater deeds, until the Federal ships, released from a blockade rendered superfluous by the possession of the ports themselves, shall have had time to protect California; and leisure to prey upon unarmed commerce. On condition of such patient and submissive behaviour, we are promised the boon which Polyphemus granted to Ulysses, that of being devoured the last. When the North, thanks to our complacent looking on, shall have punished 8,000,000 of people as rebels and traitors, when it has the full disposal of its trained military strength, when it can threaten us with cotton as well as with cannon, when a foreign war has become a necessity to obliterate recollections of the war at home, then, and then only, if we remain good boys and good girls so long, will "manifest destiny" be let loose upon us. Kind, generous, gracious Mr. Seward!

Such are some of the motives which may partially account for the neglect of so many golden opportunities. One stronger than all, however, and in the background behind them all, has been the persistent belief that the question would settle itself, the Gordian Knot would unloosen of its own accord. Doubtless, had English statesmen foreseen that after a twelvemonth and a quarter of active hostilities, after the slaughter of 100,000 men, and the slower hospital death of as many more,

the war would only have begun, and the settlement of the quarrel more complicated by difficulties than at the first outset, their course would have been different. Why, then, not listen to the experience of the past, and to the voice of those few who foresaw events truly, rather than those whose predictions, one after another, have been falsified almost as soon as made.

Grant, for the sake of argument, that the opportune moment, so often passed, has not yet recurred. If that opportune moment depends on the strategic position of the combatants, then seize it so soon as the vicissitudes of war bring it again. If that opportune moment is to be awaited from a change of temper or of purpose on their part; if, in other words, England waits to part them until they both have shaken hands, then it will never come. So long as the North believes that the world trembles before its prowess, so long as the world, by its inaction, belies its words, and, by implication, recognizes the ultimate feasibility of its enterprize, the North will persevere in the war. Even if it wished it, it could not stop of its own will; for there are laws of gravitation in the moral world as well as in the physical. As for the South, it is a cruel mockery to appeal to her for peace. There has never been a time, either before or since the war, that she was not eager to employ every honourable means to secure it. She was forced into this unequal contest, when every odd was against her, without an army, or even the nucleus of one, without an arsenal, or a ship on the high seas, without a treasury or any other wealth than that of her bounteous soil. Appeal to a man who defends purse and life against a gang of highwaymen, to surrender both in the name of peace and public order. Unless the man is a coward, he will defend them so long as breath remains in his body, and he will feel your appeal as an insult to his manhood. The South fights both for its purse and its life. Property, civil and political rights, the honour and chastity of women, are words of well-defined, tangible meaning. They represent no vain abstractions, but facts which honourable men hold dear and deem it a sacred duty to defend. We challenge the casuists of the North to state what else the South contends for, or what equally holy motive they can allege for their cause. When the Southern States withdrew from the Federal compact, they took with them naught but their own soil and the population that inhabited it. They left to the North the prestige and substantial power of a constituted Government, with all its machinery in actual operation; they left it an army, a navy, a treasury, a boundless, unsettled territory wherefrom to carve new empires. They laid no claims to these, threatened them not, coveted them not. All they claimed was the right to be let alone, and attend to their own affairs in their own way. To sit under their own vine and fig-tree, to live at peace with all nations, was their earnest and sincere desire. Situated as they were, it would have been worse than folly to have desired otherwise. They had everything to lose, nothing to gain, by a war in which they must needs be inferior in all save courage and cheerful self-devotion. When the North forced them to assert by arms the title to their own soil and the allegiance of their own citizens, they did so with reliance upon God, who ever defends the right, though they lacked every artificial requisite which nations prepare for war. Their very destitution in arms, money, munitions, manufactures, allured their enemies to the evil deed, and has been sometimes pleaded as a justification of the wrong even in Europe.

And now, suppose this people, which has shed its best blood without stint against hirelings collected from the refuse population of all Europe, to suddenly lay down its arms, surrender its leaders to the halter, resign its women to the insults of a vulgar conqueror, its own civil and political rights to the whims of military pro-consuls—would not the contempt of all the civilized world be the certain and just punishment of such unprecedented and infamous cowardice? The name of Southerner would become a by-word and a scorn; and yet there are

persons, on both this and the other side of the Atlantic, who expect and wish men of the Anglo-Saxon race to do so. Were there one right of the North, one jot of its property, one foot of its territory, which the South impugned, and the surrender of which it made the condition of peace, we should raise our voice against its pretensions in the same manner, and for the same reasons, that we now appeal to the tribunal of nations for a condign condemnation of the course adopted and persisted in by the United States.

Deeply and conscientiously impressed with the conviction that by its silence Europe lends a sanction to one of the greatest outrages that have ever been committed upon justice and humanity, we believed it due to the dignity and honour of this great nation, that Parliament, the most august representative assembly in the world, and by this the palladium of true constitutional liberty, should not adjourn without expressing what we sincerely believe to be the well-nigh unanimous public opinion of Great Britain. If, in the judgment of the wise men of the nation, the time has not yet arrived for the recognition of the Confederate States, at least let it be proclaimed to the world that England, the land of free men and free women, is not indifferent to the undeserved sufferings of their fellow-beings of the same race. Come in what shape it may, in the form of a solemn protest against the continuance of the war, an assurance of sympathy to the injured, an authorization of Government to avail itself of the first opportune moment to bring about, by peaceful means, a relinquishment of the unjust pretensions of the North upon the territories and rights of its late partners under the Federal compact; in whatever form this expression may come, it will produce a salutary effect. At the North it will revive the hopes of those who are weary of the war and sickened of its consequences. At the South it will win back to England those affections which are rapidly becoming alienated. If the talented and far-sighted Member for Galway, whose name must ever be inseparably linked with Southern independence, and who from the first appears to have understood the true issues involved, and boldly advocated the cause of justice when it was yet clouded by the ingenious sophistry of its opponents, would make himself the mouthpiece of the sentiment which we know to be entertained by the vast majority of Englishmen in and out of Parliament, we do not doubt that it would express itself in a form in which it would be acceptable not only to his colleagues, but to the Government. We go even further, and assert that if it is to be done at all, it must be done by him. The honourable prominence which he has won as the thorough master of this difficult and little understood subject, and as the unflinching supporter of the South through good and evil report, devolves upon him duties and responsibilities which he would be the last to shirk. He can speak with an authority in this matter to which few others can pretend, and upon him now rests the decision whether the British public shall speak through its lawful representatives, or whether the opinion shall be allowed to go abroad that Great Britain reserves her judgment until the chance of battles has shown where lays the might, if not the right.

The Ingredients of the Contending Armies.

WHEN men speak of money as being the sinews of war, they assert that which is only partially true. No doubt large resources often conduce to victory, though they do not insure it, and it is certain that nations have often carried on war successfully with very limited means. Notwithstanding all the modern and costly improvements in the art of warfare, notwithstanding the arrogant boast of the United States during the Crimean war, that the taking of Sebastopol was merely a commercial question, it is a fact that the reliable sinews of war are the men that compose the army. For parade purposes, any people—Mexican or Chinese—can be converted by

drill into good soldiers, but it requires inherent fighting qualities to make good fighting soldiers. Besides the mere physical pluck and endurance, much depends upon the spirit that animates an army. Mercenary troops have often displayed great bravery and determination on the field of battle; but the endurance that is not daunted by privations or discouraged by all but overwhelming odds, or dispirited by reverses, is the offspring of a nobler motive than the hope of pay and plunder. In the memorable contest that issued in the independence of the Netherlands, the Spaniards, animated by the hope of booty, displayed wonderful resolution and devotion. Notwithstanding this, the enormous power of Spain could not crush the determination of the Netherlands to maintain those liberties and rights that were dearer than life and property. Hence it is that history does not record a single instance of the permanent subjugation of a people determined to vindicate their independence. Remembering this, if we glance at the ingredients of the contending armies that are now waging deadly war in America, we discover another assurance of the invincibility of the South.

The change of Government, engendered by Secession, was effected in the most peaceable, orderly, and constitutional manner, without noisy demonstration, and without one thought of the deadly hostilities that have ensued. Not only were the Confederates unprovided with the munitions of war, but the possibility of the North trampling on the Constitution which it professed to serve, and warring against the independence of sovereign States with whom it had been in federation, was not even entertained. The call to arms found the citizens of the Confederacy busied with peaceful pursuits; but at that call to defend country and home against the lawless design of the North to attempt the conquest of the fair and rich domains of the South, every citizen evinced his patriotism by offering his services as a soldier. No wonder, despite the unpreparedness, it was an easy matter to organize the Southern army. The regiments that sprang up, as if by magic, were manned by the scions of the noblest and richest families. Lawyers forsook their clients—physicians, their patients—planters, their broad estates—to become private soldiers, and to submit to discipline as rigorous and uncompromising as the discipline of any army in the world. There was no clamouring for commissions; the only demand was to be enrolled in the army destined for the defence of the country. In the diary we have been publishing, entitled “Three Months in the Confederate Army,” the organization of a company is described that was composed of young men whose birth, education, and wealth entitled them to mingle with the highest circles of society. The social standing of the members of that company was not exceptional. In the sacred cause of national independence, it was thought that no sacrifice could be too precious; the higher a man stood, the more he felt bound to offer his life on the altar of patriotism. Of course, citizens of inferior social grades rallied round the Confederate standard; but in the Confederate army there was not a foreign regiment—not one mercenary soldier. Those who had the means furnished their own equipments, found their own rations, and expected no pay. Those who had not the means accepted cheerfully such equipment, rations, and pay, as the Government could offer. In short, the army of the South was, and is, an army of patriots. No marvel that, though cut off from warlike supplies, the Confederates have held their own against their enemy, superior in numbers, and having the advantage of unlimited access to the stores of Europe. No marvel such an army is not disheartened by the loss of frontier cities, and feels confident that the sacred cause for which it contends must triumph, even though that triumph may be preceded by great tribulation.

We have looked at the composition of the patriotic army of the South, let us briefly notice the ingredients of the marauding army of the North.

At the outbreak of the war, or rather, in the excitement before the outbreak of the war, unquestionably many citizens of the United States enrolled themselves as “Three Months’ Men.” How did they act? On the eve of the memorable Battle of Bull Run, at the sound of the Confederate artillery, these “Three Months’ Men” found all their martial ardour had evaporated; pleaded that their term of service had expired; and made from the field and the roar of the enemy’s artillery. We say, advisedly, that from that time few, very few, natives of the United States, always excepting the levies made in some of the Western States, have been found enrolled in the Northern armies. When there is a panic about the safety of Washington, the 7th New York Regiment marches down Broadway, with flying colours, amidst the cheers of the mob, and proceeds to Washington, feeling confident, if there is any actual danger, they will scent it afar, and be able to make a prudent return to New York with whole skins. Whether there is such a thing as bravery amongst the natives of the North, as well as braggadocio, we know not; but we do know that the natives of the North have not shared the perils of the wicked war waged against the South. They are like a well-known Italian Revolutionist, who is a physical and moral coward as well as a cunning knave, and who hires assassins to do the bloody and treacherous work that he himself is afraid to attempt.

One of the fast regiments raised by the Federals was Wilson’s Fire Zouaves, composed of the jail birds of New York. Well, perhaps it is as honourable to carry on an aggressive war with convicts as with foreign mercenaries; and the army of the North is mainly composed of foreigners, the majority of whom are Germans, who only fight for present pay and plunder, and the hope of sharing the spoils of the conquered South. Not only is there a large German element in almost every regiment, but some divisions are wholly composed of Germans; for example, General Sigel, who, in the revolution of ’48, was the leader of the Baden insurgents, and is now entrusted with a high command in the Federal army, is not a naturalized citizen of the United States. So important does the Federal Government consider it to maintain and increase their influence over the Germans, that Mr. Schurtz, who has only lived six years in America, was appointed United States Ambassador to Spain, as the reward of political harangues to his countrymen. Let any one take up the muster-roll of the Northern army, and he will perceive that we do not unjustly designate it an army of foreign mercenaries. Sometimes the scourgings of the Northern cities are attracted by the bounty to enter, or are pressed into the service—of such men was composed the division of General Casey, that imitated the cowardly conduct of the “Three Months’ Men” at Bull Run, by running away at sight of the enemy, and leaving their braver companions to bear the brunt of the battle. Convicts, a pusillanimous mob, a sprinkling of native Americans, but mainly mercenaries, compose the army that, in the name of humanity, endeavours to trample on the rights of humanity; that, under the plea of defending the Constitution of the United States, violates that Constitution; that is, in fact, the instrument of the dollar-worshipping people of the North to steal the liberties of the South; not that the Northerners care for their own or any other nation’s liberty, but they crave for the conquest of the South, because they lust for the riches of the South. Happily, they must kill before they can take possession, and the spirit of Southern liberty is invulnerable, and the North cannot hire a sufficient number of foreign mercenaries to exterminate 8,000,000 of a superior race.

To those who are astonished, and perhaps grieved, at the terrible bitterness evoked in the South by the ruthless invasion of the North, we commend the calm consideration of the ingredients of the contending armies, confident that then they will no longer wonder at or condemn the loathing and deadly animosity so universally manifested.

The Cotton Famine.

SOME surprise has been expressed that we have not from week to week recorded and commented on the progress of the cotton famine. Our silence is not the result of indifference. Amidst the din of war, the sharp cry of Lancashire distress has rung in our ears and palled on our heart. Deeply sympathizing, as we do, with the sufferings and privations of a kindred people, engaged in a life and death struggle for freedom, for the sanctity of home, for national existence, and for individual happiness, we have and do deeply deplore the heartrending misery of the manufacturing districts. We have admired the wonderful and unexampled patience with which the affliction has been borne. We have been silent, because we would not intrude on sorrow so bravely endured, especially as we could not suggest any prospect of speedy relief, and we shrink from adding to affliction by mocking it with delusive hopes, and by suggesting comforting expectations that cannot be realized. Only those who are ignorant of the gravity of the situation will think we treat it with undue solemnity, and we trust that we shall not write a line that can justify our bitterest opponent in charging us with an attempt to make political capital out of a national calamity.

We have not before us the latest accounts of the state of the manufacturing districts. The returns from which we quote are a fortnight old, and although within the last two weeks there has been a considerable increase in the amount of pauperism, they are sufficiently gloomy to give some conception of the indescribable misery. At Blackburn 11,193 persons were receiving relief, and out of this number 4064 are designated as able-bodied. At Preston 10,810 persons were dependent on parochial aid, and the relief committee had 17,189 claimants on their bounty. At Stockport, out of a population of 30,745, there were, on June 14, 1826 paupers, being equal to 6 per cent. of the population. At Wigan, 3193 persons were relieved by the guardians during the week. We might continue this list, but we have given sufficient examples of the state of pauperism prevailing in the manufacturing districts. But the amount of pauperism, though it indicates, does not set forth the extent or depth of the sufferings. We need not say that the relief afforded, though sufficient to ward off starvation, does not supply any of the comforts, and barely the necessities, of existence. The haggard looks of the recipients of parochial relief show what a narrow line separates, avowed pauperism from sheer starvation. We do not complain that the guardians of the poor are niggardly; we do not say that the rich have not contributed liberally to the need of their unfortunate neighbours; but it is impossible for the best devised system of poor law, aided by the most bountiful private benevolence, to avert the dire effects of an industrial famine.

We must remember that avowed pauperism is, with the industrial classes of England, the last resource. Only when the hard-earned savings have been withdrawn from the bank and expended, when the little credit with the shopkeeper is exhausted, when every article of the slightest value is pawned, when the children cry for bread, and cry in vain, when it is manifest that hunger heralds the approach of death, does the British artisan apply for that aid to which he is legally and morally entitled.

The thousands who seek parochial assistance represent thousands who need it and will not seek it. It is no use disguising the fact that our fellow-creatures in the manufacturing districts are dying from starvation. We do not mean that relief is ever refused, but though it is sufficient to prevent the tragedy of death from absolute destitution, it does not maintain the health and vigour necessary to resist disease. It is well known that after a famine there is a fearful mortality amongst those who were subject to its ravages. However, it is in vain to dwell upon a calamity which may be seen and felt, but which cannot be imagined or portrayed.

The cotton famine is exceptionally distressing, not only by reason of the certainty that it must last a

long time, but that the term of its duration cannot be defined. When it pleases Providence to blight our harvests, we look hopefully toward the succeeding harvest; but what are our prospects with respect to cotton? In the Southern States immense quantities of the invaluable staple have been burnt to prevent it falling into the hands of the Northern invaders. Large quantities have been left unpacked and unginned, and are consequently spoilt by the damp. Wherever the Northerners penetrate into the cotton growing States, the torch will be unhesitatingly applied by the patriotic people of the South. Even should a large quantity be saved from destruction by the non-success of the Federal arms, it cannot reach Europe until the blockade is *actually* raised by the termination of hostilities. Meanwhile, during the continuance of the war, grain is sown in the place of cotton. The sooner the war is over and the Southerners are enabled to return to the pursuits of peace, the sooner the cotton famine will be at an end; but an immediate peace would not afford immediate and complete relief.

The idea of obtaining supplies of cotton from India, Jamaica, or Africa, to compensate for the loss of the American supplies, is chimerical. Even if cotton could be profitably grown in those countries at present prices, some time must elapse before any considerable quantity could be produced, and the speculation is discouraged, because when the Southern States again enter into competition the prices will be rapidly reduced. Constant appeals are made to manufacturers to invest money in Indian cotton cultivation. Why do they not heed the suggestion? They suffer immensely by the cotton famine, and would derive a permanent benefit by bringing Indian cotton into competition with American cotton, since such rivalry would reduce the price of the article. The Manchester men are too shrewd to be imposed upon by philanthropic schemes to alter and control the dispensations of Providence. They know the experiment has been tried in India and has failed. They know that the plea of want of capital is delusive. There is no lack of capital in India to cultivate indigo or any other produce that will yield a fair profit. The Government has been asked to encourage the growth of cotton in India. How can it do so? Granting that India can produce the kind of cotton required, how can the Government insure the grower the present high prices? But a single fact is better than a thousand theories. Since the outbreak of the American war the production of cotton in India has not been increased, and it is supposed that it has decreased.

The agents of the United States assured the Lancashire mill-hands that as soon as the Southern ports were taken—in thirty, sixty, or ninety days—plenty of cotton would be forthcoming. Some of the ports have been occupied by the Federals; but where is the promised cotton? And these agitators have shamefully deceived the English artisans as to the cause of the war. They have pretended it is a war for the emancipation of the negro, well knowing that the North hates the negro, and would not spend a dollar to save the whole race from utter ruin. The Northern agitators are perfectly aware that the war is instigated by Northern avarice and by no higher or better motive. They have contended that the subjugation of the South would be beneficial to the manufacturing interests of England; yet they know the United States not only imposes a high duty on the import of English fabrics, but intends to levy an export duty on cotton. It has been stated by the Northern agitators that the people of the United States are friendly to the people of England; yet they must have been aware that the United States' people are our bitter foes; that they openly avow a desire to injure us; that they embrace every opportunity of insulting us, and only wait until they are rid of the Southern war to begin an English war, if they can find the means for so doing. The Northern agitation is in itself bad taste, for no circumstances can justify the agents of one country agitating in another and friendly country. But the way the Northern agitation has been conducted increases its offensiveness. The most gross and unscrupulous

misrepresentations have been used to deceive the English working classes; and efforts have been made to sow the seeds of enmity between the employed and their employers.

When the cotton famine will be over we will not pretend to predict; but it will not be terminated by the production of Indian cotton, or by the success of the Federal arms. We trust that when the labouring people of England discover how they have been duped by the agents of the United States they will still continue to exhibit the excellent and orderly bearing that has already won for them universal admiration and respect.

Reviews.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS.

I.—THE UNITED STATES' CENSUS OF 1850.

WE propose to contribute a series of papers on Southern Statistics, founded on the United States' census of 1850. We do not intend to advocate or support theories by stringing together an imposing array of figures, or even to pursue the course, though it is perfectly legitimate, of deducing theories from ascertained and admitted facts. The unadorned eloquence of facts and figures is always the most lucid and the most convincing. By the analysis, comparison, and sometimes syncretical arrangement of the returns comprised in the United States' census, we hope to present an animated picture of the social and political characteristics, condition, and progress of the Southern States of America. As a rule, statistical studies are unattractive to the general reader; when, however, statistics are the oracle of a people's past history and future prospects, they not only appeal to the reasoning faculties, but are invested with a lively interest that makes them fascinating as well as instructive.

The census of 1860 was taken; but, owing to the war, it has not been prepared for publication, and under the most favourable circumstances could not yet have made its appearance; the last census was not printed until three years and five months after it had been commenced. The latest census at our disposal is that of 1850, but this is sufficient for our purpose; because, compared with the census of 1830 and that of 1840, it establishes a uniform ratio of progression. That the ratio of increase has not been diminished we learn from the census of some of the States taken since 1850, as well as by the United States' trade returns. Practically, the census of 1850 is as useful and reliable for our purpose as would have been, if published, the census of 1860.

The United States' census is, from its completeness, minuteness, and felicitous arrangement, a splendid specimen of the power of skillful organization, and a creditable and enduring testimony to the enterprise of the American people. The schedules of the census of 1850 consisted of 640,000 pages, and they were prepared by forty-five marshals and 3231 assistant-marshals. Before being sent to press, the returns were most carefully revised. The cost of the census of 1850 was 1,318,027 dollars, being equal to rather less than six cents per head of the population. The elaboration of details leaves nothing to be desired. Take the agricultural returns as an example. There is first a table showing the number of farms in each State; the number of acres of improved land; the quantity of unimproved land; the average number of acres to each farm; the aggregate cash value of farms; the value of farming implements and machinery; the average value of each farm; the average value of farming implements, and machinery; and the average value of farms, implements, and machinery. Such ample tables relieve the student from the trouble of evolving details, and they even suggest instructive comparisons. Besides these elaborate returns, we have an account of the produce of each county in each State—not merely an account of the value of the products of each county, but of the quantity of each article produced. The educational and religious statistics are likewise carefully prepared.

And such elaboration enables us not only to test the arithmetical accuracy of the tables, but also the reliability of the data on which they are founded. The returns of population give the white, free coloured, and slave population for each county of each State. There is, likewise, a table of the increase of the population from 1810, and, in some cases, from 1790 to 1850, and a table of the "nativities" of the white and free coloured population. By comparing the United States' immigration returns with the census returns of "born in foreign countries," we are struck with the amazing accuracy of the latter; and we are able to trace the settlement of emigration, and to divine how much of the increase of

each State is due to its prolificness, and how much to the influx of emigrants. In 1850 Virginia, with a free population of 949,133, had 22,985 inhabitants who were born in foreign countries; whilst Michigan, with a free population of 397,654, had no less than 54,703 inhabitants born in foreign countries. Further, in Virginia, out of the free population of 949,133, there were 57,986 persons born out of the State, and in the United States, and the number of persons born in the State was 867,691; whilst in Michigan, out of a population of 397,654, no less than 203,229 persons were born out of the State and in the United States, and the number of persons born in the State was 138,497. Persons migrating from one State to another are frequently emigrants disappointed in their first settlement, or, at all events, they are the unsuccessful, discontented members of Society. How important are such returns as those we have been quoting from, considering that, by the Constitution of the United States, the old and settled State of Virginia has no more votes in the Senate than Michigan, and that in the House of Representatives the emigrant and newly-settled people of Michigan returned as many representatives as a like number of the rich and settled people of Virginia. Such an arrangement was of itself sufficient to dissolve the Federal compact.

The agricultural returns are equally instructive. We find the South is vastly more productive than the North, and that the South yields more than three-fourths of the exports of the United States. As soon as these facts are presented, we understand why the North advocates a protection tariff, and why the South determines upon the adoption of a free trade policy. Moreover, we must be struck with the unfitness of a federation binding together peoples with interests so diverse; and we cannot fail to see the germ of the separation that must hereafter take place between the West and North, just as the South has now been severed from the North. Whether the North will be able to stand well, when she stands alone, we need not discuss, but it is just and expedient that her monopoly should be taken away, and that the priceless commerce of the South should be open to the competition of the world. The attempt of the North to subjugate the South likewise becomes intelligible when we investigate the returns of productiveness of the two sections.

We cannot wonder at the money and time devoted to the compilation of the United States' census, when we reflect that it regulates the basis of representation and decides the political fate of each State and each section of the Federation; and to a great extent indicates the political condition of the Union, for it shows the number of Irish and German emigrants that have been added to the list of voters. The census records the growth of the population of the territories, and points to the formation of new States, and a consequent accession of power to one party or the other. A new State has as large a representation in the Senate as an old State. Not that we object to the equal Senatorial representation of unequal States, which only becomes injurious by the indiscriminate bestowal of the rights of citizenship; and the adoption of universal suffrage. The sovereign States are equal in respect to their sovereign rights; and to have regulated the Senatorial representation by the extent, riches, or population of the several States, would have been equivalent to placing the smaller States under the dominion of the larger States.

If the framers of the United States' Constitution had not avowedly and tacitly acknowledged the sovereign independence of the several States it would have been an act of monstrous, ridiculous injustice of the Convention to have placed Virginia, with a population of 442,115 on an equality with Rhode Island, having a population of 64,689. The equal Senatorial representation of unequal States is one of the many proofs that the abnegation of sovereignty was never contemplated by the States in entering into the Federal league.

However, inasmuch as considerable powers were vested in Congress, including the authority to raise a Federal revenue, it was deemed expedient that the Lower House should represent the several States according to their importance. Unfortunately, population was fixed upon as the basis of representation; yet, by allowing five slaves to count as three whites, in calculating the number of representatives, although it is known that the slaves did not and would not vote, it is evident that population was regarded as a test of property, and when the United States' Constitution was framed it was a very fair test. But of what value was the test in 1850, when, as may be seen, it gives as much power to emigrants and new settlers—persons possessing little property and little fitness for the exercise of the elective franchise—as to the settled population of the oldest State? Population continued to be the basis of representation, but population was no longer a criterion of responsibility. Power divorced from responsibility naturally degenerated into

tyranny—and in the case of the United States, into that worst of all tyranny, the tyranny of the mob. But the bad enough and destructive in itself, was augmented by a evil very peculiar arrangement.

When new States were admitted, or old States had so increased as to be entitled to more members, instead of adding to the number of the House of Representatives, the representation of other States was diminished; that is to say, after each census the ratio of representation was fixed, and so that the number of representatives did not increase with the number represented. In 1850 an Act was passed fixing the ratio at the quotient obtained by dividing 233 into the whole representative population. In 1790 there was one representative to 33,000 persons; in 1850 there was one representative to 93,420 persons. In 1800 Virginia had twenty-three, and Indiana one representative; in 1850 Virginia had thirteen, and Indiana eleven representatives. In 1800 North Carolina had two representatives, and Ohio one; in 1850 Ohio had twenty-one representatives, and North Carolina but eight. Arithmetically, Virginia and North Carolina had lost respectively ten and four votes—North Carolina had lost five, because in 1810 her representatives were equal to thirteen. But the arithmetical difference does not represent the real difference. What became of the votes taken from Virginia? Suppose they were bestowed upon a State with political instincts opposed to the politics of Virginia. If the opposition State had been invested with ten votes without taking from the votes of Virginia, the votes of Virginia would have been diminished by ten; but Virginia being first deprived of ten votes, and then, with her remaining thirteen votes, having to encounter a new opposition of ten votes, her loss practically amounts to twenty votes. It is not surprising that such an arrangement should have been extremely distasteful to the old States. It was not agreeable, with an increasing population, to have a diminishing representation, but it was intolerable that this diminution should be made a means of the complete nullification of political influence.

The Presidential election is dependent on the returns of population. Each State, according to its representation in Congress, casts votes. Supposing that the ten votes of Virginia had been bestowed upon States opposed to the Virginian policy, then in the Presidential election Virginia had but three votes. When we consider not only the enormous patronage, but the constitutional power of the President, we must admit that it is of paramount importance to each State to be fully represented in the Presidential election. No sooner was the census of 1850 published, than the South found that, unless she could defend herself by party organization, her political independence was gone; and the North rejoiced in the prospect of dominion over the richest of the Federal States. In the last election the North exerted its power and returned Mr. Lincoln, although he was opposed by the united South; that is, the Northern politicians endeavoured to impose on the South a candidate universally rejected. And the often repeated remark about the North only doing to the South as the South had done unto the North, is founded on gross ignorance, or is a wilful falsehood. The South never imposed a President on the North who had been universally rejected by the North. Nor is Mr. Lincoln the elect of the people. When the popular votes are added up, there is a considerable majority against Mr. Lincoln. Some of the Northern States chose him by a plurality of votes—not an absolute majority; and, as we have remarked, the South unanimously opposed him. If the Southern States had not been deprived of their representative votes, notwithstanding the additional votes bestowed on Anti-Southern States, Mr. Lincoln would have been rejected, and Secession postponed.

It is not at all surprising that the United States' census should be carefully and elaborately compiled, since upon its returns depends the political government of the country. Future historians will find in the census of 1850 a full exposition of the cause of Secession.

THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.*

In the State Paper Office is preserved an account of America, given by certain persons who travelled "in the aforesaid countries":—the women were arrayed in armour of gold; in every cottage there were pearls, and in some houses a peck of them; there were fiery dragons, "which make the air very red as they fly;" "banqueting houses built of crystal, with pillars of massive silver, some of gold;" and many other such wonders were testified to by one David Ingram, and doubtless believed by our forefathers. If the future of

America had been revealed to David Ingram, and he had published the revelation, he would have been scouted as a maniac. If he had announced that "the aforesaid countries" would in less than three centuries be peopled with Europeans and their descendants, differing in many essential particulars, but all speaking the English language, and that a war of enormous proportions would be waged in "the aforesaid countries," and have the effect of paralyzing the commerce and industry of Europe, no man would have credited his report. The bare truth is infinitely more marvellous than the wild fables of David Ingram. We intend, by the aid of Mr. Sainsbury's excellent calendar of colonial state papers, to glance at some interesting particulars of the colonization of Virginia; and our object in doing so is not so much to produce a pleasant and readable paper, as to show that Virginia was peopled by a race essentially differing from the colonists of the Northern States. Not the least wonderful of the incidents of American history is the marked distinctions between the people of the North and the South; distinctions not engendered by climate or by the institution of slavery, but which were inherent in the fathers of the American nations.

Virginia was essentially an aristocratic colony; the adventurers who settled Virginia, not only did so by permission of the Crown, but under the auspices and patronage of the Crown. Whether it be true or false, as asserted by Northern writers, that the first adventurers were the wild and reckless scions of the English aristocracy, who went to Virginia because they had wasted their fortunes at home, it is unquestionable that they were the representatives of noble English families, that they were men of dauntless resolution, and though unwaveringly loyal to King and Church, were free from that narrow sectarian bitterness of spirit which is the marked characteristic of Puritanism. During the civil troubles in England, and the Protectorate of Cromwell, Virginia became the asylum for those loyalists, who thought it better to go into exile rather than live under a Government to the principles of which they were strenuously and conscientiously opposed. When King Charles was restored to the throne, his Virginian subjects evinced the greatest delight, and the colony became the resort of loyalists who were infected with the spirit of adventure. We do not say, that Puritans never took up their abode in Virginia; for there were no laws or regulations to exclude them; but a colony so loyal to King and Church must have been distasteful.

We may observe, in passing, that the Virginia colonized in the manner and by the class we are describing, is the Virginia of to-day, and does not include the territories ceded after the War of Independence.

The colonization of Virginia was not effected without great sufferings and dangers. The native King Powhatan proved a somewhat determined and dangerous enemy. Captain Newport reported in 1607 that the adventurers could not expect to remain at peace with the natives, and had fortified themselves, and built a small town, which they called Jamestown. In 1610 Lord de la Warr arrived in Virginia, and found the settlement of Jamestown in a wretched condition, both with respect to the mortality of the people and the unprofitableness of the enterprise. The next year, Sir Thomas Dale, though admitting the difficulties of the position, was convinced that, with 2000 men, he could conquer Powhatan, and secure the permanence of the colony. "On account of the difficulty of procuring men in so short a time all offenders out of the common gaols condemned to die should be sent for three years to the colony. So do the Spaniards people the Indies. Their little colony murmurs at their present state for want of English provisions." Happily for Virginia, the 2000 condemned convicts were not forthcoming. It is rather curious that, placed in such a fertile country, the colonists should have been languishing for English provisions. Powhatan, before the year 1616, must have been temporarily conciliated, for when Sir Thomas Dale returned to England he brought with him Pocahontas, the daughter of the said Powhatan, who was married to one of the English adventurers named Rolfe. The lady was introduced to the King, and was so mightily pleased with her reception, that she was loth to return to her native land, and died at Gravesend from disappointment, if not from a broken heart. In 1622 John Chamberlain reports to Sir Audley Carleton that a ship had arrived from Virginia, "with news that the savages had by surprise slain about 350 of the English, through their own supine negligence in living in scattered and straggling houses." We are inclined to think that more blame is to be attached to the Home authorities for not sufficiently caring for the protection of the settlers.

In 1623 considerable excitement was caused in England by Captain Butler's information, entitled, "The Unmasking of Virginia," and which the Governor, Council, and

the Assembly of Virginia declared to be full of slander and notorious untruths; they ascribed many of the colonial mishaps to the bad conduct of Captain Butler, whom they accused of entering into an alliance with the Indians, because he was not admitted as one of the Council. This letter of remonstrance is signed by Sir Francis Wyatt, Francis West, Sir George Eardley, Isaac Maddison, W. Peirce, and twenty-seven other persons. To this was added a paper, setting forth the miseries of the colony during the twelve years' home governorship of Sir Thomas Smythe.

Spain was extremely jealous of the English settlement in Virginia, and constantly protested against it. Had it not been for the discouraging position of the colony, and the opinion generally entertained that it must die out, it is likely enough Spain would not have been contented with diplomatic protests. The domestic troubles of Virginia saved her from foreign aggression.

The complaints of the Indians are continual. In April, 1623, an account is furnished by George Sandys, of twenty-six well-armed men, under the command of Captain Spilman, being cut off and taken prisoners. At the same time Sir Francis Wyatt, the Governor, finds serious fault with the carelessness of the people. Some persons, whilst trading, had been surprised by the Indians, and had not the opportunity "of discharging a piece." The Governor declares his opinion: "Without doubt, we must drive them (the Indians) or they us out of the country." Yet just before this, the Great King had sent a peaceful embassy to the English Government, and his overtures had been accepted. The native terms were, "that if they were suffered to plant at Pamunkey, and their former seats, they would send home about twenty prisoners saved from the massacre at Martin's Hundred." Mrs. Boys, one of the prisoners, returned to the colony, "appareled like an Indian queen." The loyal observation of the treaty was not intended. The Governor and Council, in addressing the Earl of Southampton, suggested, "that if the savages send home the English prisoners, and grow secure upon this treaty, the colony will have the better advantage to surprise them and cut down their corn." This looks like reprehensible conduct on the part of the English settlers, yet it was somewhat justified by necessity. It was not to be expected that the savages would observe the compact when a favourable opportunity presented itself for breaking it with advantage. The colony was too weak to defy the natives, and the only practical policy was to oppose cunning to cunning. Many and sincere efforts had been made to establish friendly relations, but they had all proved abortive. The presence of the English was an unpardonable offence, and the native propensity for theft was too strong to be resisted. Happily, the savages did not think of combination, for had they done so the little colony would have been annihilated. On the whole, the way the Virginian settlers treated the savages was singularly forbearing. It was only after repeated massacres that a spirit of distrust was raised, and the radical treachery of the savages understood.

Next year (1624) the Governor and Council report their proceedings to the Virginia Company; "recount the wars in which they have been engaged with the savages; how they have cut down their corn, burnt their houses, 'and slaughtered many.' That they have also revenged the treachery of the Pascatronics and their associates—the greatest people in those parts—for cutting off Captain Spilman and Mr. Puntis's pinnace, and murdering great numbers of their ancient allies, the Patowmacks. They had no small difficulty to maintain a war by unwilling people, and were constrained to desist for want of means to feed the soldiers. No hope of subduing these barbarous and perfidious Indians but by stratagem; neither fair war nor good quarter can ever be held with them." It is clearly impossible to have fair war with savages, and the only way of keeping them in order is by awing them with heavy punishments. This seems to have been the colonial stratagem, and it is the best and only one available. It will be noticed that the plan of forming native alliances had been adopted; but how, in 1624, the Patowmacks could have been our ancient allies, passes our comprehension, seeing that the colony was yet in its infancy.

The cultivation of tobacco was the main object of the colonists. The Council fixed the price at three shillings per pound for the best quality, and one shilling and eightpence for the second quality. The King, by reason of his gracious desire to promote the welfare of the colonies, granted to the Virginia and Somers Island Companies "the sole importation into the King's dominions." Assuredly the encouragement was needed, for Davison, the Secretary to the Council, writes to the effect that "he cannot yet pay Mr. Bland his thirty pounds of tobacco, because he has not yet received so much from his five tenants, all that are alive, nor one grain of corn to help them."

* *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1571-1606.* Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

The Council was called upon to decide some curious cases, as a sample of which we may cite that of Mrs. Cicely Jordan, who married four days after the death of her husband, and almost immediately repudiated the second contract, and entered into a third alliance. The following is Mr. Sainsbury's note of the transaction :—

June 4, 1623. Examinations of Captain Isaac and Mary Maddison, and Sergeant John Harris, taken before Sir Francis Wyatt (Governor), Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys (Treasurer), Dr. John Pott, Captains Roger Smyth and Ralph Hamor, and John Puntis; of the Council of Virginia; and Chr. Davison (Secretary), touching the supposed contract of marriage between Mr. Greville Pooley and Mrs. Cicely Jordan, three or four days after her husband's death. With note underwritten that Cicely Jordan, having since contracted herself to Will Ferrar before the Governor and Council, and disavowed the former contract, they are not able to decide so nice a difference, but desire the opinion of the civil lawyers.

Mrs. Cicely Jordan must have been a very fascinating dame, and, doubtless, a great acquisition to, though a somewhat incongruous member of, the young and struggling colony.

In 1623 the King urged upon the Archbishops of Canterbury and York the duty of helping the planters of Virginia in erecting churches and schools for the education of the children of the infidels. The clergy were to make four collections for this purpose in two years. Whether the collections were made we know not; but we feel sure that very little progress was made in the benevolent project of educating the juvenile savages.

A certain Captain Bailly propounded a scheme of emigration which has every merit except that of practicability. He proposed that 3000 poor should annually be sent to Virginia, each of them to be presented with twenty acres of land, a house, and victuals for a year. The worthy captain does not indicate where the houses and victuals are to come from. He suggests that every family in England should subscribe a penny; but the Government would not propose such a tax for such a purpose, and the people would not voluntarily take such a burden on themselves.

In 1624 a petition was presented to the King by the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Virginia, praying for his protection, and giving a very interesting history of the colony from its commencement to the year 1622. This account commences with the recital of the reasons given for settling the plantation in 1606. The first body of adventurers sent out numbered 100 persons, and when, nine months after, a second party of adventurers arrived they found only forty of the first party alive, and only ten of those able-bodied men. But four acres of ground had been cleared for the colony. We will continue by quoting Mr. Sainsbury's abstract :—

The second supply, sent in the Mary Margaret, with sixty persons, mostly gentlemen and some Poles, and about nine months after, Michaelmas (1608). In less than two months want compelled them to trade with the Indians for corn. Captain Samuel Argoll came in a small boat, but with neither men nor provisions. The following month the third supply arrived, called Sir Thomas Gates' fleet, of seven ships, and near 500 persons; but there were so few houses that these were quartered in an open field. The colony was then divided into three parties; the first, under Captain Francis West, to seek out the head of the river; the second, under Captain James Smith, then President, at Jamestown; and the third, under Captain John Martin, in Naumound River. The Indians forced them all to return, and famine compelled them to devour hogs, dogs, and horses, or what they could light upon. On May 20 (1610) Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers happily arrived in two small boats. Their numbers at that time consisted of sixty persons. They soon resolved to leave the colony, hoping never to return, and had all embarked in two pinnaces when they met with Lord de la Warr, who had brought three good ships, 250 persons, and some store of provisions. Within a few months not less than 150 died of calenture or fever.

Broken health obliged Lord de la Warr to leave the colony, and shortly afterwards arrived Sir Thomas Dale, who "immediately published most tyrannous and cruel laws, sent over by Sir Thomas Smythe." "The colony continued in extreme misery and slavery for five years." During the governorships of Sir Thomas Dale and Gates, the pursuit of husbandry was forbidden, so that necessary improvements in fortifications and buildings might be effected. When peace was concluded with the savages, a mutiny was discovered among the colonists, which resulted in six executions. Under Governor Yeardley, the colony was prosperous, and a league was formed with the Indians, which lasted for ten years, because it was preceded by severe punishment. The colony suffered great misery during twelve years :—

No man was permitted to go home, but was kept in the colony by force. One man received the King's pass, closely made up in a garret, lest it should have been seized. Sir Thomas Dale, on his arrival, pulled Captain Newport's beard for affirming Sir Thomas Smythe's relation to be true.

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival as Governor, set to work to reform abuses.

All who arrived before the departure of Sir Thomas Dale were made free; the cruel laws by which they were governed were abrogated; liberty was given to all to choose and plant their dividends of land; a general assembly was established and ordered to be held yearly, to consist of the Governor, Council, and two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the

inhabitants. In three years the country was in a flourishing condition, which is described. In October 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt arrived as Governor, who confirmed them in all their privileges. Then came the massacre by the Indians, on the 22nd of March, 1622, that "almost defaced the beauty of the whole colony, and prevented the continuance of those excellent works wherein they had made so fair a beginning; and after that the famine of the following year. The colony has been revenged upon the savages, and in time it is hoped they will be driven from those parts."

The submission of proud, daring colonists for twelve years to the edicts of Sir Thomas Smythe, especially when even the persons in authority protested against them, is a proof, if proof were needed, that Virginia had not been settled by Puritans. It would have been easy to refuse obedience to mandates that could not have been enforced. But the men of Virginia were of a race who thought it was their duty to obey so long as obedience did not compromise their honour. They did not think personal offence a justification of revolt. They were of a race fitted to command, and therefore capable of exact and faithful obedience; and the spirit of the Virginian settlers survives in their descendants. The tyranny of the United States was submitted to so long as it only impeded the national prosperity of Virginia, rather than bring about a sweeping change in the Government; but as soon as it touched her honour, her independence, Virginia drew the sword, which she will not sheathe until her sovereign independence has been vindicated.

(To be continued.)

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—If Parliament be indisposed to entertain and approve of abstract resolutions, both Parliament and the country are strangely averse to providing for possible contingencies. As a people, we are content to endure present evil, and enjoy present good, careless of the fact that, by our indifference as to what the morrow may bring forth, we may be unconsciously drifting towards a state of things fraught with unmitigated evil, and ruinous consequences to ourselves and our country. At the present moment our statesmen and speculative writers are engaged in watching the fortunes of the war between the Federal and Confederate States, and calculating the claims of each to our sympathy and assistance. They are too much occupied in watching the game to care about what will occur when it is played out. Now, the war cannot last for ever. The chances are that it will terminate sooner than the partisans of the North expect or desire. It is of paramount importance to us what attitude the North is likely to assume towards England at the close of this lamentable contest. To my mind there are good grounds for determining what that attitude will be. Whatever may be the issue of the present war, whether the North succeed in nipping Southern independence in the bud, and in restoring and maintaining a fraternal "Union" by means of fratricidal bayonets, or whether, as is more probable, and ten times more desirable, the Confederate States triumph in their gallant struggle for freedom, and manage to consolidate their power, it is almost certain that the North will embark in war with England, and the subject of war will be Canada. It were impossible to condense within narrow limits all the arguments which might be advanced in support of this view; but a few of them may be stated, and I shall proceed to mention the principal ones.

Let it be supposed that the North proves the victor, and manages, under the pretext of reconstructing the "Union," to found an empire which shall be governed by a despot with the meaningless title of President, it will naturally aim at extending its sway over our valuable North American possessions. All conquerors lust for fresh conquests; their appetites grow with what they feed on. A nation which has once entered on a career of aggression can never again return to its former peaceful state. In this it resembles a tiger which, having tasted human flesh, becomes an inveterate man-eater. The Federals may boast that natural laws which apply to all mankind are exceptionally suspended in their case, and their devoted and untiring European eulogists may believe them. They will assure these much-trusting eulogists that heretofore they have never coveted other people's territory, and hereafter they will neither covet nor try to acquire any. Those who are deluded by such assurances will be the earliest victims of the aggressive North. But suppose the North fails in its projects; suppose that, at the very outset of its career of conquest, it meets with a thorough and well-deserved defeat, will it not try and compensate itself for the loss of the Southern States by getting possession of Canada? That it will do so is only natural; that it purposes doing so is more than probable. I say nothing of the barefaced way in which engagements with us are about to be violated by the proposed construc-

tion of a Federal fleet for service in the Canadian lakes. That scheme is only now matured; but the design has been long in contemplation. Startling events succeed each other with such rapidity, that matters of comparative recent date are soon effaced from the memory of the public. For instance, it may have been forgotten that when Mr. Seward was candidate for nomination as President he made several speeches, impressing on his hearers that it was the interest and duty of the North to annex Canada without delay. Much of his popularity is owing to his entertaining that opinion. It is not affirming too much to conclude that he will aim at increasing his popularity by endeavouring to accomplish what he advocates. About a year and a half ago, when the Southern States were forming themselves into a Confederacy, and before the North had resolved or entered upon its insane crusade against the South, the *New York Herald* contained articles supporting and approving the course of policy proposed by Mr. Seward. Here are a few samples, taken from a leading article which appeared on February 9, 1861, of the doctrines then enunciated. In the first place, however, let me state one fact, to show how popular Secession was at that time in those Northern States which now so vehemently and pertinaciously call for the prosecution of the war. The State of Maine wished to follow the example of South Carolina. A petition signed by 16,000 persons was presented to the Legislature, praying that the State might be incorporated with Canada. The newspaper writer's comment on this is curious and characteristic :—"The eye of Lower Canada is fixed upon Maine, with its magnificent harbour of Portland, and our correspondent says the people of that State desire to be annexed by the Canadians. But at the North here we do not admit the right of any secession from us, while we annex all we can." The writer goes on to depict the miserable condition of the Canadians, to point out the remedy for their fancied ills, and concludes by informing them that they will be forced to swallow this remedy, whether they require it or not. His words are these :—"The united population of Canada is greater than the population of the thirteen colonies when they threw off the British yoke—a population too large, too free, and too enlightened to be dragged at the tail of another nation 3000 or 4000 miles distant from it." "It would make thirteen sovereign States, averaging in area thirteen States of the Northern Confederacy. Such a prize is not to be lost." "By peaceable means or force Canada must be annexed." "The contracted views of the people of Lower Canada will be enlarged and expanded by an infusion of the Anglo-Saxon element and the energy of the people of the Free States, who, being cut off from a Southern field of enterprise, must, by the law of their nature, expand northward and westward. Such is the decree of "manifest destiny," and such is the programme of W. H. Seward, Premier of the President Elect."

Whoever shall reflect on what has been written, said, and done by Northern politicians, must conclude, I think, that some day or other they will persuade their countrymen to attempt the conquest of Canada. It has been already stated, that, in whatever manner the present war may end, there will be equal inducements and incentives to make that attempt. If this be true, then it is our manifest duty to prepare for the inevitable attack, and in no other way can we do this so well as by securing the friendship of the Confederate States. Aided by them, we might defy the North to do its worst. In order to obtain their present friendship and future aid, we ought at once to recognize their independence. By this time, they have been sufficiently tried by the ordeal of battle to prove themselves worthy of the recognition of Europe. A year's fighting has not sufficed to give the North a single important advantage, or to inflict permanent injury on the South. Should the war go on for a year longer, it is more probable that the South, assuming the offensive, will overrun the North, than that the North will subjugate the South. I again repeat that, whatever be the issue, we may expect to be the object of Northern hatred and attack. As a nation, we should so act as to put the North in a position similar to that of the dying wolf in Lessing's fable. A wolf lay at his last gasp and was reviewing his past life. "It is true," said he, "I am a sinner, but yet, I hope, not one of the greatest. I have done evil, but I have also done much good. Once, I remember, a bleating lamb that had strayed from its flock came so near me that I might easily have throttled it, but I did it no harm." "I can testify to that," said his friend the fox, who was helping him to prepare for death; "I perfectly remember all the circumstances. It was just at the time you were so dreadfully choked with the bone in your throat." By cultivating the friendship of the Southern Confederacy, we need never fear for Canada, as the Confederacy will be a perpetual bone in the throat of the ravenous Northern wolf.

R.

THE POLICY OF THE WAR.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—In any great convulsion of nations, as in those of the material world, though various and often different effects are caused, according to the locality affected, yet the motive power is the same, and acts according to known rule; so the contest which is raging here with rapidly increasing fury seems to follow the law laid down. Had the United States been a nation under a monarchical rule, lawyers could understand the offence charged against the South as rebelling against constituted authority; but the public outside the nation cannot help seeing that, however ruled a bundle of States may be, and however strong such Union may prove, the moment the bond is loosed each State becomes disunited, and a new arrangement is imperative; and no one who looks at the question from this point of view can but confess that the idea is founded in fact. The Union was more the consent of the body politic to live under a stated rule than what law, as understood and defined by jurists in the Old World, even contemplated; and the soul of that consent is necessarily self-interest. Here, then, we may look for the law which should guide us in judging of this tremendous revolution. The feeling which has lashed the North into fury is the consciousness that the fabric was crumbling into dust, which on every occasion from their earliest years, private as well as public, was held up to them as the perfection of human wisdom; which the statesmen, orators, authors and even the mothers of the United States, incessantly held up to the admiration of their sympathizing auditors as the envy of the civilized world, and whose destiny was prophesied in even threatening tones to Europe. The South was well aware of its interests. It stands on the vantage ground of the letter of the Constitution. A violation of this instrument is something which the most obtuse can comprehend. A violation of its spirituality requires greater knowledge and intelligence than the masses usually bring to bear upon a national question. But even a clear intelligence of the nature of the disruption would only contemplate a delay of a generation or two. Its causes were too deeply seated, and to productive of inflammation and disease, not to affect the whole body politic even to dissolution. The South, therefore, must conquer its independence through a war as unequal as it is disastrous. Its defensive power is, undoubtedly, great, though impaired by that which makes its territory so valuable in time of peace, viz., the fact that it is intersected by great water-courses, which would naturally be in the power of whichever belligerent had the command of the sea. It has also a latent source of success, which no one in the United States has yet seemed to take into account. The interest of the West is with the South, though its sentiment is with the North. How much will the West be taxed? How far will the West endure taxation? Where will the West find the market for its produce? These are vital questions, the solution of which must necessarily affect the whole. The wisdom of the policy which has carried out the burning of the cotton and tobacco is clear; the war by this masterly stroke has offered to the enemy only hard knocks and no plunder; peace offers profits. The duration of war depends on the pertinacity with which this policy is carried out; the South can only meet the wealth of the North by poverty; and, paradoxical as it may seem at first sight, the greater the poverty the greater the strength. The ship can only ride out the storm under bare poles. Of course, I have not entered into the consideration of military matters. Information is not only so meagre, but so audaciously false, that a bystander, with only the opportunity of daily telegrams, almost invariably conflicting, can form no safe idea of such matters; but it seems to me clear, that when the whole foundations of our society are shaken, and the earthquake shakes not only the surface, but rends the rocks asunder, it is idle to talk of months to settle the State.

A NORTHERNER.

Washington, June 14.

COMMERCIAL VIEWS ON THE LATE COPARTNERSHIP OF AMERICAN STATES.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—No event of modern times has occupied so much public attention as the distressing conflict in America. Historians have been busy with their pens; statesmen have been active with their reasonings; the members of the press have been diligent in giving information; in fact, all classes have been profuse in their explanations concerning American affairs. It is seldom, however, that merchants dilate upon matters that may seem to be purely political; but, when the commercial monarch, King Cotton, is temporarily dethroned, practical lessons may be received

from the counting-house. I would, therefore, ask you to reproduce the following articles originally published in the *Times*.

Yours, &c., H.

From the City Article of the *Times*, June 25, 1862.

The following illustration in a mercantile form of the points at issue between the Northern and Southern States of America presents a very clear idea of the nature of the cause for which the present unexampled waste of blood and treasure is being carried on, to the horror of the civilized world and the scandal of the 19th century:—

"A commercial firm engages in business, they provide for alterations in their articles of copartnership; but, either from accident, expectation that the firm will last the life of the partners, or that when interest or difference of opinion make a dissolution necessary or expedient, it will naturally take place, they omit any limit of time or any provision for dissolution.

"The firm is prosperous, lasts many years, and individual partners amass a capital equal, or nearly equal, to the original capital of the firm. Differences of opinion also arise, till at length three of the partners are satisfied that they cannot longer remain in the firm without a sacrifice of feeling and interest.

"The question is how are they to get out; the five other partners, they know, will not consent, and there seems to be nothing in the articles to enable the minority to get clear of their associates; but to be released they are determined at all hazards. They proceed to the bankers, and, by the power of signature they possess, they secure about what they consider their portion of capital. They then announce to their five associates their determination to dissolve; they propose to constitute two firms, and desire to continue on friendly terms, and if their proposal is accepted they are ready to come back with the money they have drawn, and have an amicable settlement of funds, paying back in case it should prove they had drawn more than their share.

"The five partners are taken by surprise. They point to the articles of copartnership to show that the three have no warrant there for what they have been doing, and, above all, inveigh against their proceedings at the bankers'.

"The three claim that there being no provision made for dissolution proves that the intention was to leave any partner to go out when he conceived it for his interest to do so, but they mean to go, at any rate.

"Two courses are open to the five aggrieved partners—to file a Bill in Chancery to compel a return of the three, in which process, if they spend half their own capital, they will have the satisfaction of destroying the whole of that of the three; the result, if successful, being to bring them back, with the capital of the whole wofully diminished, and the most bitter feeling engendered.

"The other course seems to be to accept the fact, though, perhaps, refusing to acknowledge the right; make the best bargain they can, each firm to go on in its own way; agreeing, in case of need, to support each other in case of any attack from outside, and be as good friends as they can be under existing circumstances; the five trusting, not unreasonably, to their superiority in capital and numbers to surpass the three, and perhaps make them eventually beg for readmission.

"The above seems very much the condition of the partnership of States in America, where eleven partners out of thirty determine to get out."

From the City Article of the *Times*, June 26, 1862.

The subjoined relates to the remarks inserted yesterday in illustration of the question as to the right, or otherwise, of the Southern States of America to terminate their partnership with the Northern States:—

"63, King William-street, E.C., June 25.

"Sir,—The illustration, in a mercantile form, of the points at issue between the Northern and Southern States of America, given in your Money-Market and City Article of this day, comparing those States to a firm composed of eight partners, whose articles of partnership do not contain any limit of time, or any provision for dissolution, is undoubtedly a correct comparison, as far as it goes; but by diving a little into American history the writer might have made his simile much more full and his case much stronger, which you will perhaps allow me to do.

"He might, and, indeed, he ought to have said, not only that in the articles actually ruling the partnership any limit of time was omitted, but that in the articles of partnership previously existing between the very same parties there was an express proviso, a fundamental clause, saying and repeating over and over again, 'the partnership shall be perpetual,' which proviso or clause of perpetuity the said partners, in making their new and actually ruling articles (in many points a copy of the previous ones), had carefully expunged from those articles, together with everything that could in any way bear on the subject; thus clearly showing that they fully intended each of them to be free to separate from, or at least not to be bound to remain for ever in, the partnership.

"In fact, in the 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union' between the thirteen States of North America, done at Philadelphia on the 9th of July, 1778, ratified by the thirteen States on the 1st of March, 1781—which were the Constitution of the United States of North America until the substitution thereto of the actual Constitution on the 17th of September, 1787—the thirteenth and last article says:—

"* * * * * The articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; * * * and we, the delegates * * * ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, * * * and solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents * * * that the Union shall be perpetual."

"And the second article institutes a Commission, to be drawn from the Congress, 'to hear and finally determine all controversies between two or more States, concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever.'

"In the Constitution of the 17th of September, 1787, the actual one not only is there no allusion to time, duration, or dissolution of the Union; but, besides carefully expunging from their new Constitution the contents of the thirteenth article of their old one in respect to perpetuity, the States were so jealous of remaining unshackled, and free to separate at will, that they did actually expunge also from their new Constitution the Article 2 of their old one—evidently from fear that in case of the secession of one or more States, the remaining ones might, in abuse of their majority, form under the said Article 2 a Court or Commission, and pretend to adjudicate on the case.

To follow the simile of your illustration:—

"If the five partners mentioned in it were foolish enough to go into Chancery in order to retain the three seceding ones against their will, can any impartial and disinterested person doubt for a moment that, on proof being given not only of the

absence in the articles of partnership of any provision for its duration, but of the positive and wilful expunction from them of a provision for perpetuity contained in the previous articles between the same parties, the Court would not even grant prolongation for one day of the partnership, but would simply fix a delay for the distribution and apportionment of the assets and liabilities?

"I think you might complete the said illustration by inserting this, on an important point which has not yet been touched or even alluded to by any one.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. P."

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN HAMPTON ROADS.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

Navy Department, Richmond, April 7, 1862.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

SIR,—I have the honour to submit herewith copy of the detailed report of Flag-Officer Buchanan, of the brilliant triumph of his squadron over the vastly superior forces of the enemy, in Hampton Roads, on the 8th and 9th of March last; a brief report, by Lieutenant Jones, of the battle of the 8th, having been previously made.

The conduct of the officers and men of the squadron in this contest, reflects unfading honour upon themselves and upon the navy. The report will be read with deep interest, and its details will not fail to rouse the ardour and nerve the arms of our gallant seamen.

It will be remembered that the Virginia was a novelty in naval architecture, wholly unlike any ship that ever floated; that her heaviest guns were equal novelties in ordnance; that her motive power and her obedience to her helm were untried, and her officers and crew strangers, comparatively, to the ship and to each other; and yet, under all these disadvantages, the dashing courage and consummate professional ability of Flag-Officer Buchanan and his associates achieved the most remarkable victory which naval annals record.

When the Flag Officer was disabled, the command of the Virginia devolved upon her Executive and Ordnance Officer, Lieutenant Catesby Ap R. Jones, and the cool and masterly manner in which he fought the ship in her encounter with the iron-clad Monitor justified the high estimate which the country places upon his professional merit.

To his experience, skill, and untiring industry, as her Ordnance and Executive Officer, the terrible effect of her fire was greatly due. Her battery was determined in accordance with his suggestions, and in all investigations and tests, which resulted in its thorough efficiency, he was zealously engaged.

The terms of commendation used by the Flag Officer in characterizing the conduct of his officers and men meet the cordial endorsement of the Department; and the concurrent testimony of thousands who witnessed the engagement places his own conduct above all praise.

With much respect,

Your obedient servant,

S. R. MALLORY,
Secretary of the Navy.

REPORT OF FLAG-OFFICER BUCHANAN.

Naval Hospital, Norfolk, March 27, 1862.

SIR,—Having been confined to my bed in this building, since the 9th inst., in consequence of a wound received in the action of the previous day, I have not had it in my power at an earlier date to prepare the official report, which I now have the honour to submit, of the proceedings on the 8th and 9th insts., of the James River Squadron under my command, composed of the following named vessels:—Steamer Virginia, flag ship, ten guns; steamer Patrick Henry, twelve guns, Commander John R. Tucker; steamer Jamestown, Lieutenant-Commanding J. N. Barney, two guns; and gunboats Teazer, Lieutenant-Commanding W. A. Webb; Beaufort, Lieutenant-Commanding, W. H. Parker; and Raleigh, Lieutenant-Commanding J. W. Alexander, each one gun. Total twenty-seven guns.

On the 8th inst., at eleven a.m., the Virginia left the Navy-Yard, Norfolk, accompanied by the Raleigh and Beaufort, and proceeded to Newport News to engage the enemy's frigates Cumberland and Congress, gunboats, and shore batteries. When within less than a mile of the Cumberland, the Virginia commenced the engagement with that ship with her bow gun, and the action soon became general, the Cumberland, Congress, gunboats, and shore batteries concentrating upon us their heavy fire, which was returned with great spirit and determination. The Virginia stood rapidly on towards the Cumberland, which ship I had determined to sink with our prow, if possible. In about fifteen minutes after the action commenced we ran into her on her star-board bow; the crash below the water was distinctly heard, and she commenced sinking, gallantly fighting her guns as long as they were above water. She went down with her colours flying. During this time the shore batteries, Congress, and gunboats kept up their heavy concentrated fire upon us, doing us some injury. Our guns, however, were not idle; their fire was very destructive to the shore batteries and vessels, and we were gallantly sustained by the rest of the squadron.

Just after the Cumberland sunk, that gallant officer, Commander John R. Tucker, was seen standing down James River under full steam, accompanied by the Jamestown and Teazer. They all came nobly into action, and were soon exposed to the heavy fire of shore batteries. Their escape was miraculous, as they were under a galling fire of solid shot, shell, grape, and canister, a number of which passed through the vessels without doing any serious injury, except to the Patrick Henry, through whose boiler a shot passed, scalding to death four persons, and wounding others. Lieutenant-Commanding Barney promptly obeyed a signal to tow her out of the action. As soon as damages were repaired, the Patrick Henry returned to her station and continued to perform good service during the remainder of that day and the following.

Having sunk the Cumberland, I turned our attention to the Congress. We were some time in getting our proper position, in consequence of the shoalness of the water, and the great difficulty of managing the ship when in or near the mud. To succeed in my object, I was obliged to run the ship a short distance above the batteries on James River, in order to wind her. During all the time her keel was in the mud; of course, she moved but slowly. Thus we were subjected twice to the heavy guns of all the batteries in pas-

ing up and down the river, but it could not be avoided. We silenced several of the batteries, and did much injury on shore. A large transport steamer alongside the wharf was blown up, one schooner sunk, and another captured and sent to Norfolk. The loss of life on shore we have no means of ascertaining.

While the Virginia was thus engaged in getting her position for attacking the Congress, the prisoners state it was believed on board that ship that we had hauled off; the men left their guns and gave three cheers. They were soon sadly undeceived, for a few minutes after we opened upon her again, she having run on shore in shoal water. The carnage, havoc and dismay caused by our fire compelled them to haul down their colours, and to hoist a white flag at their gaff and half mast, and another at the main. The crew instantly took to their boats and landed. Our fire immediately ceased, and a signal was made for the Beaufort to come within hail. I then ordered Lieutenant-Commanding Parker to take possession of the Congress, secure the officers as prisoners, allow the crew to land, and burn the ship. He ran alongside, received her flag and surrender from Commander William Smith and Lieutenant Pendergrast, with the side-arms of those officers. They delivered themselves as prisoners of war on board the Beaufort, and afterwards were permitted, at their own request, to return to the Congress, to assist in removing the wounded to the Beaufort. They never returned, and I submit to the decision of the Department whether they are not our prisoners. While the Beaufort and Raleigh were alongside the Congress, and the surrender of that vessel had been received from the commander, she having two white flags flying, hoisted by her own people, a heavy fire was opened upon them from the shore and from the Congress, killing some valuable officers and men. Under this fire the steamers left the Congress; but as I was not informed that any injury had been sustained by those vessels at that time, Lieutenant-Commanding Parker having failed to report to me, I took it for granted that my order to him to burn her had been executed, and waited some minutes to see the smoke ascending from her batches. During this delay we were still subjected to the heavy fire from the batteries, which was always promptly returned.

The steam frigates Minnesota and Roanoke, and the sailing frigate St. Lawrence, had previously been reported as coming from Old Point; but as I was determined that the Congress should not again fall into the hands of the enemy, I remarked to that gallant, young officer, Flag-Lieutenant Minor, "that ship must be burned." He promptly volunteered to take a boat and burn her, and the Teazer, Lieutenant-Commanding Webb, was ordered to cover the boat. Lieutenant Minor had scarcely reached within fifty yards of the Congress, when a deadly fire was opened upon him, wounding him severely and several of his men. On witnessing this vile treachery, I instantly recalled the boat and ordered the Congress destroyed by hot shot and incendiary shell. About this period I was disabled, and transferred the command of the ship to that gallant, intelligent officer, Lieutenant Catesby Jones, with orders to fight her as long as the men could stand to their guns.

The ships from Old Point opened their fire upon us. The Minnesota grounded in the North Channel, where, unfortunately, the shoalness of the channel prevented our near approach. We continued, however, to fire upon her until the pilots declared that it was no longer safe to remain in that position, and we accordingly returned by the south channel (the middle ground being necessarily between the Virginia and Minnesota; and St. Lawrence and the Roanoke having retreated under the guns of Old Point), and again had an opportunity of opening upon the Minnesota, receiving her heavy fire in return, and shortly afterwards upon the St. Lawrence, from which vessel we also received several broadsides. It had by this time become dark, and we soon after anchored off Sewell's Point. The rest of the squadron followed our movements, with the exception of the Beaufort, Lieutenant-Commanding Parker, who proceeded to Norfolk with the wounded and prisoners, as soon as he had left the Congress, without reporting to me. The Congress having been set on fire by our hot shot and incendiary shell, continued to burn, her loaded guns being successively discharged as the flames reached them, until a few minutes past midnight, when her magazine exploded with a tremendous report.

The facts above stated, as having occurred after I had placed the ship in charge of Lieutenant Jones, were reported to me by that officer.

At an early hour next morning (the 9th), upon the urgent solicitations of the surgeons, Lieutenant Minor and myself were very reluctantly taken on shore. The accommodations for the proper treatment of wounded persons on board the Virginia are exceedingly limited, Lieutenant Minor and myself occupying the only space that could be used for that purpose, which was in my cabin. I therefore consented to our being landed on Sewell's Point, thinking that the room on board vacated by us could be used for those who might be wounded in the renewal of the action. In the course of the day, Lieutenant Minor and myself were sent in a steamer to the hospital at Norfolk.

The following is an extract from the report of Lieutenant Jones, of the proceedings of the Virginia on the 9th:—

"At daylight on the 9th, we saw that the Minnesota was still ashore, and that there was an iron battery near her. At eight we ran down to engage them (having previously sent the killed and wounded out of the ship); firing at the Minnesota, and occasionally at the iron battery. The pilots did not place us as near as they expected. The great length and draught of the ship rendered it exceedingly difficult to work her; we ran ashore about a mile from the frigate, and were backing fifteen minutes before we got off. We continued to fire at the Minnesota, and blew up a steamer alongside of her; and we also engaged the Monitor, sometimes at very close quarters; we once succeeded in running into her, and twice silenced her fire. The pilots declaring that we could get no nearer the Minnesota, and believing her to be entirely disabled, and the Monitor having to run into shoal water, which prevented our doing her any further injury, we ceased firing at twelve, and proceeded to Norfolk.

"Our loss is two killed and nineteen wounded. The stem is twisted, and the ship leaks; we have lost the prow, starboard anchor, and all the boats; the armour is somewhat damaged, the steam pipe and smoke stack both riddled, the muzzle of two of the guns shot away. It was not easy to keep a flag flying; the flag-staffs were repeatedly shot away; the colours were hoisted to the smoke stack and several times cut down from it.

"The bearing of the men was all that could be desired; their enthusiasm could scarcely be restrained. During the action they cheered again and again. Their coolness and skill were the more remarkable, from the fact that the great majority of them were under fire for the first time; they were strangers to each other and to the officers, and had but a few days' instruction in the management of the great guns. To the skill and example of the officers is this result in no small degree attributable."

Having thus given a full report of the actions on the 9th and

9th, I feel it due to the gallant officers who so nobly sustained the honour of the flag and country on those days, to express my appreciation of their conduct.

To that brave and intelligent officer, Lieutenant Catesby Jones, the executive and ordnance officer of the Virginia, I am greatly indebted for the success achieved. His constant attention to his duties in the equipment of the ship; his intelligence in the instruction of ordnance to the crew, as proved by the accuracy and effect of their fire—some of the guns having been personally directed by him—his tact and management in the government of raw recruits, his general knowledge of the executive duties of a man-of-war, together with his high-toned bearing, were all eminently conspicuous, and had their fruits in the admirable efficiency of the Virginia. If conduct such as his—and I do not know that I have used adequate language in describing it—entitles an officer to promotion, I see in the case of Lieutenant Jones one in all respects worthy of it. As flag officer I am entitled to some one to perform the duties of flag captain, and I should be proud to have Lieutenant Jones ordered to the Virginia as Lieutenant-Commandant, if it be not the intention of the Department to bestow upon him a higher rank.

Lieutenant Simms fully sustained his well-earned reputation. He fired the first gun, and when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Jones, in consequence of my disability, he was ordered to perform the duties of executive officer. Lieutenant Jones has expressed to me his satisfaction in having had the services of so experienced, energetic, and zealous an officer.

Lieutenant Davidson fought his guns with great precision. The muzzle of one of them was soon shot away; he continued, however, to fire it, though the wood-work around the port became ignited at each discharge. His buoyant and cheerful bearing and voice were contagious and inspiring.

Lieutenant Wood handled his pivot gun admirably, and the executive officer testifies to his valuable suggestions during the action. His zeal and industry in drilling the crew contributed materially to our success.

Lieutenant Eggleston served his hot shot and shell with judgment and effect; and his bearing was deliberate, and exerted a happy influence on his division.

Lieutenant Butt fought his gun with activity, and during the action was gay and smiling.

The Marine Corps was well represented by Captain Thom, whose tranquil mien gave evidence that, the hottest fire was no novelty to him. One of his guns was served effectively and creditably by a detachment of the United Artillery of Norfolk, under the command of Captain Kevill. The muzzle of their gun was struck by a shell from the enemy, which broke off a piece of the gun, but they continued to fire as if it was uninjured.

Midshipmen Fouts, Marmaduke, Littlepage, Craig, and Long rendered valuable services. Their conduct would have been creditable to older heads, and gave great promise of future usefulness. Midshipman Marmaduke, though receiving several painful wounds early in the action, manfully fought his gun until the close. He is now at the hospital.

Paymaster Semple volunteered for any service, and was assigned to the command of the powder division, an important and complicated duty, which could not have been better performed.

Surgeon Phillips and Assistant-surgeon Garnett were prompt and attentive in the discharge of their duties; their kind and considerate care of the wounded, and the skill and ability displayed in the treatment, won for them the esteem and gratitude of all who came under their charge, and justly entitled them to the confidence of officers and crew. I beg leave to call the attention of the Department to the case of Dr. Garnett. He stands deservedly high in his profession, is at the head of the list of assistant surgeons, and there being a vacancy, in consequence of the recent death of Surgeon Blackhall, I should be much gratified if Dr. Garnett could be promoted to it.

The engines and machinery, upon which so much depended, performed much better than was expected. This is due to the intelligence, experience, and coolness of Acting-Chief-Engineer Ramsey. His efforts were ably seconded by his assistants, Tynan, Campbell, Herring, Jack and White. As Mr. Ramsey is only Acting-Chief-Engineer, I respectfully recommend his promotion to the rank of chief; and would also ask that second Assistant-Engineer Campbell may be promoted to first assistant—he having performed the duties of that grade during the engagement.

The forward officers, boatswain Hasker, gunner Oliver, and carpenter Lindsey, discharged well all the duties required of them. The boatswain had charge of a gun, and fought it well. The gunner was indefatigable in his efforts; his experience and exertions as a gunner have contributed very materially to the efficiency of the battery.

Acting-Master Parrish was assisted in piloting the ship [by pilots Wright, Williams, Clark, and Cunningham. They were necessarily much exposed.

It is now due that I should mention my personal staff. To that gallant young officer, Flag-Lieutenant Minor, I am much indebted for his promptness in the execution of signals, for renewing the flag-staffs when shot away—being thereby greatly exposed—for his watchfulness in keeping the Confederate flag up; his alacrity in conveying my orders to the different divisions, and for his general cool and gallant bearing.

My aid, Acting-Midshipman Rootes, of the Navy, Lieutenant Forrest, of the Army, who served as a volunteer aid, and my clerk, Mr. Arthur St. Clair, Junr., are entitled to my thanks for the activity with which my orders were conveyed to the different parts of the ship. During the hottest of the fight, they were always at their post, giving evidence of their coolness. Having referred to the good conduct of the officers in the flag-ship, immediately under my notice, I come now to no less pleasing task, when I attempt to mark my approbation of the bearing of those serving in the other vessels of the squadron.

Commodore Jno. R. Tucker, of the Patrick Henry, and Lieutenants-Commanding J. N. Barney, of the Jamestown, and W. A. Webb, of the Teazer, deserve great praise for their gallant conduct throughout the engagement. Their judgment in selecting their positions for attacking the enemy was good; their constant fire was destructive, and contributed much to the success of the day. The "general order," under which the squadron went into action, required, that in the absence of all signals, each commanding officer was to exercise his own judgment and discretion in doing all the damage he could to the enemy, and to sink before surrendering. From the bearing of those officers, on the 8th, I am fully satisfied that that order would have been carried out.

Commander Tucker speaks highly of all under him, and desires particularly to notice that Lieutenant-Colonel Cadwallader St. George Noland, commanding the post at Mulberry Island, on hearing of the deficiency in the complement of the Patrick Henry, promptly offered the services of ten of his men as volunteers for the occasion, one of whom, Geo. E. Webb, of the "Greenville Guards," Commander Tucker regrets to say, was killed.

Lieutenant-Commanding Barney reports "every officer and man on board of the ship performed his whole duty, evincing a courage and fearlessness worthy of the cause for which we are fighting."

Lieutenant-Commanding Webb specially notices the coolness displayed by Acting-Master Face and third Assistant-Engineer Quinn, when facing the heavy fire of artillery and musketry from the shore, whilst the Teazer was standing in to cover the boat in which, as previously stated, Lieutenant Minor had gone to burn the Congress. Several of his men were badly wounded.

The Raleigh, early in the action, had her gun-carriage disabled, which compelled her to withdraw. As soon as he had repaired damages as well as he could, Lieutenant-Commanding Alexander resumed his position in the line. He sustained himself gallantly during the remainder of the day, and speaks highly of all under his command. That evening he was ordered to Norfolk for repairs.

The Beaufort, Lieutenant-Commanding Parker, was in close contact with the enemy frequently during the day, and all on board behaved gallantly.

Lieutenant-Commanding Parker expresses his warmest thanks to his officers and men for their coolness. Acting-Midshipman Foreman, who accompanied him as volunteer aid, Midshipman Mallory, and Newton, (Captain's clerk,) Bain, and Mr. Gray, (pilot), are all specially mentioned by him.

On the 21st inst. I forwarded to the Department correct lists of the casualties on board all the vessels of the squadron, on the 8th; none, it appears, occurred on the 9th.

While in the act of closing this report, I received the communication of the Department, dated 22nd inst., relieving me temporarily of the command of the squadron for the naval defences of James River. I feel honoured in being relieved by the gallant Flag-Officer Tattall.

I much regret that I am not now in a condition to resume my command, but trust that I shall soon be restored to health, when I shall be ready for any duty that may be assigned to me.

Very respectfully,

FRANKLIN BUCHANAN,
Flag Officer.

Hon. S. R. Mallory,
Secretary of the Navy.

THE man who outrages women is capable of every act. Though the world may shudder, it will not be surprised to learn that General Butler has just hanged a man with no further warrant than his order, and for no higher offence than hauling down a piece of bunting. In modern times such an offence has never been visited with such a punishment, nor has any commander, holding a commission from a civilized Government, been guilty of such a stretch of power in a conquered and peaceful city. The following is the order upon which the man Mumford was executed in New Orleans:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans,
June 5.—Special Order No. 70.

William B. Mumford, a citizen of New Orleans, having been convicted before the military commission of treason, and an overt act thereof in tearing down the United States' flag from a public building of the United States, for the purpose of inciting other evil-minded persons to further resistance to the laws and arms of the United States, after the said flag was placed there by Commodore Farragut, of the United States' navy,

It is ordered that he be executed, according to the sentence of the military commission on Saturday, June 7 inst., between the hours of eight a.m. and twelve a.m., under the direction of the Provost-Marshal of the district of New Orleans; and for so doing this shall be his sufficient warrant.

By command of,

Major-General BUTLER, General-Commanding.

Mumford exhibited little emotion, and comported himself with great coolness and self-possession.

THE North American's mails bring us a most interesting account from the Richmond papers of the recent foray of the Confederate Cavalry around McClellan's Camp. It is too late for insertion, and we can find space only for a brief summary of the results, in the words of a member of the dashing band:—

"What, then, was the general result?" asked we of a weary, dusty trooper, watering his jaded and faithful animal by a roadside spring. "The result," answered he, proudly, but much exhausted, "the result? We have been in the saddle from Thursday morning until Saturday noon, never breaking rein or breaking fast; we have whipped the enemy wherever he dared to appear, never opposing more than equal forces; we have burnt 200 wagons laden with valuable stores, sunk or fired three large transports, captured 300 horses and mules, lots of side arms, &c., brought in 170 prisoners, four officers and many negroes; killed and wounded scores of the enemy, pleased Stuart, and had one man killed—a poor Captain Latane; This is the result, and 3,000,000 dollars cannot cover the Federal loss in goods alone. As to myself," said he, mounting and trotting away, "I wouldn't have missed the trip for 1,000 dollars—history cannot show such another exploit as this of Stuart's!" He spoke the truth, honestly and roughly, as a true soldier serving under an incomparable leader. More words are not needed—the whole country is astonished and applauds—McClellan is disgraced—Stuart and his troopers are now for ever in history."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifica-
tions furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEED AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDIN AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C. S. A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS.
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BENSLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byrom's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States, Commission-ers for books and
papers of all kind, under then on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HORTON, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDE-
RICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—
1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., or Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and mischievous agents
to be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only hide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for its
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRES INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.

THE Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Asso-
ciation for the Promotion of Social Science, in
conjunction with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissance, will take place in
London from the 5th to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meetings of the National Asso-
ciation will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Soirées will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and
Ladies' Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to
all the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Soirées, &c.
Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.
As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.
For every 4s subscribed to this fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12 Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
Office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard,
and Co., 4, Lombard-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Ledger, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen.
and Chairman of Executive Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY, living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées, offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice- President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,388,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS
Geo. Connolly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poux.
C. Honold.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. P. Voornier.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 30th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 30th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after the 15th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRAIT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods, and parcels of 50 lbs. and upwards, will be
freight free by the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Parcel Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, any goods, oil, or vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence
be liable to a fine not exceeding £100; and the master
or owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

WE take pleasure in fully recom-
mending to our Friends in want of a good
Tailor, A. M. GAULTIER, 229, Regent Street,
London (above Verrey's Restaurant) and 20, Rue de
la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum;
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to X. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

Is this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a fiddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST. E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Cran-cour, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—July 3, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 11.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 10, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.]

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	161
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	163
Manchester Letter	163
THE TOBACCO MARKET	163
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Marriages and Deaths	163
Private Letters and Extracts	163
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	164
Charleston	164
Paris	164
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	165
LEADERS—	
The West	168
The last Presidential Election in the United States	168
The Celestial Empire of the West	169
The Right of Interference	170
Editorials	171
REVIEWS—	
Southern Statistics—	
The Cotton Production	171
The Colonial History of Virginia	172
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	173
COTTON	174
ADVERTISEMENTS	176

LATEST.

The following most important telegraphic despatches arrived at the moment of our going to press:—

(Per Etna, by Telegraph.)

NEW YORK, June 30 (Evening).

On the 26th inst. the Confederates, having been reinforced by Stonewall Jackson, attacked the right wing of the Federal army before Richmond with heavy force.

Severe fighting continued during two days, with heavy loss on both sides.

The Federals, by order of Gen. McClellan, receded several miles, hotly pursued by the Confederates. The Federals then made a stand, and held their position.

The Federals are stated to have retreated for a strategic purpose.

No official intelligence has yet been received. The fighting probably continues.

The telegraphic communication has been interrupted.

Information obtained from reliable sources leads to the belief that General Burnside was to attack the Confederate defences, near Richmond on the 28th inst.

JULY 1ST (Morning).

Fresh reports have been received of the late fight before Richmond, according to which General McClellan has contracted his lines and massed his troops between the Chickahominy and James River. The latter constitutes his base of operations.

White House has been abandoned, and the right wing of McClellan's army has been drawn across the Chickahominy.

On the 27th ult. the Confederates made an attack on the right wing of the Federals. The division of Stonewall Jackson attacked McClellan's division of reserves on the extreme right. After a fight of three hours Jackson was repulsed. The Confederates then made several attacks on the Federal right wing, and severe fighting ensued.

General McClellan then commenced the strategic movements for which he had been preparing; his whole right wing fell back, and crossed the south side of the Chickahominy in rear of his left wing. He afterwards made for James River.

The evacuation of White House was completed on Saturday afternoon, the Federals carrying off all their material.

The attack of Vicksburg by the Federal fleet is imminent.

NEW YORK, June 27 (Evening).

Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell's forces have been consolidated into one army, and General Pope has been assigned to the chief command.

It is officially stated that General McClellan has been largely reinforced since the Battle of Fair Oaks. General Pope will also operate against Richmond.

The steamer *Lempis*, from Nassau, has run the Charleston blockade.

Federal accounts state that the Federals attacked James Island, near Charleston, on the 14th inst., and were repulsed

after four hours' hard fighting, with a loss of 650 killed, wounded, and missing. The Federals were obliged to retreat under cover of their gunboats.

Gold, 9½ per cent. prem.

NEW YORK, June 28 (Morning).

It is stated that the Federal General Benham will be court-martialled for disobedience of General Hunter's orders in attacking the batteries before Charleston.

General Fremont asked to be relieved from his command, because General Pope had been appointed over him. President Lincoln has acceded to General Fremont's request, and appointed General Rufus Klig to take his place.

Southern papers state that great efforts are being made to hold Vicksburg.

President Lincoln has sent to the Senate a treaty, made by the American Minister, loaning to Mexico \$11,000,000.

At New Orleans the Federal surgeon Biddle, having taken a slave to be his servant, the owner of the slave retook him from Biddle. The owner was thereupon condemned to two year's imprisonment in the parish gaol, it having been decided that the Federal army must have everything it requires for its use.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

CHARLESTON is honoured by the special hatred of the North. The Federal press and mob threaten that city and its inhabitants with ferocious vengeance when the fortune of war places them in the power of the invaders. Charleston is to be made the example of Federal retribution. It will tax the inventive faculty of the North to devise greater barbarity than has been practised in New Orleans, but we doubt not that there will be a sensational display of savageness if Charleston is conquered. The Confederates, however, determine that the city shall not be an easy prey.

A battle took place on the 16th of June, on James Island, five miles from Charleston. The North at first announced it as "a bloody battle, with heavy loss on both sides." As no result was given, it followed that the North was defeated, and a few days afterwards it was intimated that "the Confederates claimed the victory in the battle fought near Charleston on the 16th"—a very delicate way of proclaiming a Federal defeat. No Northern account of the engagement has been published, but some particulars have appeared in the Confederate papers. It appears the battle commenced by five Federal regiments, supported by a battery of Parrot guns, attacking the batteries at Secessionville. Col. Lamar commanded the Confederates, who were very inferior to the enemy in numbers. The Federals were assisted by their gunboats. The Confederate troops engaged consisted of a battalion from the 47th Georgia (H. Good's) Regiment, Lamar's Battery, and a detachment of the Chatham Artillery of Savannah. The 47th New York (Highlanders) displayed great gallantry. Three times they assaulted the Confederate batteries, the last time with empty muskets; and when they were driven back they succeeded in carrying off their wounded, but left fifty of their number dead in the ditch. The Federals then tried a flank movement, and were completely defeated.

The Confederates buried 140 of the enemy's slain, and it is computed that the total Federal loss was 400, including 40 prisoners. The Confederate loss was 40 killed and about 100 wounded. The loss amongst the officers was heavy. Captains Reed and King, and Lieutenant Edwards were killed. Colonel Lamar was among the wounded. Generals Evans and Pemberton praised the Confederate troops for

their bravery in facing the terrible fire poured forth from the heavy field artillery and the gunboats of the enemy, and for the alacrity with which they opposed the desperate attacks of superior numbers. The Generals also complimented Colouel Lamar.

Whether Charleston has continued, and will continue, unconquered, we know not, but if it falls it will not fall ingloriously. If the stone fleet sunk by the Federals should prove an effective hinderance to the advance of their gunboats, Charleston will have a better chance of keeping out the enemy than has fallen to the lot of other river cities. The Battle of James Island teaches us that powerful artillery, even when supported by great bravery, is still inferior in a contest with men who are fighting for liberty and the sanctity of home. The formidable Parrot guns are not invincible.

No one can justly accuse General McClellan of ingratitude. When his forces are repulsed, when his stores and men are captured, when his tents are burnt, instead of expressing any regret or annoyance he is greatly obliged to the Confederates for giving him the opportunity of writing a despatch, and announcing one of those peculiar Federal victories which the obstinate Confederates and the unenlightened European nations will insist upon calling Federal defeats.

In a despatch dated June 26, "Young Napoleon" gives a remarkable instance of his invincible gratitude. He expresses great delight that the Confederates have allowed him to occupy "a swamp with thick underbrush, beyond which is an open country." If the occupation of this desirable ground increases the sickness and mortality of his army, General McClellan's gratitude will be enhanced.

The Young Napoleon is said to be sick, and General McDowell has been put *hors de combat* by a fall from his horse. These circumstances, it is said, were the cause of Mr. Lincoln's visit to General Scott, accompanied by General Pope, who, perhaps, carried with him in his pocket the 10,000 prisoners whom, according to General Halleck, he captured from General Beauregard's army.

The Jacob Bell, a gunboat, ventured up James River to reconnoitre; she got aground near Turkey Island, and did not get off until she had been severely punished by a Confederate battery of field-pieces, which opened on her with rifle guns, throwing shell and solid shot. The Northern account admits that the Jacob Bell "was considerably damaged."

It is reported that another attempt has been made on Fort Darling, and that the Federals were repulsed. It is said that the Government suppressed the publication of the news.

General Jackson is still master of the position in the Shenandoah Valley. He has been considerably reinforced, and the *Mobile News*, of June 14, states that General Lawton, with a Georgia brigade, 6000 strong, had left to join him.

General Beauregard and his staff, according to the *Grenada Appeal*, of June 18, had arrived at Montgomery, en route for Richmond. The command of the army opposed to General Halleck had been confided to General Bragg.

The official report of Colonel Fitch of the engage-

ment on the White River, near St. Charles, is very meagre. It admits the loss of the enemy was unknown, that the Mound City was disabled, and that it was considered prudent to withdraw the rest of the gunboat fleet out of the range of the Confederate batteries. The Confederate fort, after repulsing the fleet and making a gallant defence, was taken by the Federal land forces, under Colonel Fitch; and from the report of killed and captured, we presume that the fort was taken after it had been evacuated. The steam drum of the Mound City was perforated by a ball from a siege gun, and out of a crew of 175 only 23 escaped scalding. According to Northern accounts, the Confederate forces under Colonel Frye did not exceed "400 to 500 men," and probably they were much less numerous. From the same sources, we learn that 100 Federal sailors were killed and 20 missing—the missing are those who jumped into the water when scalded. Colonel Fitch does not state whether the captured guns were spiked; but if not, it was still a dearly-bought victory.

It was rumoured that the Federal mortar fleet had left New Orleans for Vicksburg, for the purpose of making another effort to reduce that place.

Although General Halleck is not going to give us any more pen and ink victories during the warm season, it appears that he does not intend to discontinue the preparation of comic despatches. We give the latest received in its entirety:—

Unofficial information has been received that White River has been opened for 170 miles, and that Governor Regan and the Rebel Government have fled from Little Rock on a flat-boat for Fort Smith.
H. W. HALLECK.

The Governor and the Government escaping on a flat-boat, is a pretty specimen of the circumstantial romance. It is a pity the unofficial report does not give the dimensions and tonnage of the flat-boat.

The best commentary on the war prospects of the North is the offer of two dollars premium, and one month's pay in advance, to all recruits. Perhaps these terms may attract a host of foreign mercenaries, but it is evident the Northerners themselves are reluctant to fight their own battles for the conquest and spoliation of the South. What are we now to think of the boasted enthusiasm and fighting proclivities of the United States' native citizens? Men are urgently needed, and although the country is in a state of financial collapse, an additional 100,000 men cannot be procured without the offer of a bounty and pay in advance. We also perceive in this call for more men a confession on the part of the Washington Government that the invading force has been greatly reduced by sickness and by the enemy, and that the present army is not large enough to subjugate the South. Bankrupt nations have ere this carried on wars, both defensive and aggressive, when the Government has been aided by the determination and voluntary efforts of the people; but it looks serious when a bankrupt nation is obliged to bribe its citizens to enlist. Recruiting for the "magnificent navy" that is to blow up, and smash up, and annihilate the navies of England and France before the fastest talker can say "Jack Robinson," is more difficult than recruiting for the Federal army; and as yet no plan has been discovered to use a fleet without men.

General Butler is no longer alone in his infamy, but it is shared by the Government and people of the United States; for the former has not visited it with condign punishment, and the latter have approved the several acts of disgraceful tyranny that have been perpetrated in New Orleans since the Federal occupation, even the execrable edict that has startled Europe by its malignity and unheard of atrociousness; and the New York press denounces in unmeasured terms the indignant censures of the British Parliament. General Butler revels in barbarity and lawlessness. The climax of his savage rule was giving his soldiers license, by an edict and by an explanatory letter, to treat the ladies of New Orleans as harlots. Compared with this, all other crimes are venial; for no other crime is in itself so loathsome or necessitates such deadly vengeance. And speaking of vengeance, we should regret exceedingly to hear that

his life had been taken by the incensed and outraged people. Better he should live as the exponent of Northern character and Northern sentiment towards the South. But though General Butler cannot exceed the infamy of his conduct towards the ladies of New Orleans, he takes care to let the world know that he, the representative of the United States, is not satiated with a single enormity. Last week we recorded the murder of Mr. Mumford. We deliberately use the word "murder," for the execution of the unfortunate gentleman cannot be justified by any law of any civilized, or, as far as we know, any uncivilized nation. There was a drunken brawl in the streets of New Orleans, and in the midst of the disturbance the United States' flag was lowered by some person or persons unknown; for Mr. Mumford, who met his cruel fate with the utmost fortitude, solemnly swore with his dying breath that he did not lower the flag. If he had done so, would that have called for a mock trial, or no trial, and a hurried execution? If General Butler is not guilty of the wilful murder of Mr. Mumford, then there has been no murder since the days of Cain.

The appetite for blood is fearfully stimulated by the taste of blood. Mr. Mumford being butchered, his murderer looked round for more victims. Accordingly, four persons were charged with obtaining money under false pretences, and getting into dwelling-houses under false pretences, and stealing therefrom. The accused were hurried to the gallows via a hurried and delusive trial. If anything would add to General Butler's gratification at seeing four victims swinging simultaneously, it was that one of them was an Englishman.

The English, at present, are without any consular protection and assistance, not that consular assistance avails much with General Butler:—

The acting British Consul Coppell having asked for information concerning the oaths to be administered to foreign residents, General Butler replied that no answer would be given until Mr. Coppell's credentials and pretensions were recognized by the British Government and the Federal Executive. All attempts at official action on Mr. Coppell's part must cease, his credentials having been asked for, but not exhibited.

It must be remembered that General Butler was a lawyer of the genus "Pettyfogger" before he entered the army. But we must proceed, for we have not yet gone through the last received list of General Butler's tyrannical acts.

One Alderman and the Chairman of the Ladies' Relief Committee have been condemned by General Butler to hard labour, with ball and chain, in Fort Jackson; that is, for some political offence, real or imagined, these gentlemen—citizens of the highest respectability—are treated worse than any European convicts, by being condemned to convict labour in chains. Amongst those who have been consigned to shameful imprisonment is Dr. Stone, the eminent surgeon. His loss is serious. Perhaps General Butler finds hanging too expeditious, and intends convict labour and chains as the slow and lingering substitutes for the quick death of the gallows.

General Butler has refused to allow the shipment of sugar bought and paid for by British, French, and Greek merchants, because the money given for the sugar aided the Confederates in purchasing arms!

Another consular controversy has risen in reference to the administration of an oath to foreigners:—

The Spanish, French, Italian, Greek, and Swiss Consuls have unanimously protested against the oath demanded by General Butler of foreigners. The consuls stated that since the commencement of the war they had remained neutral, and as neutrals they could not be treated as the conquered population. A conquered people might be submitted to exceptional laws, but neutral foreigners have a right to be treated as they have always been by the Federal Government.

General Butler replied that the oath was declared necessary to meet the cases of foreigners who had meddled in the affairs of the rebellion, many of whom also had concealed the fact of their naturalization.

General Butler, in an elaborate argument, endeavours to prove his proclamation perfectly legal, and says:—

"That all rules and regulations are made to restrain bad men,

and not good men. Foreigners can refuse to take the oath, but still live quietly and happily in New Orleans, and receive protection from personal violence. *If foreigners do not like Federal laws, they have an effectual remedy, alike pleasant to themselves, and to the Federal authorities. That remedy is to go home at once. Such foreigners came without invitation, they will be parted from without regret.* But foreigners must not commit crimes against the Federal laws, and expect to go home to escape punishment. Consuls are requested not to send argumentative protests in a body. *If any Consul has anything to offer for consideration, he can easily learn the proper mode of presenting it.*"

We call the attention of our readers to the words we have printed in italics. We publish to-day a leader showing some points of resemblance between the Chinese and Federal Governments. We ask, in all seriousness, whether General Butler's insolence to foreigners is not ultra-Chinese? We cannot say how much longer European nations will submit to such treatment, but we should think the limit of forbearance is nearly reached.

The Bank of Louisiana has been ordered to pay specie for deposits of Confederate money. General Butler forbids the issue of the Confederate notes which the bank received on deposit, and insists on the bank paying in currency not so received.

The example of General Butler is being followed. General Lew. Wallace has assumed military command of Memphis. His first official act was to take possession of the *Argus*, a Confederate paper, and place its articles and all papers published in the city under the censorship of two members of the New York press. The Provost-Marshal has issued instructions to the guard to shoot any one attempting to haul down the Union flag, or offering insult or molestation to citizens who manifest their devotion to the Union.

The war against the Southern ladies is to be rigorously waged, as we gather from the following paragraph:—

A house has been fitted up in Louisville for the imprisonment of women who do or say anything to incite to rebellion.

As the municipality of Norfolk could not be cajoled or frightened into taking the oath of allegiance to the Federal Government, martial law has been proclaimed.

The State of Illinois has adopted resolutions denying the right of suffrage to negroes, and prohibiting them from holding office. Negroes are also excluded from coming into Illinois. What would become of the poor negro if he had not a refuge and a home in the South?

The financial news may be effectively given in a single sentence. At the latest dates gold was 9½ premium.

In consequence of the siege of Richmond, the interest of the Virginia State debt, due here on the 1st inst., has not been paid. The interest on the bonds of the South Carolina Railway Company is also overdue. The Northern invasion, and not lack of funds, is the cause of these disappointments.

Both Houses of Congress have passed the Tax Bill. The tax imposed upon cotton amounts to 3¢. per lb.

A Committee of the House of Representatives has passed an amendment authorizing the issue of \$150,000,000 demand-notes, with the privilege to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue notes of less value than \$5. This privilege will enable the Government to circulate the "shin plasters" amongst all classes. It is reported that "green backs" are being extensively forged, and the reduction in value will make it easier to pass forged notes.

In the Senate, on June 24, the report of Judge Holt and Robert Owen, Ordnance Contract Commissioners, laid before the Senate, shows that Senator Simmons received two notes of \$5000 each for his services in obtaining a musket contract for a Providence (R.I.) house. The office of United States' Senator must be very lucrative, though not quite so lucrative as General Fremont's fort building.

The distress in the manufacturing districts increased during the past week. The most gloomy anticipations are entertained of the coming autumn and winter.

General Prim is in London, but it is understood that his visit is unofficial.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 9, 1862.

Our last report left the market in a very excited state with Middling Orleans at 16½, and Fair Dhollerahs 13½ to 14d. On Thursday there was no abatement in the buoyancy, and prices advanced another ½d., but on Friday the announcement of the week's business attracted considerable attention and caused a temporary pause. Out of the enormous sales of 155,000 bales, it was discovered with surprise that the trade had only got 24,000 including 3000 Surats, and the estimated stock of East India cotton in the port was made in consequence nearly double what most persons had expected it to be. This unlooked for result was found on enquiry to proceed from the large resales by spinners of cotton they had bought before. The advance in price was so enormous, that many of them were tempted to realize the profit instead of spinning it into cotton yarn, at a comparative sacrifice. No allowance had been made for this disturbing cause before, but the lingering brokers this week made returns in such a shape as to set off the previous purchases, which had been resold, against the amount actually taken this week. The amount, however, sent down for resale by spinners is known to be so very large that it is not probable the figures have been sufficiently rectified even yet; and there is good ground for supposing that the stock in the port, especially of Surats, is considerably larger than the estimate. The check produced by this discovery was only momentary, and as the day wore on a good business was again done at full prices for New Orleans and long-stapled cotton, but Surats were difficult of sale. On Saturday there was no material change in the tone, but in the afternoon some little anxiety was shown to realize, especially in Surats, and sales were made at a ½ decline.

On Monday the Africa's news were to hand, reporting cotton at New York 36 per cent. or 4 per cent higher than the previous quotation, while the passage of the second 150,000,000 currency bill had put the premium on gold up to 9½ per cent and ex to 120. The general aspect of warlike operations was also most unfavourable to peace. Our market received a strong stimulus from this news, and was also supported by large export orders from the Continent. In Havre the excitement had been even wilder than here, and Middling Orleans had reached there on Friday, 19d., and good Timoreely Madras 16d. per lb., nearly 2d. higher than those grades were in Liverpool, at the same date. Our market, in consequence, was very strong, the demand chiefly running on American and long stapled cotton; and prices of those grades advanced nearly ½d., putting Middling Orleans at 17½d. Surats recovered the previous decline and were firm at the highest prices touched; and a large business was done to arrive at 13½d. for April Broach; 13½d. for Omrawuttis; and 13d. for Dhollerah. May and June shipments sold at ½d. less. Yesterday the tone of our market still continued good, and prices of American cotton hardened under the export demand, Middling Orleans reaching 17½d.; but Surats were dull and in little request. To-day, however, there is a more decided feeling of quietness than has been yet experienced, and the sales only reach 8000 bales. American cotton remains steady, but Surats are freely offered, and can be bought in some cases at a full ½d. decline. The market for East India Cotton is considerably damped this afternoon by the arrival of the mail from Bombay, reporting enormous shipments of cotton for Great Britain. The clearances in the last fortnight, ending June 11, reach the extraordinary amount of 150,000 bales, or double what they were ever known to be before in a similar space of time. As the bulk of this cotton probably does not stand to sell more than 8d. or 8½d., showing a margin of 4d. or 5d. on the current prices paying for arrival, it is likely that it will be offered freely, even at a considerable reduction in price. It may be added in explanation that this enormous shipment is chiefly owing to the pressure exerted to get the vessels cleared before the monsoon; and as freight had fallen to a very low point, it is probable that comparatively little more remained to be shipped.

The amount of Surat cotton afloat for Liverpool is now about 375,000 bales, or sufficient to give us fully 30,000 bales per week for the next three months, and it is very unlikely that the trade and export demand will take off that amount, so that there is room for the stock of Surat cotton to increase materially, while it is quite probable that the total in the port may remain without much damage for three or four months.

Great anxiety is now felt to get later news from America. Rumours are flying about of the defeat of McClellan before Richmond, but nothing authentic is known. Our quotations this day for Middling American may be given as 17½d. for Orleans, 17½d. for Mobiles, 17½d. for Bowd Fair Dhollerah, and Omrawutta worth nominally 13½ to 13½ cents per lb.

MANCHESTER, July 8, 1862.

During the past week our market has been very much excited, owing to the great advance which has taken place from day to day in the price of the raw material.

The manufacturers in Germany, who are very bare of stocks at present, seeing no possibility of obtaining yarns at anything like a low rate by waiting longer, but rather the reverse, are coming forward *en masse* and placing orders in the hands of their agents here at prices considerably in advance of what they have paid previously, but which are still below what spinners will take, and they have only been enabled so far to place orders for 20s. water, 40s. mule, and 28s. to 40s. twist cops, because their limits for those numbers were sufficiently liberal as to put their friends in a position to meet the spinners' demands.

There has been a considerable business done in shirtings, jacquets, and print cloths, the two former having attracted the attention of speculators, who have picked up large quantities at a price scarcely exceeding that of the cotton from which they are made, intending to bring these on the market again for resale, in some cases, as soon as they can obtain a profit of about a shilling per piece; and, in others, where they look for a larger profit, when the demand arises subsequent upon the seriously diminished amount of production, and the better advices from India in response to the excitement here.

To-day the market has been very irregular. For yarns, the advance asked has been, in very many cases, from 3d. to 4d. per lb. upon the prices of last Tuesday; but sales have been effected only at an advance of 1½d. to 2d. per lb.

Many of our leading yarn agents assert that the only sales they have effected to-day have been for account of manufacturers, who prefer reselling what they bought within the last few days, at a profit of 2d. to 3d. per lb., to making it into cloth, with the almost certainty of having to sell it at a loss; in other words, choosing to close their establishments rather than manufacture cloth on speculation.

The German buyers are writing their friends for a further extension of limits, as they cannot otherwise execute orders, their offers being at the quotations of three or four days back.

Seven lb. shirtings are worth, to-day, 10s. 6d.; 8½ lbs. shirtings, from 12s. 6d. to 12s. 9d.; 16 by 16 printers, 21½d. to 22d. per lb., and 72 reeds, 2s. per lb. Some of the best makers are holding for 2s. 2d. per lb.

THE TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, July 8, 1862.

The markets here and in Liverpool gain strength weekly. Considerable business has been transacted this week in all descriptions of American growth at hardening prices.

The home trade evince anxiety as to supplies of stemmed and of Missouri leaf to take the place of Virginia. They seem inclined to increase their stocks, and there are indications of operations for resale. A large business has been done in manufactured twist as well as Cavendish, at very full prices.

The latest accounts from America show active markets and advancing prices.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

MARRIED.

On May 22, in Charleston, by the Rev. C. P. Gadsden, Captain G. L. Buist to Martha Allston, eldest daughter of Alonzo T. White, Esq., all of Charleston.

On May 20, at the residence of Mr. S. A. Atkinson, Richmond County, Georgia, by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Mr. J. Frazer Sheart, of Charleston, S. C., to Miss Maria E. Erickson, of the former place.

DIED.

At Richmond, on the 15th of May, after a short illness of six hours, Theodore Zacharie, in the 21st year of his age, first Lieutenant of the Orleans Cadets, and son of James W. Zacharie, Esq., of New Orleans, La.

Blaize Cenas, son of Dr. Cenas, of New Orleans, and also a son of Mrs. Grimshaw, of New Orleans, were killed at Shiloh.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

Sacred to the memory of Columbus C. Hayne, a private member of the Silverton Artillery, Lamar's Regiment, who ceased with all terrestrial troubles at Camp Ancon, James Island, S. C., on the 22nd inst., after a short illness of two days, produced by congestion of the brain, aged eighteen years.

Whereas, It has pleased by Omnipotent God, in His allwise providence, to remove from our midst, in this day of trouble, our highly esteemed and beloved brother soldier. We deeply mourn our loss, for he was among the first to respond to his country's call, and died a true patriot at his post. As a soldier, he was surpassed by none; and as a citizen all who knew him could but love him. Yet, when he was summoned, like all others, he had to submit himself in the arms of one who doeth all things well. It is sad for us to lose of our band, when far away from home, yet we resign and grieve not; for blessed are they who die in the Lord.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

Extract from a letter from a lady to her husband in Europe, dated at Greensborough, North Carolina, May 26:—

"We left Richmond with very great regret, though I am very sure it was right to do so. Not that I for one moment apprehend the surrender of our capital; on the contrary, all those best qualified to judge of such matters are perfectly confident that the city will be defended, and our army gloriously triumphant. If, however, in the chances of war, with such immense disparity of numbers, as exists between us and our enemies, victory should happen to attend their efforts, Richmond will be a second Moscow—it may be burned, but it will never be surrendered. Charleston, too, will certainly be burnt if it cannot be successfully defended; and you may be assured that there is now no more prospect of the South being subjugated, than there was after the battle of Manassas. Indeed, I am convinced that we are now a more determined, a more united, and stronger people than we were a year ago. For those you are most interested in, I can truly say that we have never had braver hearts, or more abiding faith, in the justice of our cause."

Extracts from a letter from a young lady to a near relative now in England, dated at Richmond, Va., May 13:—

"* * * Again an opportunity offers of sending letters to you, and most gladly I avail myself of it, even though conscious that there are many chances against its ever reaching you. — wrote you a few days since, and, I presume, gave you a sketch of our wanderings and of the various incidents connected with our 'refugeeing.' We are now more comfortable and more homelike than we have been since we left — Valley. We would all be only too glad to remain here; but as all the efforts of the Yankees are now directed towards the taking of this city, we can only feel ourselves birds of passage. Of course we outsiders can know nothing positive of the policy of our Government; but it is generally believed, and I think with ground of information, that Richmond will be defended to the last man—and even though it should fall, and we are obliged to concentrate our forces within a narrower sphere, yet no one fears the ultimate success of our cause. As the clouds grow darker and more

lowering, our hearts grow braver and stronger, and each one feels more determined to resist the invader. We have glorious accounts of the spirit of the people of the — Valley: the ladies never appear upon the streets but from necessity, avoid all communication with the mercenaries, and when its forced upon them, boldly avow their undying allegiance to the South. After the Yankees got possession they rejoined intercourse with Baltimore, they filled the towns with merchandises which the citizens refused to buy, even the children refusing to accept oranges, lemons, &c., that were offered to them, till they wasted in the shop windows, and had to be thrown away. And these are the people they have undertaken to subjugate. The women of Winchester have behaved most nobly. We hear that our dearly-loved home has been entirely destroyed, not burnt; the wretches said "burning was too good for that old rebel's house," but cutting the woodwork to pieces, knocking the doors and windows out, and completely ruining the place; the amount of damage done we cannot exactly find out, but we are assured that everything is ruined. I am so glad that you were spared the pain I know it would have occasioned you, in the packing up of all we valued, and turning our backs upon the home we loved so well; but we must expect to make great sacrifices, and I try not to allow myself to grow homesick; yet, since we left home, we have met with unvarying kindness; and since we came to Richmond we have been much gratified by the kind reception extended to us by all, but especially by your friends, who seem to consider it a privilege to be able to extend kindness to us, and thus serve you."

We possess a great advantage in Richmond that we cannot have at any other point—that of seeing many friends who are constantly passing through.

We were much amused by one of the trophies sent North by the Yankees. Our old pet cat and a young family of kittens were sent off as a part of "—s family goods;" pieces of the woodwork were made into silk-winders, combs, &c., and sent North as trophies. Could anything be more childish and perilous?

RICHMOND, May 23.

Extract from a letter addressed to a Southern gentleman in London:—

"* * * The portion of the State occupied by the Yankees has been reduced to a most deplorable condition."

My old father is not permitted to mount a horse without consent of the Commanding-General. I mention him only as a sample of what is going on with the whole community. All intercourse between neighbours is restricted or entirely cut off. The churches have never been opened since the advent of the Yankees. Not a single disloyal clergyman of any denomination has been found; all are fugitives, and many of them are in the ranks with the musket on their shoulders. The ladies and women of all conditions and all classes show the utmost aversion and contempt for the invaders. Every man capable of bearing arms has joined our army from the country that is overrun, and notwithstanding the defection of so many counties in North-Western Virginia, we have more men under arms than the whole number of qualified voters in the State. I wish I could write to you fully the real facts as to the Battle of Williamsburg. The Yankees state that our numbers were 30,000 in that battle; our real strength was Longstreet's division of about 9000 men. He fairly whipped three times that number of Yankees. Killing and wounding, according to their own admission, 3000 of their men. Our badly wounded were taken prisoners, only because the battle occurred on the retreat which Longstreet was covering, and when the Yankees were repulsed, he had to follow after our main army, or the whole of McClellan's force would have been upon him.

The Yankees plunder and steal everything they want, and destroy a great deal of property wantonly. They take bacon, corn, beef, mutton, poultry, all the products of the dairies and the gardens, and their line of march is marked by the destruction of enclosures and perfect devastation of the country.

I saw a man from Winchester, who left there on May 5; he reports that, so far as he could see, no tree or fencing of any sort was left in or near the town. He said the basement of Selma was used for stables, and that the house was very much defaced, and the outhouses and enclosures all consumed. Colonel McDonald was served pretty much in the same way; all the magnificent trees destroyed, &c., &c.

We have no traitors among us now, we are all of one heart and one mind; our people are enduring every hardship and sacrifice with cheerfulness and alacrity; and with the blessing of God we will drive back the detested Yankees. The poor negroes who have marched off in crowds are many of them returning, and many of them have evinced the same contempt for the invader with the white race. Many of them confer freely with their masters as to what should best be done for the common defence, knowing that they can leave at any moment; not only remaining voluntarily, but showing the utmost solicitude as to the common danger.

Here is the point of the greatest interest now, and of course I can give you no particular information. I can only say, in general terms, that although this city is beleaguered by the enemy, that at some point he is in great force, within five miles of us, and McDowell is threatening us with heavy columns from Fredericksburg, no panic exists here; our citizens and soldiers are in the highest possible spirits, and look forward to the result of the battle which is every day expected with the highest spirits. The more timid of the citizens went away some time

ago. The men and women of Richmond who remain behind have spoken out to the authorities, demanding the shelling and sacking of the city rather than its abandonment, and all are ready for the sternest and deadliest resistance.

Probably before this hastily written note shall reach you the great struggle will have passed into history; but no matter how the battle here may end, I feel confident that it will be signalized by courage, endurance, and heroism on the part of our army, equal to any that has ever been exhibited.

NEW ORLEANS, May 15, 1862.

Since my last, great and unfortunate changes have taken place here, New Orleans being at present in the hands of the Federals, and subject to the good pleasure of General Butler. Now that we can see of what stuff the army of our enemies is composed, we are more than ever convinced that in a land attack they never could have succeeded; they prudently had recourse to their gunboats, and even then were held in check for many days and nights. A belief has prevailed in some quarters, that another defence of the city might have been made at the fortifications of Chalmette; against land forces, it might have been done, but against a fleet of steam-vessels the attempt would have been absurd. But what New Orleans could do, and has really done, has been to show the conquerors that they had made but a barren conquest, and accomplished no results of a permanent character. Strictly speaking, the city has not surrendered; being defenceless, it was occupied by the enemy, and its subsequent conduct has, in every point, been consistent with this fact, as a most complete line of demarcation separates our population from the invaders. Nowhere, literally speaking, have the officers been received, and several of them who in former years had been welcomed with open arms in our families, have found themselves excluded from the clubs and from all society; such is the case of young Duncan (son of the head of the firm of Duncan, Sherman, and Co.), whom you, perhaps, saw here two or three winters since. The most intimate family relations, the ties of relationship, marriage engagements (as known cases prove), nothing, in fact, has been able to close the vast gulf which separates the two races now in presence within our walls. The men show some moderation in the expression of their dislike, but the women, unable to restrain themselves, give no rest to the unfortunate officers, gathering their skirts as they pass them, as if to avoid the foul contact, and leaving *en masse* the omnibuses when an officer enters. To such an extent was this carried that the officers of a French gunboat which we had here were obliged to modify their city uniforms in order not to be mistaken for Yankees.

A few evenings since a picket of Federal soldiers paid a domiciliary visit at the house of Mrs. H.—in search of her son-in-law, who had temporarily left his regiment to come to the city; on being informed of the presence of the soldiers, Mrs. H.—left her room, went down stairs, and gave such a reception to the officer in command, ordering him to leave her house, that he obeyed, and left without accomplishing his mission. You must not believe that the native population, blacks as well as whites, are the only ones that show their dislike and contempt for the Yankees; the same feeling is shared by strangers of all nations, but especially by the English, the French, and the Spaniards.

The first have recently shown their sympathy for the South, by the act of a British military company, which had had Enfield rifles sent to it from England, and which, on learning of the approach of the Federals, sent all its arms and equipments, and even its uniforms, to our army at Corinth. General Butler has sent several members of this company to Fort Jackson, for the above reason, to the great indignation of the other British residents, all of whom are furious that there should be neither vessel-of-war, nor even a Consul, to protect them, Mr. Mure being absent since last year, and having left in the interim, as his successor, a very young and very incompetent man—at least, in the present state of affairs. As to the French and Spaniards, who were already little friendly to the Yankees, they are still less so since General Butler showed an inclination to violate at a single blow the consular domicile of both nations, situated in the Old Canal Bank, on Magazine-street. This locality was selected by the Consuls on account of the facility offered by the vaults for keeping objects of value deposited by their countrymen. General Butler suspected (without the least ground, in my opinion) that some of the bank specie had been deposited in those vaults, in order that he might not get it; and accordingly, by his orders, on Saturday at nightfall, the house was surrounded by a body of soldiers, and Heaven knows what might have happened had not the General very soon, on a formal summons from the Consuls, determined to withdraw his troops, who retired amid the hisses of a constantly increasing crowd, mostly composed of Frenchmen. Next day Captain Clouet, of the gunboat *Milan*, called on General Butler, and declared to him, in very severe language, that he must take good care to avoid the repetition of a similar outrage. Worthily following in the footsteps of his chief, General Butler hastened to write a letter of apology to the Consuls, giving, as it were, a miniature edition of the Trent affair.

Unfortunately, the Consul of the Netherlands had no war vessel to protect him; hence the unparalleled outrage committed the same day against his office and his person, of which you have undoubtedly heard. The stolen money was taken from his consulate, and transferred to the custom-house or elsewhere—the Dutch flag no longer waves over the consulate.

Whilst awaiting the results of these high-handed acts, it is now clear as daylight that the famous Union feeling, by the pretended

existence of which Northern Democrats attempt to palliate their infamous apostasy, has so far been conspicuous as *non est*.

Butler has surrounded himself with a regular espionage, composed of foreign Jews, but that is not the surest means of restoring a fallen Government; and it is not less true that if, before the capture of this city, any one could doubt of the final triumph of the Southern cause, such doubt is no longer admissible. The country will yet have to undergo many trials and much suffering. The famine, which recently threatened us to such a point that bakers no longer made bread through absolute want of flour, and meat of inferior quality rose to \$1 per lb.—the destruction, already in part accomplished, of all the present cotton crop, and the suppression of a great portion of the next crop to make room for corn supplies—the financial ruin which will follow hence for many persons,—these, and many other miseries, constitute, perhaps, a higher price than some people would at the beginning have consented to pay for the independence of the South—that is, for the triumph of right against might; but the higher the cost, the greater the value that will be set upon it.

General Butler has not yet carried out his idea of prohibiting Confederate currency, so that Yankee officers may actually be seen buying and paying with our paper. As to the United States' Treasury Notes, our merchants will not receive them, and in many cases, especially in the beginning, they have refused to sell to the Yankees, although exposing themselves to a forcible taking of their goods. It is needless to say that business is completely at a stand, except as regards city supplies, which come by special permits from Mobile, Red River, or Attakapas. Our river steamers have all taken refuge in inaccessible places. With the exception of a few bales, all the cotton which was in the city was burned on the approach of the Federals. A great part of that which had been brought down and stored on the sugar plantations of the neighbourhood has also been destroyed. The destruction has extended up as far as Vicksburg, and has not even spared Red River, where the Yankees have not yet penetrated. At Clinton, and other places of the interior, the same thing has occurred. This is to be regretted, because these sacrifices are useless, unless so far as they go to prove that in this phase of the struggle for independence the South is terribly in earnest.

It is now taken for granted in commercial circles here that the next cotton crop will be a very feeble one. "Supplies, supplies!" Such is the general cry in the South. What a singular revolution all this will make in the direction of the commercial current between Europe, the North, the West and ourselves! Peace or no peace, that revolution is a settled fact, especially for the West, whose blindness throughout this war has been little short of miraculous.

I have just room enough to mention that the officers of the Federal gunboats all declare they have no desire to interfere with our institutions, and that their only wish is to restore the Union, and then fall upon England.

Foreign Correspondence.

NEW YORK, June 20, 1862.

Exchange and gold are, with fluctuations, substantially on the rise; the new issue of 150,000,000 dols. with a supplement of 25,000,000, of one's, two's and three's, will end in a catastrophe. The object now is, on the part of the Administration, to carry the fall elections, by flooding the country with money; flush times come back; everybody is to have a Treasury note in his pocket. All the New England States are hauling in Treasury notes—I won't call them money—by the handful, in exchange for manufactures of all sorts; but the notes won't be paid, and there will be a crash, the like whereof has never been seen before. All the middle classes speak of repudiation without disguise. The fact is, the debt cannot be paid; the Western States will not stand taxation; and we shall have the same excuses as were made at the end of the Revolutionary War, viz., that the Government paper was depreciated and then bought by speculators; and no possibility of detecting genuine from spurious notes. All the signatures to the notes now issued are engraved, not signed, and there is no possibility of telling good from bad.

As for expecting any sensible views just now, that is out of the question; the people are either infuriated against the South, or they are in a state of supreme indifference as to results. I had no conception this country could be brought to such a depth of degradation, and in one short year.

CHARLESTON, June 2, 1862.

For the last two weeks there have been several encounters with the Yankees on Jones and James Islands, which they shelled from their gunboats coming up Stono River (Inlet?)

Our harbour has been put, as people say, in an excellent state of defence, and will resist, it is believed, any attack.

As regards obstructions in the water, I do not know how effective they may be, because I always see steamers running the blockade in and out; last week we had the arrival of three in two subsequent nights, and a fourth

one had to be run ashore to save her from capture. The cargo has been saved.

Sailing vessels do not run the risk so frequently, as the blockaders have become more watchful, and, of late, quite a number of captures were made.

Charleston is now very dull, most of the families have left the city, with all they could take away. Soldiers are encamped on the battery, on the wharves, on City Hall Park, on Citadel Green, and on many other places.

PARIS, July 8, 1862.

At this particular moment, when public attention is so deeply engrossed with the American war—when the commercial transactions of the whole Continent have been brought to a dead stand by the egotistical obstinacy of the Washington Cabinet—when the cotton stock of each and every European market is on the eve of complete exhaustion, threatening by its fearful and constant decrease to enforce the closing of all the cotton mills and to throw millions of operatives of all nations out of employment and upon public charity—I must call your especial attention to the most significant articles of the *Patrie* of the 6th, and of the *Constitutionnel* of the 7th inst. Whether they were inspired by the Government or not, whether they express the sentiments of the French Administration or not, I will not pretend to say, nor is it material to inquire. Whatever be their source or origin, they clearly indicate this all-important fact, that public opinion is getting more and more weary of the abnormal condition of affairs, which is the immediate consequence of the wild policy pursued by the Government of the United States towards the neutral Powers of Europe; and profoundly disgusted with the savage brutality which is resorted to by the Federal Generals to resuscitate Union sentiments in the South.

"We speak advisedly," says *La Patrie*, "and hope the Americans may hear us; we ignore and wish to ignore what political combination is best calculated to change the actual situation; we do not desire to foresee, much less indicate, the terms upon which a mediation might bring about a necessary solution. But it is our bounden duty to say, because it is a truth too palpable to be denied, that the American war is no longer possible. The general condition of affairs, the interests which link nations together, their mutual intercourse, imperiously command its cessation."

"The Emperor Napoleon III. has taken but fifty days to defeat the Austrian army and conquer the Independence of Italy. The United States should not be allowed any greater length of time."

"A few years ago," says the *Constitutionnel*, "an Austrian General was dragged under the ban of European opinion because of his flogging women and shooting men; and outraged, struck, he was pursued in the streets of London by the brewers who had expelled him from Elkin's house. Had Haynau committed any atrocity but what has been surpassed by Butler? No; and yet he will, no doubt, be exalted by some of the newspapers who pretend to Liberalism, because he has treated a lady of New Orleans as a prostitute, for having looked with contempt upon one of his hirelings, and inflicted upon a man who had put down the flag of the oppressors of his countrymen the penalty usually applied to the lowest class of criminals."

The news which has reached us from America, last Monday, seems to forebode that the time of chastisement is near at hand. Who knows but what an invisible hand has not written upon the walls of the White House, as it did of old upon those of the Palace of Belshazzar, *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*; and that, awe-struck, Lincoln has not been driven by the same invisible power to seek the aid of General Scott. Does it not look as though Divine Providence, avenging the wrongs inflicted upon the South, was rigorously pursuing its ruthless invaders? Where is the Federal General, whose heart, burning with the pure fire of patriotism, has accomplished one of those noble and daring deeds of valour which inspires an army, and leads it to victory? Where is the Northern General who can grasp the Union flag and rally around it on the battle-field one single regiment determined to crown it with glory or die under its folds? Where is the would-be young Napoleon, and his princely staff officers, who are said to have aided him in maturing his plans of campaign, that in this hour of danger Lincoln is made to undergo the keen humiliation to bend down to the once old Hero, who now lingers unto death, with the remorse of having ordered the foreign hirelings of the United States to march into and overrun his own native State, the glorious and chivalrous State of Virginia?

I was told that at a certain Northern banking house of Paris some serious uneasiness was felt with regard to the steady increase of the premium on gold, and the rapid progression of the rate of exchange. Indeed, great misgivings were said to be entertained there about the pro-

bable causes which necessitate a modification of the Cabinet.

It may be that Mr. Chase has been driven from the Treasury department by his incapacity to meet the specie payment of the semi-annual interest, due on July 1, upon the bonds of the United States, as he had pledged the faith of the Government to do. Perchance, it may be, that, not unlike the little animals which, lest they should get drowned, invariably abandon a rotten ship when it is near sinking, the Republican Cabinet has thought prudent to retire to avoid being buried under the ruins of their tumbling Government.

From another Correspondent.

PARIS, July 8, 1862.

The two great events of the week are, the speech delivered by M. de Montalembert at the solemn annual meeting of the French Academy, and the death of the Duke Pasquier. M. de Montalembert's discourse, which is the topic of all conversation, is, as a matter of course, appreciated by the journals according to the political opinion they severally represent. While it is the subject of the highest commendation on the part of the Ultramontane press, it is bitterly criticised by the Imperial papers, and violently attacked by the organs of the Republican Party. Whatever be the different opinions entertained upon the political creed of M. de Montalembert, he has the great and very rare merit, now-a-days, to be sincere and true to his political and religious doctrines, and is undoubtedly one of the most talented and gifted orators of the present century.

The tendency to transform the French Academy into a political club is, however, deeply to be deplored. The elections to that body have, of late, lost their literary character to assume the worst features of party contests. To become one of its fortunate forty members, a candidate has no chance of being admitted into the *sanctum* if his literary works are not accompanied by incontrovertible proofs of strong partizanship.

The Duke Pasquier, who was buried on Monday last, with all the honours due to the elevated rank he held in society, was one of the few survivors of the Revolution of '93. Born in 1767, he was ninety-five years of age. Successively member of Parliament, with his father, under Louis XVI.; incarcerated during the Reign of Terror; Councillor of State and Prefet de Police under Napoleon I.; Deputy; President of the Chamber of Deputies; several times Minister; then Peer of France, under the Restoration; finally, President of the House of Peers under Louis Philippe, who elevated him to the dignity of Chancellor of France, and gave him the title of Duke in 1844. M. Pasquier was, besides, a member of the French Academy. The Duke's long public career will furnish his successor with ample matter for political allusions, of which the learned academicians seem to have become so fond.

The marriage of the King of Portugal with Princess Pie of Savoy, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, is now official. The royal wedding is to take place at Turin, next September. The Princess was born on October 16, 1847, and is said to be remarkable for her beauty.

The politicians will see the hand of the Emperor in this marriage, which he is supposed to have brought about to make Spain feel his displeasure at her course in Mexico. The importance of the military preparations making for Mexico are far from corroborating the statements published about the safety of the troops under the command of General de Lorencez. I hear it positively asserted that his communications with Vera-Cruz are not quite as free as might be desired. All the iron-cased vessels, with the exception of La Gloire, have received orders to get ready to proceed to Vera-Cruz at a moment's warning.

I have been shown a letter, dated Washington, June 20, which contains the following paragraph:—"Fort Darling was again attacked on Tuesday last by the United States' fleet, and although the Associate Press telegraphs to-day the fact of its mortifying repulse for the second time, the authorities have suppressed its publication. Our friend —, read the despatch an hour since, and knows of its subsequent suppression. *This you may rely on.* Hence this steamer will not take out this news!"

Among the bills passed at the last session of the Corps Legislatif are to be found several laws of a very important character, inasmuch as they relate to the construction of the new railways. One of the systems adopted will, I think, prove extremely advantageous both to the Government and to the companies charged with their building. I allude to the law which authorizes the Government to give out the work instead of accomplishing it itself, and to convert into a cash payment the amount generally granted as a subsidy.

The Government, thus intervening to diminish the

capital required by the company of all the amount of the subsidy, is enabled to control their tariffs, and reduce them precisely in the same proportion, with the difference of the amount to be actually disbursed by the company. The real cost of the railroad being thus considerably reduced, the company will, as a matter of course, require a much smaller revenue for the payment of the interest of its bonds.

Four of the railroads to be built under that new system, are destined to place La Rochelle in direct communication with Napoleon-Vendée, and to make of the town of Saintes the converging point of the embranchements of Contras, Rochefort, and Angoulême, all leading to and connecting with the Orleans and Bordeaux Railroad.

In compliance with the preference manifested by the Corps Legislatif, these four roads, running over a distance of 226 miles, have been made the object of a single concession, to be given out by way of adjudication. The Government has fixed the sum of 22,000,000 francs as the amount of its subsidy, and the firm of Guilhaud Jun., and Co., having offered the lowest bid by 1,505,000 francs, were a few days ago declared the legal grantees thereof.

The entire cost of these railways being valued at the sum of 64,000,000 francs, it will be perceived that both the Government and the company derive an immediate advantage from the application of this new system. While, on one hand, the Government realizes at once the difference between the amount of the subsidy granted and the cost of the railroad, on the other hand, the capital required by the company diminishes of all the amount of the subsidy, and brings down the interest upon the bonds to fully one-third of what it should otherwise be.

The company to which this concession has been made is by no means unexperienced in such matters. It has already successfully built several railways, principally in Spain, where it enjoys a reputation equal to that of any of its competitors.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, June 24, 1862.

SIR,—The foreign bankers [in Wall-street have at last taken fright at the condition of financial matters in the Northern States of America; when the crash comes, they will be the heaviest sufferers. The incorporated banks have managed to take care of themselves; in their bank books and on their checks are inserted the words, "payable in current funds," so they can readily settle with their depositors and note-holders by United States' notes. Not so with the foreign bankers, importing houses, and commission merchants, whose aggregate floating indebtedness to Europe is rising \$200,000,000; they are obliged to receive Mr. Chase's issues, but as they will not pass current at any of the money capitals of Europe, and as they will not be able to get gold or Bills of Exchange, there will be a stop to commerce. Already it has become very difficult to purchase gold, and the premium is daily advancing. The precious metals that came by the last Californian steamer, are retained by the consignees; the banks will not part with that which is in their vaults at any premium just now. Why should they, for United States notes that may become worthless if McClellan is defeated? The United States have had a great advantage over the Southern States in money matters, by their connection with Europe; their floating indebtedness has been obscured from view by the ramification of commerce, but it will soon be seen, as it is now being felt, they have paid annually the interest to Europe on commercial balances, \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000, but they waived out this amount in the shape of credits to other sections of the late Union, and have received, therefore, \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000, to say nothing of the large commission on the business attracted thereby. When the bubble bursts, Wall-street being the financial centre, and consequently the endorser of Mr. Chase's schemes, will be the greatest loser. Almost any mail will give you advices of a grand explosion. The English holders of American securities seem to be taking time by the forelock, as each steamer brings out large orders to sell.

The Morrill tariff has been greatly increased, in order to compensate the Yankee manufacturers for the direct taxes with which they are assessed. No relief, however, is given to the Western States; they are not only to pay the taxes, but these additional duties, none of their products being benefitted in the slightest degree by the system of imposts, as hogs, cattle, and provisions are never brought from foreign countries. But these taxes never will be collected; indeed, I am assured by some of the members of Congress that voted for the bill, that they merely wanted to get the matter out of the way, and were in hopes that the passing of the act would

enable the Federal Government to make large sales of its paper in Europe, and thus ward off the pressure that is now weighing so heavily upon the North.

The premium on gold was held back by the operation of the "bears" in the precious metals, who made large sales some weeks ago to deliver abroad at four per cent., so they are saddled with a heavy loss; in fact, it is supposed that some of them will be "cornered," the banks keeping a tight grip upon what they hold.

GUN BOATS.

The following interesting letter is from the *Richmond Dispatch* :—

Headquarters 1st Division Reserve,
near Richmond, June 2, 1862.

SIR,—The panic caused by the enemy's gunboats is not, perhaps, unreasonable, considering the manner in which their deeds have been trumpeted and exaggerated; but it is very absurd and needless. I will state a few facts. Horizontal, or rather direct shell firing, as from Dahlgren or rifled pieces, is destructive only to shipping or buildings. It has very little effect upon batteries either with or without parapets, or upon troops deployed. This is due, I think, partly to the difficulty of causing the shell, even if well directed, to explode exactly at the object, but chiefly to the great velocity of the missiles, which carries the fragments after explosion beyond the point of bursting. Mortar firing, or vertical fire, as it is called, is, well managed, much more destructive and dangerous in that the velocity is small and the explosive force has full play. I have never known a shell from the gunboats exploding over an open battery or group or line of men to do any harm.

Last winter a portion of my command, under Captain Probel, was exposed to frequent day and night shell firing of 11 and 9-inch Dahlgren and rifled shells. The camp was shelled repeatedly, and fire started in it once by some camphene contrivance in the missile. We had but one casualty.

During the same time the enemy's gunboats fired between 100 and 200 heavy shell at a single picket station on the Potomac, without either hurting a man or driving off the guard.

The gallant Major Walker, of the artillery, unlimbered his battery in the open field, and for several hours engaged the Pawnee, Live Yankee, Anacostia, and a tug, at long range, without a single casualty, compelling the boats to retire. They were commanded by a brave officer of the United States' Navy, Captain Rowan, who is reported to have lost an arm in the fight.

The battery at Aquia Creek was shelled for three days last summer by the Potomac fleet, one vessel alone expending several hundred shell with no other effect than a scratch on one man's hand, and the killing of a trooper's horse in the rear of the battery.

Major Walker was over twelve times last winter, and fell under fire of 9-inch Dahlgrens from gunboats with his battery, without a casualty.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Lee, of the Hampton Legion Artillery, now commanding the artillery of this division, twice engaged them—fired his battery against 9-inch shells—without a casualty.

When the Evansport batteries were opened on the Seminole and Pocomantas, even in the very imperfect condition of these batteries at that time, the enemy's fire inflicted no damage whatever.

At Yorktown, although the gunboats fired a great deal into the town, and at Gloucester Point, both of which were full of tents, hospitals, store-houses, wagons and troops, but no man was killed at Yorktown, and nobody hurt at Gloucester Point.

The other day, at the engagement between a part of my command, and the enemy at Eltham's Landing, near West Point, one of the enemy's gunboats opened upon a position from which a few moments before Lieutenant-Colonel Lee and Captain Reilly had in vain endeavored with four pieces to reach the transports; and though the boat got the range with great accuracy, and burst her shells directly over the heads, and within a few feet of the 6th North Carolina Regiment, commanded by Colonel Pender, but one man was hurt; and although their gunboats shelled the woods in which Hood's brigade and the Legion were drawn up, after the enemy were driven out, not a man was touched by them.

I can vouch for most of the above circumstances from personal knowledge and observation. Officers of my command attest all I have not seen myself.

At Port Royal and Hatteras, the result was due partly to overwhelming force, and partly to inexperience on the part of the gunners. It is said—and I have no doubt of it—that many guns were dismounted by the recoil, owing to the eccentricities having been carelessly left in gear when the pieces were fired, while others were spiked and rendered useless by the priming wires being left in the vent while the charge was rammed. Our firing was also bad. Yet, at both these places the loss of the garrison was trifling, when compared to the weight and length of the enemy's fire.

At Donnellson, by Commodore Foote's own showing, the gunboats were fairly whipped and withdrawn. Gunboats had nothing to do with the taking of Fort Pulaski. At Island No. 10 they failed. Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered from treachery and mutiny, and that alone. Fort Macon was taken by land batteries.

Let our men stand to their guns and fight them as the officers and men of our army did the other day at Drewry's Bluff, and there are few rivers in this country in which the Yankee gunboats will venture far—certainly not the James, the Cape Fear, or the Southern inlets below Charleston.

I hope the above statement will cool somewhat the excitement produced by the name and approach of gunboats. As far as our side is concerned, there can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the above statements. What effect we may have produced on the enemy, there is no means of ascertaining. In time, however, from the false and contradictory statements they are compelled to make, the truth is gradually sifted. Thank God, our leaders are not obliged to lie, either to keep our courage up or to satisfy our Government or people.

Very respectfully,

W. H. C. WHITING,

Brigadier General Commanding 1st Division of Reserve,
Army of the Potomac.

The *Montgomery Advertiser* furnishes the following list of gentlemen that the Lincolnites have in prison in Huntsville, Alabama:—Dr. Thomas Ferns, ex-Governor R. Chapman, Bishop H. C. Lay, George P. Beirac, E. q., William Acklen, Samuel Cruse, William McDowell, A. J. Withers, G. L. Martin, J. G. Wilson, Wilson Harris, Wm. H. Moore, T. J. McCally.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RICHMOND.—WEST TACTICS AND COMMON SENSE.

The *Richmond Examiner*, of Friday, thus comments upon the situation of the hostile armies now encamped before the Confederate Capital:—

McClellan can operate against Richmond in two ways. He can come up the banks of the river, with his flank covered by his boats, bring with him his siege trains, and, if not attacked, do here for the second time what he has already done once with unmolested ease and success at Yorktown. Or he can reach his army up the Northern banks of the Chickahominy through Hanover, get troops between Anderson's army and Richmond, and when he has done away with it, form a union with Banks and McDowell at leisure. The Chickahominy furnishes an excellent defensive line for our army, but as McClellan is on the other side of it, it defends him too while occupied in these comfortable arrangements.

Of course, if he is allowed to take his own time and do all he wants over there; if the Confederate commanders are going to sit down and twiddle their thumbs till he condescends to begin with them; if his hauling of heavy guns and digging of trenches is to be repelled by the hauling of other guns and the digging of other trenches; then the end of it is certain. Nothing is more mathematically proven than the plans of attack taught to the boys of West Point and other academies, provided armies can be reckoned into blocks of stone, which will stand still to be measured, weighed, calculated, and then one to be lifted over another as if by cranes and pulleys. The attacking army, given the requisite time, transportation and numbers, will always get the defending army in such a fix that it is bound to retire or be cut to pieces; and up to this time our defensive army has regularly retired in compliance with the principles of Jomini. Such has hitherto been the history of our war. But such is not the history of war in general, and it cannot always continue to be so here. There are such things as bravery, enterprise, invention, quickness of movement, determination of purpose, which have had much to do with the military results in every other age and country, and they will sooner or later make their way over all the precedents of the late army of the United States.

It is easy to repeat the cackoo song that war is a science, that no one knows it but those who have passed a life pretending to study it, that generals have done so, newspapers have not done so; that it is impossible to deliver battle to superior forces in unassailable positions; that our generals offer battle to McClellan he will not accept it, &c. But an appeal from common conceit to common sense and to history is always justifiable. The greatest masters of the military profession have left on record this unambiguous judgment, that war is an art, not a science, much less a mystery; that it cannot be taught or reduced to rules; that success in it depends upon mother wit, not study; that quick perception, strong sense, courage, enterprise, and general mental resources are the qualities that make a commander; that the worth of an officer is to be tested by his success, and the merit of a campaign is to be estimated by its results, and not by the opinions or criticisms of persons having military pretension. Now, what have been the results of the campaign in Virginia? The war has lasted a year. Many battles have been fought. In every one of the battles fought in Virginia, with the exception of Cheat Mountain and Roanoke, the Confederate soldiers have had the advantage; yet the Confederate armies have been always in retreat, never in advance, abandoning position after position, according to rule and square, till now the State is nearly all swallowed by the enemy, its fields desolated, villages deserted, farm-houses sacked, the slaves wandering in troops, the people a nation in exile, and the capital still safe only on the supposition that the precedent of the past shall here be abandoned. It is time to put in a protest against precedent, and to give a solemn warning to all those, if any there be, who propose to continue the campaign in Virginia as it has been commenced.

But our generals have often "offered battle." McClellan would not accept it. Therefore, they could not fight him. On this point we would refer to a memorable piece of military history. When the great general of the civil wars of Rome was engaged in his campaign against Publius Silo, a distinguished commander of the other party, he bothered him much with his trenches and slow advance. Silo often led out his legions in choice positions, "offering battle," which Caius Marius would never accept. At last Publius Silo resorted to this expedient:—He sent a herald in the lines of his adversary to make him this speech: "O, Caius Marius, if you are indeed a great general, why do you not come out of your ditches and fight me a battle?" Marius sent back his own herald to make this reply: "O, Publius Silo, if you are a great general, why do you not make me come out and fight you a battle?"

The advertising columns of the New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin* of the 20th June, contain the following special orders from General Butler:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, May 16, 1862.

SPECIAL ORDERS NO. 39.

I. The New Orleans *Bee* newspaper having published an elaborate, though covert, argument in favour of the cotton burning mob, is hereby suppressed. No publication of any description will issue from that office until further orders.

II. The New Orleans *Delta* newspaper having, in an article of to-day's issue, discussed the cotton question in a manner which violates the terms of the Proclamation of 1st of May inst., from these headquarters, the office of the paper will be taken possession of, and its business conducted under direction of the United States authorities.

By command of Major General Butler.

GEORGE C. STRONG, A. A. General.

GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 29.

I. It is hereby ordered that neither the city of New Orleans, nor the banks thereof, exchange their notes, bills, or obligations for Confederate notes, bills, or bonds, nor issue bill, note, or any obligation payable in Confederate notes.

II. On the 27th day of May inst., all circulation of or trade in Confederate notes and bills will cease within this department; and all sales or transfers of property made on or after that day, in consideration of such notes or bills, directly or indirectly, will be void, and the property conferred to the United States—one-fourth thereof to the informer.

By command of Major General Butler.

GEORGE C. STRONG, A. A. G. Chief of Staff.

The banks, in consequence of the foregoing order, gave notice to their depositors to withdraw their deposits of Confederate

notes, prior to the 27th, else they will be held at their own risk.

The foreign Consuls have protested against that proclamation of General Butler in regard to the suppression of the Confederate currency.

Orders have been issued by General Wool prohibiting the sale or distribution of newspapers in Norfolk or the surrounding country; prohibiting the transportation there of supplies of merchandise of any kind, whether by sutlers or otherwise; and prohibiting officers, soldiers, and citizens from visiting the city, except on business connected with the troops belonging to the Department of Virginia.

THE WAR ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

The latest papers that we have received from Vicksburg are those of Wednesday the 21st June; the news is very interesting. The *Vicksburg Citizen* announces the arrival of General Lovell, but is not advised whether he comes to take command of the post. General Ruggles had also arrived. The *Vicksburg* papers publish the following correspondence:—

U. S. Steamer, Oneida,
Below Vicksburg, May 21, 1862.

Sir,—It becomes my duty to give you notice to remove the women and children beyond the range of our guns, within twenty-four hours, as it will be impossible to attack the defences without injuring or destroying the town—a proceeding which all the authorities of Vicksburg seemed determined to require. I had hoped that the same spirit which induced the military authorities to retire from the city of New Orleans, rather than wantonly sacrifice the lives and property of its inhabitants, would have been followed here.

Respectfully yours,

S. PHILLIPS LEE, U. S. N.,
Commanding Naval Advance Division.

To L. Lindsey, Esq., Mayor of City of Vicksburg.

Mayor's Office,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 21, 1862.

Sir,—Your communication of this date was handed to me at a late hour this evening—too late to give public notice to the women and children. In consequence thereof, I shall date your twenty-four hours' time from to-morrow morning, the 22nd inst., at eight o'clock, a.m.

Respectfully, L. LINDSEY, Mayor.

To S. Phillips Lee, U. S. N.,
Commanding Naval Advance Division.

Mayor's Office,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 21, 1862.

TO THE CITIZENS OF VICKSBURG.

I call the attention of the citizens to the correspondence between the Commander of the Advance Naval Division of the United States' fleet, and myself. The reply to my communication may be expected by nine o'clock to-morrow morning. The citizens must govern themselves accordingly.

L. LINDSEY, Mayor.

The following reply was received by the Mayor on the morning of the 22nd:—

U. S. S. Oneida,
Below Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 22, 1862.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday evening, and in reply, have to state that my communication of yesterday, in relation to the removal of the women and children, was for the purpose of placing it at my option to fire or not, as I think proper, at the earliest moment upon the defences of the town, without producing a loss of innocent life; and to that determination I shall adhere.

Respectfully yours,

S. PHILLIPS LEE, U. S. N.,
Commanding Naval Advance Division.

To L. Lindsey, Esq., Mayor of the city of Vicksburg.

SITUATION OF AFFAIRS AT VICKSBURG.

Our latest papers from Vicksburg, Mississippi, are those of the 21st May. The Yankee gunboats were then still anchored just in sight of the town. The women and children were leaving the place. Constant skirmishing was kept up between marauding parties from the gunboats and our guerrillas. The following correspondence had passed between the enemy and the city authorities:—

U. S. S. Oneida,
Near Vicksburg, May 18, 1862.

TO THE AUTHORITIES OF VICKSBURG.

The undersigned, with orders from Flag-Officer Farragut, and Major-General Butler, respectively, demands, in advance of the approaching fleet, the surrender of Vicksburg and its defences, to the lawful authority of the United States, under which private property and personal rights shall be respected.

Respectfully yours,

S. PHILLIPS LEE, U. S. N.,
Commanding Advance Naval Division.

T. Williams; Brigadier-General.

Mayor's Office,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 18, 1862.

Your communication of this date, addressed "to the Authorities at Vicksburg," has been delivered to me. In reply, I will state to you that, so far as the municipal authorities are concerned, we have erected no defences, and none are within the corporate limits of the city.

But, sir, in further reply, I will state that neither the municipal authorities nor the citizens will ever consent to surrender the city.

Respectfully, L. LINDSEY, Mayor.

To S. Phillips Lee, Commanding Advance Naval Division.

Mayor's Office,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 18, 1862.

Sir,—As your communication of this date is addressed to the "Authorities of Vicksburg," and that you may have a full reply

to said communication, I have to state that Mississippians don't know, and refuse to learn, how to surrender to an enemy. If Commander Farragut, or Brigadier-General Butler, can teach them—let them come and try. As to the defences of Vicksburg, I respectfully refer you to the reply of Brigadier-General Smith, commanding forces at Vicksburg, herewith enclosed.

Respectfully,
JAMES L. AUSTRY,
Military Governor and Commandant Post.

S. Phillips Lee, Commanding Advance Naval Division, U. S. N.

Headquarters Defences, Vicksburg, Mississippi,
May 18, 1862.

Sir,—Your communication of this date, addressed to the "Authorities of Vicksburg," demanding the surrender of the city and its defences, has been received. In regard to the surrender of the defences, I have to reply that, having been ordered here to hold these defences, it is my intention to do so as long as it is in my power.

[Signed]

M. L. SMITH,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

To S. Phillips Lee, U. S. N., Commanding Advance Naval Division.

GENERAL BUTLER'S DESPOTISM.

From the *Morning Post*.

From New Orleans General Butler continues to supply food for comment. It that city military despotism, in its most unmitigated form, now reigns supreme. Women are outraged under official sanction, and men are murdered or sent to prison after being forced to submit to the mockery of a trial. The execution of an unfortunate gentleman accused of having in a street tumult hauled down the Federal flag calls for some investigation on the part of the Government at Washington. We can scarcely hope, however, that an Executive which could connive at the most wanton outrage ever offered to the females of a conquered city will trouble itself much about an act which will be attributed to intemperance zeal. With the instinct of his old profession, Gen. Butler seized with avidity an opportunity of practically illustrating the subtleties of the law of treason, and by hanging Mr. Mumford for pulling down a flag in a street row, established a precedent which may be subsequently referred to in determining what shall be considered overt acts. It is true Mumford protested his innocence of the alleged crime, and most probably told the truth; but a striking example being deemed necessary, General Butler was not deterred by any fears about hanging the wrong man, from furnishing another proof to the citizens of New Orleans of the vigour with which he intends acting in support of "law and order." Since then he has summarily committed to Fort Jackson an alderman and the chairman of the Ladies' Relief Committee, and left them, in the intervals of hard labour with the "ball and chain," opportunities for reflecting on the inestimable advantages of living once more under the mild and paternal Government of the United States. To us it seems perfectly inconceivable how the Government at Washington can leave in military command at New Orleans such a man as Butler. Not merely for the sake of consistency with their oft-repeated declarations, but for their own interests, we should have supposed that they would have made the position of the citizens of captured towns as little disagreeable as possible. Had a forbearing and temporizing policy been pursued at New Orleans, the rancour existing between the North and South would have been much diminished, and a foundation might possibly have been laid for an amicable compromise. But now every day widens the breach. The most wavering, the most timorous of Southerners are being rapidly converted into implacable enemies. Formerly they repelled the advance of the Northern forces, because it threatened their political independence; but now they see themselves compelled to fight in defence of their women's honour and their own lives. If the circumstances under which New Orleans surrendered were not those which could insure the favourable treatment of the inhabitants, then under none could any other city hope to meet with more consideration. Had General Butler left the maintenance of order in New Orleans to the municipality and the police, and had he refrained from trying the citizens before drum-head courts-martial, the Federal cause might have been materially benefited by the capture of Crescent City. Above all, had he abstained from outraging the susceptibility of every man and woman not utterly dead to the feelings of their nature by the publication of his too celebrated general order, the results might have been otherwise than they are. Now, however, the opportunity has been lost for ever. The mischief has been done; and never again, whatever may be the fortunes of their armies in the field, can the North and South exist under the same Government. The antipathy generated against Great Britain during the War of Independence has not, after a lapse of eighty years, entirely died away; but the animosity which has during the present war sprung up between the inhabitants of the rival States, and which is still further excited by the systematic commission of gratuitous outrages, will need the lapse of centuries before it is entirely extinguished.

The *Citizen* says that arrivals of steamboats from above continue, regular trips being made. This indicates popular confidence in the strength of the defences of the river. The burning of cotton was still going on in that section of country. We get the following additional items of interest from the *Citizen*:—

The gunboat fleet still occupies the same position, not having changed any since yesterday morning. They lie just inside the bend about six miles below, and in view of the city.

About twelve o'clock to-day one of the boats moved up towards our batteries a considerable distance in advance of the others. She now lies at anchor not far below the lower wharf boat. The balance of the boats appear to be making ready to follow their more adventurous leader. They still keep beyond the reach of our batteries.

The land forces of the enemy are estimated at 3000 or 4000 and it is believed will venture a land attack. If so, we do not fear the result.

It is reported that parties from the Federal transports below this city have landed in the swamp on the Louisiana shore, and that they are at work on the timber. What they are doing is not known; but it is supposed by some that they were constructing pits for the purpose of bringing their artillery up to some point immediately opposite the city. Our scouts ought to contrive some plan to discover what is going on. Nothing in the world is more feasible than to scour the Louisiana swamp with dugouts manned with sharpshooters.

The gunboat Mobile came down yesterday to take a "place in the picture" when the bombardment commences. If the iron-clad ram could be got ready she would prove very serviceable.

GENERAL JACKSON'S OPERATIONS IN THE LOWER VALLEY.

(From the *Richmond Whig*.)

A LETTER FROM AN OFFICER IN THE IRISH BATTALION TO A STAFF OFFICER IN RICHMOND.

Camp Winchester, May 26, 1862.

DEAR UNCLE,—A series of successes have crowned our efforts. We first drove the enemy from Front Royal, defeating and capturing about 600 prisoners—besides a very large quantity of stores of all kinds. Immediately after we got possession of the place, a train loaded with coffee came in, which is a perfect God-send to us, as rations of that article have been stopped for some days. We then drove the remaining portion of the enemy towards Middletown, where we captured a large portion of their waggon, containing a little of almost everything. From thence we wended our way towards Strasburg, where all of their waggon fell into our hands. We left our camp, which was about two miles beyond Luray, and marched twenty-seven miles to Front Royal—this was on Friday—we marched all day and night Saturday, and reached Winchester yesterday (Sunday), about five o'clock, or about daybreak.—The engagement lasted one hour and a-half, but it was a terrific one, short as it was. We were stationed just under the brow of a hill to support the Rockbridge artillery, which was on the left. We were not in the engagement, but were exposed to the enemy's fire the whole time. I have the mark on my pants where a piece of shell passed me and struck one of the men on my left on the arm, which was taken off.

General Sewell commanded the right wing, General Winder the left, and General Jackson the whole. The force of the enemy was about 15,000, but there were not more than 5000 in the fight yesterday. Their force was repulsed and scattered, and, after once getting on their seat, we did not let them rest. In the three days we have captured about 1500 prisoners. That I can safely say, but I think it will exceed that number, as they are still coming in. A squad of fifty-eight has just passed our camp. This does not include the negro women our men bring in with them. Sometimes we see a group of a dozen or more prisoners with three or four negro women. By the way, while here, three of the Yankees married negro wenches. We are still pursuing the enemy, but it is the general impression that they will not stop this side of the Potomac. General Shields left Winchester on Wednesday, crossing the mountains, but what course he took I have not learned. The rascals fired all the houses here filled with medical and quartermaster's stores, but the citizens put the fire out; so we save enormous quantities of everything—stores enough for our army for twelve months. All our men supplied themselves with clothes, shoes, blankets, and even shirts, socks, drawers, gloves, and everything a soldier wants or needs.

I am highly pleased with my position, but the marching nearly kills me. Our loss in the last three days, killed, wounded, and missing, will not exceed 200. Colonel Campbell, who commands our brigade, was wounded—so, also, Adjutant-General Hale and several other officers whom I do not know. General Jackson had his war-look on yesterday. He was so fatigued that, after the fight, he actually went to sleep on his charger. He rode about the battle-field regardless of shot or shell, and looked as if nothing was going on. I was not half so much alarmed as I thought I would be, it being my first appearance on a battle-field. I met with many narrow escapes, as did all of us, for which I am truly thankful. I never felt so proud as when we marched victoriously through the town of Winchester in pursuit of a fleet-footed army. Thanks to the Most High for his protection to our brave and gallant army. Just think of marching twenty-seven miles and fighting two hours. The men all call themselves Jackson's foot cavalry.

THE SYSTEM OF CONQUEST AS PURSUED BY THE NORTH.

The *Richmond Examiner* says:—

A few facts concerning the machinery employed by the Federal Government to render Maryland powerless to effect her own disenthralment, or aid in the Southern cause of independence, will serve to show the worse than Austrian tyranny of the Lincoln dynasty, and to discover to Virginia what surely awaits her people in the event of the occupation of her soil by the Yankee army, and the abandonment of it by her own.

In 1860 the Legislature of Maryland appropriated money for the purchase of arms for the arming of the State militia, which was done. After the events of April 19, 1861, and the invasion of the State by Federal forces, Governor Hicks called on the various military organizations to deliver up the arms. In a few instances the call was complied with, but the majority refused, and several companies crossed into Virginia, carrying their arms. A regular order for the seizure of all arms was then issued, which was followed by a general secretion of them on the part of the State militia and citizens. Armouries were forced open and searched, as well as private houses. No old fowling piece, rusty pistol, or outlass was harmless looking enough to save it from deposition at the great array of the Provost Marshal. They were brought forth from every imaginable place of concealment. Recently the Provost Marshal, learning that there were numerous arms buried in unknown places, issued an order reiterating the call for their delivery, and secretly offered a bribe to such as would betray the whereabouts of the weapons. In this way numbers of guns, varying from one to a dozen, have been unearthed in various parts of the city.

Squads of Yankees roamed the counties gathering up the arms of the country militia and raising Union flags. Threats, arrests, and even tortures, were resorted to to compel citizens to disclose where their arms were concealed. In St. Mary's County a German who had hidden his arms was seized and hung up by the heels until, like the inquisitors of old, they extorted their places of concealment. Instances of female devotion and fearlessness in their repulse of the Yankee intruders are related. Two Yankee soldiers, with bayonets fixed, stopped at the residence of a Marylander, now in the Southern army, and demanded any arms that might be in the house. His wife replied that she was exceeding sorry, but her husband and two sons had just gone off to the Southern army, taking all the arms with them. The Yankees "retired in good order." Another lady upon her husband's arms being demanded, produced a toy gun belonging to her son, and begged them to take it as the most destructive weapon she could give them.

But, notwithstanding the success with which these seizures have been conducted, we have the best evidence for knowing that the number captured bears but a small proportion to those hid away, but within the grasp of eager sturdy hands. There may be a day of resurrection coming. It may be far off, and yet it

may be very near. Maryland is a disarmed and conquered State. Too much distrusted by the Federal Government to share either its confidence or its patronage, and yet too fully imbued with the Southern spirit to array herself in arms with the North against Virginia and her sisters. Maryland to day occupies a position in which no other State is to be found—a position at once equivocal to herself and humiliating to the Federal Government.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN AND THE BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

(From the *Richmond Whig*.)

LYNCHBURG, May 25, 1862.

To the Editor of the *Whig*:

I have just seen a despatch from General M'Clellan to Lincoln's Secretary of War, stating that at the fight at Williamsburg, General Hancock had taken two redoubts and repulsed my (Early's) brigade by "a real charge with the bayonet."

I wish to state, through your paper, that this assertion of Lincoln's Commander-in-Chief is utterly without foundation. When my brigade, or rather two regiments of it, attacked Wheeler's battery of six pieces and some other pieces from another battery, which were supported by Hancock's brigade, one or two redoubts, unoccupied by our troops, had been taken possession of by Hancock's brigade, and his artillery, supported by infantry, had been advanced from one of the redoubts to a position near some farm-houses. My brigade, which had been ordered up from the rear, advanced through a thick wood to the attack of this position; and the 24th Virginia Regiment, single-handed, assailed and drove back the battery and the infantry to the cover of the redoubt, and the woods near by, and a fence. The 5th North Carolina Regiment came down from the extreme right to the support of the 24th, and gallantly attacked the battery in their new position; and had these two regiments been sustained, they would have captured the battery and driven Hancock's brigade from the field. As it was, they only retired from the field, under orders from Major-General Hill, I having been previously disabled and compelled to retire. In falling back, about 140 men from these two regiments got, by mistake, too far to the left in re-passing through the woods, and were taken prisoners by a regiment of the enemy stationed there. Hancock's brigade did not charge bayonets, or make any pretence of doing so. It did not even attempt to pursue my two regiments as they fell back, and the prisoners taken were taken by the mistake above mentioned. The 24th Virginia regiment carried from the field some twenty-five or thirty prisoners taken by it.

Respectfully,

J. A. EARLY, Brigadier-General.

THE BADGE OF HONOUR.

In the following orders, General Beauregard announces that hereafter the merits and gallantry of those true heroes of the war—the private soldiers of the Southern army—are to be recognized and recorded:—

Head-quarters, Western Department, Corinth, Miss., May 18, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 43.

I. To do full justice to the private soldier, who is seldom accorded his meed of praise, and who rarely receives full credit for his gallant deeds; and to place him, in this respect, more nearly on an equality with the commissioned officer, the commander of the forces has determined to distribute a badge of merit, in person, in presence of the troops, to every officer and every private soldier who shall greatly distinguish himself in any engagement with the enemy.

II. The badge will have inscribed upon it the name of the battle in which it was won. During war it will be a proud testimonial of the wearer's heroism, and will place his name upon the list of those entitled to promotion in the army; and when the invader is driven back, and our independence secured, it will gloriously prove his title to the gratitude of his countrymen, and to the highest civic honours.

III. Commanders of corps, divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies, will, immediately after each engagement, carefully report their bravest men to a military commission, to be appointed for the purpose, upon whose report that their conduct has been preeminently brave, they will receive this reward of patriotism and courage from the hands of their general.

G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

YANKEE RULE IN NEW ORLEANS—HOW THE LADIES ARE TREATED.

The *Mobile Advertiser* contains the statements of a lady just from New Orleans, which confirm other accounts, and the tenor of Butler's orders, to the effect that the conquerors are making the unhappy citizens feel the iron heel of their power. Every day the military surveillance becomes more rigid, and the regulations more stringent. Butler, as the most infamous of his orders indicates, is levying fierce warfare upon the ladies. They grievously offended his Yankee Highness by wearing as trimmings of their bonnets, &c., semblances of the Confederate flag, and the Southern colours, red and white. Picayune ordered them to indulge no more in such demonstrations of rebellious sentiment, under penalty of condign punishment. Mrs. J. B. Walton, the lovely and accomplished lady of Colonel J. B. Walton, of the Washington Artillery, is now in close confinement, because she refused to remove the little flag which formed part of the trimming of her bonnet. It is thus that the valorous Picayune avenges so much of the rout at Bull Run as was due to the well served guns of the Washington Artillery. Persons were being arrested and consigned to dungeons at the whim of the Yankee despot. 50,000 men had been landed in the city, and were now quartered within and about it, and garrisoning the works of the coast, lakes, and rivers. A great deal of sickness, and of a very fatal type, was prevailing among the unacclimated Yankees of New England, and seventy dead invaders were carried out from one hospital and buried during a single night. Large numbers of buildings are being converted into hospitals for the accommodation of the great number of sick, who, if they do not die from actual disease, probably do from fear, their imaginations being tormented with terrible visions of Yellow Jack. It was common talk among the Yankee officers that Mobile would soon be attacked, and they said that the city would be shelled without hesitation if resistance was made after their gunboats were in range. When the lady applied to the Yankee Provost Marshal, she tendered a Confederate note in payment of the fee exacted. The official took it and hurried it violently back into her face. Obtaining other money, she paid the amount.

DEATH OF A YOUNG PATRIOT.

Died in this city, on the 8th inst., of typhoid fever, and at the twenty-eighth year of his age, Henry J. Nott, son of Dr Josiah C. and Mrs. Sarah Nott, of Mobile.

This amiable, ingenuous, and noble youth adds another name to the roll of the dead, whose lives have been sacrificed in this unholy war of Federal invasion. Born in Mobile, on January 18, 1838, carefully nurtured and educated by fond parents, he grew to manhood the pride of his family, and beloved by his friends and associates. Four years ago this month he accompanied his brother to Europe, to perfect their education in the professional walks of life they had respectively chosen. When they learned that Federal power had declared war upon their native South, both brothers abandoned their studies abroad and came home to take part in the struggle. Both of them joined the 22nd Alabama Regiment, commanded by their uncle, Colonel Zack C. Deas, and both passed, unhurt by the missiles of the enemy, through the two bloody days of Shiloh. But, alas! the precious young life which death had spared on the battle-field it reserved for its shaft sped by painful disease. His friends, aware of the delicate constitution of the young soldier, dreaded the exposures and privations to which camp life would subject him. He, too, was conscious of it, but his brave spirit would brook no argument that kept him out of the ranks of his country's defenders. The malady which terminated his life, after a protracted illness of twenty-nine days, was contracted in camp and developed itself on the day after the Battle of Shiloh. It steadily ran its fatal course, defying all that medical science and tender nursing could interpose to check it, and terminated in the death of the young patriot on the afternoon of Thursday. Last week, while prostrate with his final illness, he received a commission of appointment to the Second Lieutenant of Company C in his regiment—a promotion from the rank of Sergeant-Major, recommended by General Bragg, and earned by gallant conduct on the field of Shiloh.

Such are the sacrifices that parents, friends, and country, are called upon to make, in the providence of God, in this war of Independence. It is a hard and bitter trial to yield up the jewels of their brave and manly youth. It is hard when death seeks its "shining marks" among the young, the amiable, the educated, and polished of our young patriots. But it is the will of Heaven, and it is only from Heaven that consolation for the afflicted can come. Earth contains no balm to heal such cruel wounds as these.—*Mobile Register*.

The Knoxville *Register* has the following about Nashville:—

The ladies of Nashville are as vindictive as ever against the Federals, and the men quite as far from being friendly. The Northern soldiers freely express their disappointment and surprise at not being more cordially welcomed by the oppressed and terrorized Union element they came to liberate. Several brigades, from different free States, disgusted with the imposition practised upon them in this respect, and with the representations made to them, that the rebellion would be ended in thirty days, that the capture of Nashville would immediately bring Tennessee back to its allegiance, &c., did demand their discharge and refused to fight longer against the South. They were disarmed, but as there were too many of them to think of hanging, and too many to hold in Nashville as prisoners until they could be reduced to subordination, they were all sent northward under guard. This probably gave rise to the rumour we heard some time ago about the evacuation of Nashville.

The rumours we have had of the demoralization of the invading army are not exaggerated. The deserters from Nashville number fifteen or twenty daily. A Michigan regiment applied to a lawyer to get a writ of *habeas corpus* to claim a discharge from service on the ground that they were induced to enlist by false pretences; that they came South to fight for one object, and found that the war was prosecuted for a different object. Upon applying to the commanding officer to know if the writ of *habeas corpus* would be respected, his reply was that it would not, and, if taken out, he would shoot every man of them for mutiny. These facts Andy Johnson's vigilant censorship of the press has prevented from becoming generally public.

The Tax Bill passed by the Lincoln Congress has created much excitement among such of the troops as are small property holders. They swear they never can pay it, and that their property never shall be sold for it. They intend to return home to resist it, and, if the war is not ended in thirty days, they will lay down their arms.

COLONEL MORGAN AND THE FEDERAL SOLDIERS.—At Cave City, Morgan made a dash on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, intercepting a freight train loaded with provisions, which he destroyed. After while he was informed of the approach of another train. He then stationed his men to await its arrival. It turned out to be an express and passenger train. Having captured it also, and made prisoners of the officers and men, he took possession of the money on board—a large amount of Federal Treasury notes. Morgan paroled the men, after receiving their signatures and paying them off with the Treasury notes the amount due to them by their Government, and retained the officers as prisoners. The women became dreadfully frightened on finding they were in the power of the terrible Morgan. Drawing up in line before him, they made a touching appeal to him, asking mercy. Morgan listened very attentively, and told them they had reason to expect harsh treatment at his hands, in return for the course pursued by the Federals to our women and children. He, however, was a Confederate officer, and a gentleman, and would assure them that they and their baggage should remain inviolate; that he had determined to destroy all the property in his hands, but would reserve a locomotive and a freight car to take them back to their homes in Louisville. A young and handsome wife of a Federal officer, one of Morgan's prisoners, then addressed Morgan, saying that as he had shown so much magnanimity towards the ladies, she would intercede for her husband, and ask for him lenient treatment at his hands. Morgan, touched by her appeals, and struck by her beauty, asked her to point out her husband—who was standing with the other officers, crest-fallen, dejected, and sad picture of despair. On being pointed out to him, Morgan scanned him from head to foot, and turning to his pretty wife, replied: "Well, madam, if he can be of any use to you, take him back to Louisville; I have no use for him." *Charleston Mercury*.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 20s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 1862.

The West.

In speaking of the American combatants it is usual to designate them as the North and the South, because these are the familiar and well-defined expressions for political, social, and geographical distinctions that have existed since the formation of the Union. Within the last fifteen years, however, a third section has grown into a distinct Power, with interests differing alike from those of the North and of the South. This section is composed of the grain-growing States along the banks of the Ohio, the Upper Mississippi, and the Great Lakes. This section, like the South, is purely agricultural, and therefore has no commercial interest in common with the manufacturing and trading States of the Atlantic seaboard. Morrill Tariffs are as much a tax to this section as to the South, though its capacity for consumption of imported commodities is much smaller. The restrictions upon foreign shipping, which enrich the shipowners of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, bring no benefit to the West. On the other hand, the antipathy and positive hatred to the aristocratic planter is a more deeply-rooted, and we may add, a more conscientious feeling with the small farmer of the West than with the manufacturer and merchant of the North proper. Thus it is, that while the North wages war against the South, from the powerful motive of self-interest which it has to recover these rich tributary regions, the West has waged the war from an honest fanaticism. Thus far the West has borne all the burden of the contest, while the Atlantic States have reaped all its profits. The West has furnished the largest and most effective contingents to the army, and has achieved almost all the successes of which the Washington Government can boast. It had no shipping to which the war could give profitable employment, no manufactures or amassed capital with which to wax fat by lucrative army contracts. The millions which are daily lavished by the Federal treasury, never find their way into the pockets of the West. So long as these millions consist only in promises to pay, the West might remain contented; but when the time comes to make them good, and it is called upon for its share, the question assumes a very different aspect.

Those best acquainted with the condition of American affairs have always foreseen in this one of the chief obstacles to peace. Though it would be ruin to go on with the war, it would be equally certain ruin to stop short. With the end of the war would come the day of reckoning, and the West would be sure to repudiate the portion of its public indebtedness. The day that the hope was abandoned to reconquer the South, a further disintegration would become an absolute certainty. A common hatred alone binding North and West together, the last tie between them would snap when its gratification was no longer possible. Triumphs, real or imaginary, are indispensable to prolong the alliance. But for a month past, even the imaginative geniuses of the Federal War Department have not been

able to manufacture triumphs. There is a pause in the din and smoke of conflict, and already we can hear the first angry mutterings of another storm gathering in another quarter of the horizon. The Western States are preparing to make good their threats to resist the payment of the taxes, which indeed they have not the means of paying. In Indiana the Governor raises a note of warning against treasonable combinations, which he declares are forming all over the State. In Illinois the Supreme Court has declared the issue of inconvertible paper by Congress an unconstitutional act, and therefore not binding upon the citizens of that State.

These are only symptoms, but they are infallible ones. If the 4th of July could have been celebrated in Richmond, or amid the smoking ruins of Charleston, the West might forget its discontent, and submit for a while even to the tax bill. But before Richmond McClellan's great army wastes away from fevers; before Charleston the Federal arms have just suffered a severe check. The only possible successes that the most sanguine hope can dream of, as a conclusion to the spring campaign, consist in the long-expected and still delayed fall of the two isolated cities of Vicksburg and Mobile. Even if this hope were realized, it would be a poor compensation for the bitter disappointment, if not despair, which manifests itself in the dark rumours of disasters which overshadow the land, the loss of confidence in civil and military authorities, the rapid rise of gold and of exchange.

When the South withdrew from the Union, the North had still an immense territory, a well-organized Government, defective but yet liberal institutions, a well supplied treasury, a flourishing commerce. By conceding to the withdrawing partner his just rights, it might still have obtained from him the most important of those many material advantages which it hoped to wrest from him by force. The war has cost it its commerce, its liberties, its wealth, and now, before it is yet ended, threatens to cost it the greater part of its territory as well. We look upon the further disintegration of the United States as the certain result of peace, unless, indeed, that peace were obtained by the complete conquest of the South. Except on that condition, the West will be compelled in very self-defence to imitate the example of the South. The Pacific States, in all probability, will form still another political organization.

This partition has been often predicted as the ultimate fate of the American Union, though no one, perhaps, thought it so near fulfilment. It is, in fact, the partition which Nature decreed in the geographical formation of the American continent. Each part would still have a territory of no moderate extent, confined within natural boundaries, a climate, productions, and population distinct from those of the others, and all the resources of a self-sustaining nation.

The Last Presidential Election in the United States.

THE election of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, to the Presidency was the signal for the disruption of the American Union; and the bloody war by which that disruption is being consummated. It was the signal, but not the cause, though in the first surprise at the unexpected catastrophe which ensued, the public opinion of Europe almost unanimously so considered it, and wondered at its obvious disproportion to the effect. In superficial parlance, this election—itsself the resultant of many deeper and more potent agencies—may still be termed the cause, but, historically or philosophically speaking, this is as incorrect as to call the Rape of Lucretia the cause of the overthrow of Royalty in Ancient Rome. The portentous significance of Mr. Lincoln's election is not yet generally understood in Europe. Many minds, even at this day, can see in it nothing more than the success of one political party over

another, in which it was the duty of the vanquished, as good citizens, to acquiesce, as had been the case in all previous elections. A knowledge of the history of the last Presidential election in the United States, and of the exceptional issues which it involved, must tend to modify this opinion, and to that extent throw light upon the true causes of the great event which now absorbs so large a share of the world's attention. Towards this it is our object to contribute, though the vastness of the subject forbids more than a brief sketch of the most essential outlines.

We have before adverted to the very prevalent error that, under the laws of the United States, the President is elected by the popular vote. A few details under this head may not be inappropriate here. The chief clauses of the Constitution, relative to the election of the Federal Executive, read as follows:—

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. . . . The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President. . . . The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed. . . .

In 1860, at the period of the ensuing quadrennial election, the number of States composing the Union was 34, of which 14 composed what, in the vocabulary of American politics, has always been termed "The South," and 19 what, by contrast, has always been called "The North"—these terms designating the two great rival Powers whose conflicting views, interests, and institutions are the key to the otherwise hopelessly intricate maze of American politics. The number of electors to be appointed—constantly varying with the number of States and their relative populations—was at that period 303, of which 187 fell to the States of the North, and 116 to those of the South. The number of votes required to elect a President, according to the clause of the Constitution which we have quoted was therefore 152 (the majority of 303), or 36, more than the South could give, while the North might waste 37 votes, and still carry its candidate, despite the unanimous opposition of the South.

Let us pause an instant over these figures, for they are more eloquent than volumes of rhetoric. They prove that the South had not the power, even if it had the wish, to impose upon the North a Chief Magistrate hostile to Northern interests, since it must gain for him Northern votes to the number of more than one-third of its own electoral strength, or one-fifth of that of the North, before he could be elected. The North, then, had nothing to fear from the South. The South, on the other hand, had no safety except in the sense of justice of its rival, or rather foe. So long as that sense of justice was believed to exist, there were "Union men" at the South, and they were earnest and zealous in their appeals to that supposed sense of justice. How the North responded to the appeal, all the world knows; but even had the Northern States made a more moderate and less unjust use of their power, Southern men might well ponder over the degradation of their section to a helpless inferiority at the mercy of a former equal, and cast about for a remedy. But where was the remedy to be found? Every decade of years added to the North the population of a good-sized kingdom, through the constant agency of foreign immigration; while the South, though not inferior in the natural increase of its population, depended upon that natural increase alone. Thus New York had come to be the third largest German city of the world, its German population being inferior only to that of Vienna or Berlin. Whole States, such as Wisconsin and Michigan, had been built up by the foreign element. Each new State thus added, each vote thus added to an old State, diminished the power of the South, not relatively merely, but absolutely. Great as was the disparity in 1860, it would be much greater in the next Presidential election, for the new apportionment consequent upon the decimal census would deprive the South of nearly

a score of its present 116 votes, and add them to the 187 of the North. Evidently the partnership between the two had lost its original character, and though entered into expressly for the common benefit, was rapidly working out the destruction of one of the partners.

Had the United States been a nation, either in theory or in fact, instead of being an association of States, this constant shifting of the political centre of gravity in the same direction might not have disturbed the national equilibrium. Even had the States not been leagued into two distinct and hostile camps, the day of disruption might have been long delayed, perhaps averted. But the terms "North" and "South" were no arbitrary designations. They meant populations differing in their political views, in their social institutions, in their commercial interests. With the transfer of the whole political preponderance to one section, these differences also widened. The influx of the foreign element rendered the North more radical, more fond of change, more ultra-Democratic, while the South clung to the political traditions and the institutions of the fathers of the Republic.

Social distinctions necessarily widened; also, as the ingredients, as well as pursuits, of the population of the two sections became more different. Commercial interests, though often bartered away by the South for political advantages, began to assert their influence with the greater force now that it had become apparent that their surrender could no longer purchase anything in return. The North, having become the political as well as commercial centre, naturally had everything to gain by consolidation and a concentration of the powers of Government. The South saw in the rights and privileges of the State organizations, the sole remaining barrier against the encroachments of its rival.

Thus the Southern States entered upon the unequal contest for the election of a Chief Magistrate of the Federal Government, in 1860. The Northern States had the power to destroy for ever, without hope of future redress, or the accidents of fortune, their political influence as members of the Union; to subvert the very foundations on which their social institutions rested, and to drain them of their wealth by still more onerous burdens in the shape of Morrill Tariffs. Men and nations sometimes console themselves by political gains for losses of a more substantial nature; more often they prefer material prosperity to political splendour. But the South was not even to be left this choice, if the North so willed it; and whether it did so will it the election of 1860 was to decide. No earthly power within the Union could ever reverse the decision, for at the next election, the triumph of the North would be still easier, and the North would then be able to change the Federal compact itself, without consulting the other party to it. By the letter of that compact the votes of two-thirds of the States were competent to make any fundamental alteration. Only three more States were needed to the North to make up the required number, and thus elude the spirit though obeying the letter of the instrument, and that number of organized territories, chiefly peopled by foreign emigrants, were actually preparing for admission as States, so soon as it might suit the North to consummate the contemplated wrong upon its former partner.

Although the vote for President is, as we have seen, cast by electors appointed by the several States in such manner as the Legislatures thereof may determine, yet it has been the American practice, almost since the formation of the Federal Union, for each political party to announce the candidate of its choice, and on such occasions to issue a manifesto declaratory of its principles and objects. The electors of each of the States are always committed beforehand to the support of one or the other of these candidates, and thus the appointment of the electors practically decides the result long before they have, after the delays and in the form prescribed in the Constitution, cast their votes. Down to the election of Mr. Pierce in 1852, there were in the United States but two great political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, into whose respective

party creeds we need not here inquire, except to warn the reader that the name of either affords no clue in these creeds. The one had a majority of adherents in the North, the other in the South, but each alike was a "national" party (to use an adjective of quite recent origin in the United States); that is, each claimed to be earnest in the promotion of the common interests of both North and South, and to have the weal of both equally at heart. The alternate successes of either were acquiesced in by the vanquished party without so much as a thought that it would be a justification of any civil disturbances. In the election of Mr. Buchanan in 1856, a third party had sprung up, whose avowed object it was to assert to its utmost extent the political power which increase of population had then bestowed upon the North. This party, exclusively in the interests of the North, and having no advocates or avowed adherents at the South, was justly designated as a "sectional" party, against the formation of which every American statesman, since Washington, had solemnly protested, and the success of which all men of all former parties regarded as the unfailing symptom that a further continuance of the Union between North and South was no longer possible. No such party had ever held the helm of the Federal Government, no such party, according to the warning of the fathers of the Union, could ever hold it. Though polling a large popular vote in the Northern States, this party, in 1856, failed to secure a majority of the Electoral Colleges; but its success, however incomplete, was sufficient to encourage a greater effort at the next trial of strength. During the four years of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, many things occurred to widen still further the already irremediable breach between North and South, and to distract the counsels of those who still hoped against hope to preserve the Union. Thus, in 1860, this new party once more selected a candidate—an obscure man of less than humble antecedents—and declared principles even more offensive to the South than four years before. Offensive as these were, they might be considered conciliatory, compared to the sentiments expressed by its recognized leaders, orators, and presses. The masses of the North were taught to believe that the South was too weak or too cowardly to resist or resent the open attempt upon its liberties, its institutions, and its wealth. The innate hatred of the Northerner against the Southerner was kindled into a furious flame, and on the 6th day of November every Northern State appointed electors committed to vote for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, the candidate of the North. It is needless to say that not a vote was cast for him by the South. Even then there were men who, seeing the danger, hoped to avert the catastrophe by appealing to the electors to exercise their constitutional privilege of selection, and agree upon a compromise candidate who might be, if not acceptable, at least less obnoxious to the South. But it was too late. The votes of the Northern States were cast as the mob had dictated, and Abraham Lincoln was declared the elect Chief Magistrate of the American people, though a whole section of that people, occupying one-half of the territory of the Federation, had declared, as one man, that they would receive this election as a challenge to defend to the last extremity their civil and political rights, their social institutions, and their property.

As had been predicted by the wise men of the Union, since its formation, the Sectional President never ruled over the whole of the Union. When he took his oath of office, seven of the States had already declared the Federal compact annulled so far as they were concerned, and seven more were preparing to follow their example. As though history were determined to leave no doubt as to the animus of the Northern people in taking this fatal step, it records that a national candidate was offered to their votes, a candidate of Northern birth and antecedents, a candidate whom the majority of the Southern people suspected of undue Northern proclivities; but whose election would not have been deemed a just cause for disunion. And history further records that the only State whose electoral vote was cast for this candidate was one of the

fourteen States of the South. When it is asserted that the Southerners destroyed a magnificent political fabric, and plunged a continent in blood, for no better reason than a factions opposition to a constitutionally elected Chief Magistrate, let the candid student of history keep in mind that this election was an event unprecedented in the history of the American Union, and against which its statesmen, with one accord, had raised their voices, as the reef against which it must inevitably wreck; that this event was a challenge, so intended by those who gave it and so understood by those to whom it was given, to defend all that freemen hold sacred; that the Southern people acted as a unanimous people, through their State organizations, and neither as an insurrectionary mob, nor as a political party; that finally, after having exhausted every means of warning before the wrong was done, they exhausted every means to avert its dreaddest consequences; that the war was forced upon them when they were almost defenceless, and, so to speak, taken by surprise; and that throughout, to their bitter cost, they have scrupulously confined themselves to the defensive, eager at any moment to embrace peace when the invader abandons his criminal attempt at their subjugation.

The Celestial Empire of the West.

His Imperial Majesty of the Vermilion Pencil is more than an Alexander in the multitude of his victories. Daily and hourly yellow couriers announce at Peking the destruction of a rebel army, the death of ten Tae-ping generals by strangulation, and the restoration of vast provinces to order amid the shouts of grateful millions. Yet the revolt continues, as though Kublai Khan himself, with woe in his rear and panic in his front, were at the head of it. Half the immense empire is a mass of blood-stained anarchy; a mighty tumult wanders incessantly between the Great Wall and the Great River; cities are taken and retaken; the earth is saturated with carnage; but the chiefs of legions protest that their still-beginning, never-ending work is flourishing gloriously. Some of this spirit appears to have infused itself into the Federal American character. Surely those huge battalions that are always conquering, and never losing a man, must be costumed in Tartar mail, with dragons breathing fire upon their shields, and emblems of slaughter on their boots; else how should we hear of these more than Napoleonic triumphs over an enemy whose peculiar vice it is, like the Englishmen at Waterloo, not to know when he is beaten? The North, however, cannot exist without bulletins which, of course, are ordered in the immortal Chinese fashion: the foe routed—park of artillery captured—field covered with hostile dead—1000 standards taken—camp encumbered with prisoners: one man killed, and a horse lamed, on the side evidently favoured by heaven—and sun going down upon General McClellan gazing upon the ruins of the misguided Confederate army. This pattern despatch is of a strictly Oriental texture. It was Pao-hing of the Green Button, assuredly, who originally suggested the organization of a Victory Department at Washington; where the name of a creek, two or three commanders, and a small supply of local colour by telegraph being ready, a crowning triumph could be manufactured in half-an-hour; whereupon the Mandarins of the Capitol would salute the clouds with thunder, thank God for His grace, kill a few thousands in a public proclamation, and prophecy the final termination of the struggle in a fortnight. Thus does Ki-Chan report, once a month, that the last of the insurgents in all Nankin has been decapitated; whereupon ten myriads of the ill-conditioned malcontents, who decline to be dead in obedience to an official epitaph, rise up, and Ki-Chan, if not beheaded, sneaks off to a neighbouring province. Where is that grand army of the Potomac, which was to sweep like a hurricane through the South? It lies, and bleeds, a skeleton and a specter, in the midst of the land which, not long ago, was to be trampled into submission, to be starved and pauperized into a

humiliating dependence on the North. A Northern garrison melts away at New Orleans; Northern columns are wasted by fruitless campaigning in a far interior; yet McClellan, true to his mandarin instinct, sends home exulting despatches, and vaunts as though he had fought the Solferino of the war. At one moment this illustrious student of Middle-Kingdom eloquence recounts how he drove the enemy from his position, and took 500 prisoners. Great is the joy at New York. Therefore, emboldened by praise, he corrects himself in presence of the sovereign people, and his prisoners become 2000 instead of 500. An air of grandeur pervades the rotund statistics of the youthful hero; he sees the entire strength of a regiment cut to pieces on every field; the captives dragged after his chariot are ranked in whole phalanxes; but when will he fight and win a pitched battle without the aid of gunboats? When is the avalanche really to overwhelm the South? When is the thunderbolt to be hurled and the general smash-up effected? It is all very well in China to tell the Emperor that he has a million of soldiers prepared to conquer or die, with fleets of junks renowned for their superiority over the war-steamers of Great Britain; but His Majesty, were he not an Asiatic, might ask, why is no barbarian man-of-war towed up the Peiho as a prize, and why his warriors contented themselves with dancing on one leg when the Armstrong guns were pelting them? The Federal commanders, no doubt, are covered all over with glory, and yet they want success. Halleck victories without a casualty—one gun-carriage splintered, and one bullet through a cocked hat; total, nothing—are strangely barren of results; but resemble rather the triumph described by General San-ko-lin, to “the Majesty of Haughty China.” “The white devils were utterly defeated by the valour of the Imperial troops, yet they persisted in advancing, though the noise of the gongs and the cries of the warriors must have struck terror into their hearts.” Just so. There is a good deal of gong-beating in the North, and the News Department at Washington and at New York, under the plastic hand of a State Secretary, is a Palace of the Beatitudes on a magnificent scale. For, even if a military failure be announced, so unmistakable and glaring that it cannot be concealed, straightway the poet of the department is called in to imagine, in his aërial, Homeric way, a victory with which the public is consoled. When McClellan breaks down, Halleck is rumoured to have come down upon the rebels somewhere, and emblazoned the Federal flag. This Halleck, indeed, is a man of unprecedented genius; he far surpasses Cæsar, for he does not come, he does not see, and yet he conquers. Sir Charles Napier, as Lord Palmerston records, once took a town in Spain with a letter; General Halleck hears that a certain stronghold is obstinate; forthwith he sits down, and has the honour to report, for the information of the Government and eagle-bearing people, that he captured it yesterday; which, after all, is better than bloodshed. This is eminently Chinese, reminding us of the Imperialist army which fired at an English ship for an entire day, killed one of its own officers, and went off shouting in triumph because the vessel did not sail after them over the land. The military mandarins of the Federal Power treat Mr. Abraham Lincoln as though he were only a Chinese Emperor, which he may be, for anything we know to the contrary, and which, if it be the fact, would explain why this Chinese fit is upon men and things in America.

For years past the great insurrection in China has been constantly proclaimed as nearly, if not wholly, extinguished. Again and again has the Government at Peking been congratulated upon the complete overthrow of the rebel forces. Yet these forces collect half the taxes of the empire; hold the navigation of large rivers; occupy hundreds of important towns, are formidable, not only in the distant interior, but on the coast also, and frequently defeat the Mantchu armies. Every now and then, to keep the Brother of the Sun in good humour, and prevent him from strangling his generals in an impatient mood, or ordering them to perform the “Happy Despatch,” he receives a bulletin

imploping him, of his endless benignity, to learn how his slave, the never-defeated Sse-ma-Korung, on such a day did frighten 100,000 of the insurgent imps with drums, so that they fell upon their faces; whereupon, with more drumming, waving of banners, and gallant caracoling, the Celestial Host went on, decapitated the enemy to the last man, and would transmit the heads to Peking without delay. Precisely so has it been with more than one captain of credit and renown in the glorious Federal ranks; he skirmishes, and instantly despatches from his bivouac in the midst of the empurpled field, a battle-piece in lurid prose, suggestive of nothing less than Eylan or Lodi; he arrives at a town, which the enemy, for strategic reasons, have evacuated; with magical alacrity, at once he pens his description of a victorious army surging on, of broken legions in full retreat before him, of roads strewn with cannon, baggage, dead, wounded, and missing; and there is a general flare-up of artillery to celebrate a day’s march—and nothing more. What the Federal Government may gain in its own territory by these puerile and paltry tricks we know not; but of this we are sure—that the bulletins of its commanders have become the laughing-stock of all Europe.

Let no one suppose that we intend merely a bitter jest. The features of resemblance between the Celestial Empire of the East and that of the West are only too many and too real. They are not confined to the rhetoric of Fourth of July orations and military bulletins; they exist in that monstrous over-estimate of self, which causes both nations to think themselves the centre of the universe, and to treat all the rest of mankind as outside barbarians. Like the Chinese, the Americans glory in an isolation, which is not the less perfect as regards manners and habits of thought, because, unlike the Chinese, they still condescend to hold communion with the rest of the world. They honestly believe themselves, not only the bravest and most powerful, but the most moral and enlightened nation of the earth. In their own eyes, they stand upon a pinnacle which the less favoured of human creatures struggle in vain to reach. The laws of Political Economy, ay, of justice and humanity, are not the same for them as for the “effete despotisms” of the Old World. That these “effete despotisms” are still permitted to encumber the progress of American civilization, is owing to the forbearance and magnanimity of the people which could sweep them from its path with the mere wave of its mighty hand. It is this fatal delusion which causes them to consider it their right and their duty to subjugate 8,000,000 of their former fellow-countrymen, in the name of “manifest destiny.” It is this which causes them already, before that difficult work is done, to meditate vengeance against all nations who could not see their acts in the light in which they view them. And if, in the inscrutable plans of Providence, it was decreed that they should succeed in their work, they would undoubtedly make their reconstructed empire the China of America. Why should not they? They would have their India and their Australia within their own doors. What need have they of foreign commerce when they control the two chief staples of the commerce of the world, and when their very coasting trade means the circumnavigation of a continent? With two great oceans for their boundaries, one hand resting upon the Frozen Zone, and the other stretching to the Tropics, with the monopoly of cotton and tobacco, with a closed market for all they need to buy, and a closed market for all they have to sell, with a territory ample for 300,000,000 of inhabitants, with internal navigation of thousands of miles—who, they argue, shall dictate terms to them, or who venture to dispute the terms which they may choose to dictate?

The Right of Interference.

In discussing American topics, we are obliged again and again to revert to the commonplace axioms of International Law, Social Science, and Political Economy, because Federal policy and Federal conduct are direct violations of those first principles

upon which the whole social fabric rests. We cannot avoid this course in the present article, in which we propose to point out some of the actions of the Federal Government calling for foreign interference.

Individual liberty is limited and circumscribed both by human and Divine law. Not only is it unlawful for a man to invade the rights of his neighbour, but he is not permitted to do exactly as he likes with his own. He must not set his house on fire, because it endangers the property of others. Freedom of speech and publication does not include the freedom to utter or print obscene and immoral thoughts. A man may, as far as possible, isolate himself, to the detriment of his own happiness, from his fellow-creatures, but whenever he does come in contact with society, either directly or indirectly, he must submit to the laws of society. In short, a person is not at liberty to make an unlawful use of his property or his privileges. And this principle is applicable to States as well as to individuals, and is the foundation of international law. If nations were not allowed to band together as a police for the protection of national rights, there would be an end to commerce, to the progress of civilization, and order would be succeeded by universal anarchy. The right of interference is a very solemn responsibility, and ought not to be exercised except upon a clear, defined, and unmistakable necessity. Is European interference with Federal America imperative, and therefore a duty?

Let us glance, for the hundredth time, at the position of the belligerents. We need not enter into the question of the constitutional right of Secession. Although Europe was convinced of the right of the sovereign States to go out of the Union, it decided that that fact did not justify an intervention to prevent the Federals trying to bring back the seceded States by the agency of the sword. But we contend the actual state of affairs, as between the North and South, calls at all events for so much interference as is involved in the recognition of the Confederate States. The war has been going on for a year and a half, and so far from the Confederates being subdued, the Federal Government is demanding more soldiers. Of the unanimity of the 8,000,000 of Southerners inhabiting, be it remembered, a territory distinct from the territory of the United States, we have the most convincing proofs. Surely 8,000,000 of people, inhabiting a large and distinct country, resolved to be independent, and for a year and a half successfully maintaining that independence against the gigantic efforts of the North to crush it, constitute a nation. And if the Confederate States of America are a nation, why not recognize them as a nation? Why ignore a fact? But recognition has little to do with the right of interference, for the refusal to acknowledge a *de facto* nation is as much an act of interference as the refusal to acknowledge it.

The way in which Europe has been treated by the Federals justifies interference, independent of the claims of the Confederate States to be recognized as a nation. We do not speak of the tariff devised to impair the trade of England and France. We do not speak of the tax to be levied on cotton. Such a commercial policy is foolish, self-destructive, and spiteful; but even if it would permanently injure us it does not justify interference. To impose a liberal and prosperous commercial policy on the United States would be an infringement of international law. If a man chooses to shut up his shop, or refuses to transact business with his best customers, he ought to be at full liberty to do so. But the insults offered to foreign Consuls, the seizure of money belonging to Messrs. Hope and Co., the refusal to allow goods to be shipped which have been paid for, on the plea that the payment was used for an unlawful purpose, not only authorizes a demand for reparation, but justifies Europe in insisting upon the observance of more courteous and lawful conduct for the future.

The bitter hostility of the United States to England demands attention, since the threats of the Federal press and people have been endorsed by the Federal Government. It is not disputed that the increase in the navy, and the establishment of naval depôts and yards on

Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Ontario, is intended as a demonstration against this country. If a great nation suffers herself to be insulted with impunity, she not only sustains a loss of prestige, but encourages and fosters the spirit of aggression. If England had been less forbearing in times past, if she had insisted upon ample apology for the Trent affair, if she had resented the gratuitous insults offered to her flag, Federal hatred would not have obtained its present dimensions.

But if the Federal Government had not violated the law of nations, if England had not been insulted and threatened, if the ruler of France and France herself had not been subjected to gross abuse, if we had no other acts to complain of than those committed within the territories of the United States, there would be no lack of reasons for prompt and decisive interference. That the North is prosecuting a bloody, wicked, and, as it must turn out, profitless war, is bad enough; that in the name of the Constitution she is seeking to trample on the rights of other people, is bad enough; that the citizens of the United States should heedlessly load themselves with debt, and give up their political liberty without a sigh, is bad enough. But these things are not the worst. Witness the rule of the Federals in the Confederate cities that have fallen into their power. Was ever military despotism so harsh and unrelenting?

Look at New Orleans. Could matters have been worse if the veritable Nana Sahib had been the Federal commander? There is no longer a pretence for saying that General Butler has acted without, or contrary to, orders; his conduct has been approved by the Federal press and sanctioned by the Federal Government. The *Times* of yesterday remarks that the state of affairs had been aggravated "by the fact of the Washington Government and the Northern press having virtually approved and identified themselves with the act by which General Butler, at New Orleans, had placed himself out of the pale not only of civilization, but of human kinship, whether savage or civilized." This is strong language, but not too strong, for it is impossible to invent terms of opprobrium adequately to denounce an edict by which a commander licenses his soldiers to treat the ladies of a city under his jurisdiction as harlots. The infamy perpetrated by General Butler, and shared in by the Government and people of the United States, intensifies the horrors of war. We cannot blame the men of the South for seeking deadly vengeance by all means in their power. Not satisfied with this crowning atrocity, General Butler continues to outrage civilization. He accuses a gentleman of hauling down a Federal flag, and forthwith hangs him. He condemns some of the first citizens of New Orleans to be loaded with chains and kept at convict labour on account of political differences. He has lately hung four men, one of them being an Englishman, upon charges of theft. Nay, he takes upon himself to regulate prayer, and to control the solemn offices of religion.

Will Christian, civilized nations permit such enormities? We trust not. And yet if, under such circumstances, Europe does not interfere, she virtually sanctions the crimes at which she shudders.

WE desire to direct attention to the following graphic summary of American affairs, which appeared in the *Times*' City Article yesterday. It shows that the truth is no longer disguised by Federal fabrications and loud boastings:—

The commercial advices from New York this week are of especial importance, since they comprise not only the resolution of Congress for an additional issue of £30,000,000 of convertible paper, but also the passage of the Tax Bill and the Tariff Bill, which aims a further blow at trade, and includes an attempt to levy new duties on goods already in bond in the New York warehouses. One journal, with a degree of boldness which may perhaps draw down Government vengeance, has pronounced the latter a shameful proposition, and a deputation of merchants and bankers have proceeded with a remonstrance to Washington, where they will probably receive a military reply that will remind them of the nature of the power under which they now exist. It was expected that Congress would adjourn in the course of a fortnight, and in the interval an attempt was to be made to repeal the Act lately passed "to prevent and punish fraud on officers intrusted with making of contracts for the Government." This

Act was originally pronounced to be a terror to public plunderers and thieves, but, like most other contrivances for making people honest against their inclination, had resulted, it is believed, in inconveniencing only those who were not of the class to disregard its provisions. Already it appears that the payment of the direct imposts levied in the new Tax Bill will be openly resisted by organized combinations in some of the leading Western States. In the important State of Indiana, the Governor had called attention to associations of this nature, which were "increasing rapidly;" and, as he took occasion to intimate that all who joined them would be guilty of treason, and be "dealt with in the most rigorous manner," there seems a prospect of a number of small civil wars being carried on simultaneously with the larger one. In Illinois, also, the Supreme Court, in dealing with the question of taxation, had declared the act of Congress unconstitutional in making Federal Treasury notes a legal tender, and a detachment of the army may therefore be required in that State to enforce a correct reading of the statutes. In the general contest, however, between the North and South, and the Northern States individually against the despotism at Washington, the Fine Arts were not neglected, and it is intimated that "a large number of workmen are now busily engaged in preparing for the placing on the dome of the Capitol Crawford's colossal statue of Freedom." Meanwhile the New York stock and money markets were in a state of intense susceptibility beyond anything yet known since the commencement of the war. It was no longer doubtful that there had been a deplorable loss from fever in the army before Richmond, and this, coupled with the critical position of Generals Banks and Fremont, the unfavourable accounts from Florida, and the fact of President Lincoln having passed hastily through New York on a visit to General Scott at West Point, enabled the operators, from hour to hour, to influence prices by the fabrication of alarming reports. Just before the departure of the present steamer it was believed that the Federal forces had made another attack on Fort Darling and been repulsed, and also that they had again been compelled to evacuate Winchester. "Still," it is said, "the more disastrous the struggle becomes so does the determination of the North to subjugate the South increase in intensity;" while, on the other hand, the Southern hatred is stimulated to a point that seems to render the contest dependent on the extermination of the entire people. All attempts at mediation, and especially from England, it is said, would be received only with insult. The feeling against England is described by the most temperate and friendly observers to be stronger than ever. "It is not confined to the multitude, but prevails equally among the higher classes," and it is added, "if there were but a fair chance of success, nothing would be more popular than a war with your country." This state of affairs had apparently been much aggravated by the fact of the Washington Government and the Northern press having virtually approved and identified themselves with the act by which General Butler, at New Orleans, had placed himself out of the pale not only of civilization, but of human kinship, whether savage or civilized.

OUR readers will find elsewhere a most interesting and instructive article from the *Times of India* of June 12, just received from Bombay. We claim no merit for the close agreement of this high authority with the views previously expressed by us in these pages, for no one, not wilfully blind to the truth, or persistently ignorant of the facts, could well arrive at any very different conclusions.

WE noticed last week the prevalence of the German element in the Federal army. The following from the *New York Tribune* shows that even ignorance of the English language is not a disqualification for command.

Prince Salan, a Prussian nobleman, who joined the United States' army a year ago, and has since held the position of Colonel on General Blenker's staff, has been appointed to the command of the Garibaldi Regiment. Colonel Salan is an experienced and gallant officer, and has done active service on several occasions with the army in Virginia. Up to a recent time his want of familiarity with our language prevented his assuming direct control of a regiment. The vacancy in the command of the Garibaldi Guard, which is composed mostly of foreigners, has now obviated the difficulty.

IMPORTANT FROM ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO. ANOTHER CONFEDERATE VICTORY.

The *Jackson Mississippi* of the 17th inst. learns, from a passenger just from Texas, that an engagement between 1700 of General Sibley's brigade and 2300 Federals, occurred on the 10th ult., at Glorieta Canon, New Mexico. Colonel Scurry, commanding, had his men posted in the Canon, through which the Federals were compelled to pass to communicate with Fort Craig. About 600 of the enemy were killed and wounded, and less than 100 of Scurry's men—among whom, however, were Majors Raguet and Shropshire killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton mortally wounded. General Sibley's aid-de-camp, Captain Ochiltree, who was bearer of despatches from General Sibley, reported to our informant that the result of the great Battle of Glorieta would be the surrender of Fort Craig to our forces, and the occupation of all New Mexico and Arizona by the Confederates.—*Charleston Mercury*, May 24.

Reviews.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS.

II.—THE PRODUCTION OF COTTON.

CONSIDERING the mighty interests involved, it is not at all surprising that the question of the supply of cotton should have been discussed very fully and continually by English manufacturers and English statesmen, and that it should have commanded very general attention. If we peruse what has been said and written on the cotton question, we cannot fail to be struck with the mass of statistical information that has been brought forward. We defy any one to point out a detail that has not received the most painstaking consideration. How, then, does it happen that there is such a diversity of opinion, or rather, such a general uncertainty, as to the conclusions to be derived from statistics of which no one doubts the authenticity and reliability, and which are in themselves singularly consistent. We think the anomaly can be readily explained. Instead of looking at the whole question, it has been studied in parts; and statistics, instead of being treated as indexes to the truth, have been compiled and made use of to support particular theories. Moreover, there has been a disposition to eschew experience, to calculate on the possible and the probable, and to draw conclusions from facts without making allowance for opposing facts. For instance, because India has an immense area suitable for the cultivation of cotton, it has been assumed that India might supply us with the quantity of raw material we have obtained from America. The calculations based on this hypothesis are very attractive and plausible, but it has been quite forgotten that India cannot produce cotton to compete with the American cotton in the European markets either in quality or price. It has been stated that the want of capital has been the cause of India not producing cotton enough to make us independent of the American supply. Yet India does produce very largely for her own consumption, and for the Chinese market; and let it be remembered, that the capital invested in cotton cultivation in the Southern States was not collected in Europe, or rained down from the clouds; but it is the accumulated profits of cotton cultivation. But India produced cotton from time immemorial, and she exported large quantities when, in 1784, eight bags of American cotton were seized in England, on the ground that so much cotton could not possibly have been produced in the United States. How is it, with such a start in the race, India has not been able to accumulate capital enough to increase her production of cotton? We can conceive no other answer than that India cannot grow cotton at so cheap a rate as the Southern States. Besides, there has been no lack of capital for the development of other Indian products, such as indigo.

Under present circumstances, we think it may be useful to give a brief account of the growth and progress of cotton cultivation in the Southern States, and simultaneously glance at the statistics of the Indian cotton trade, as far as possible, leaving our readers to draw their own conclusions from the figures we submit.

To thoroughly appreciate the rapid increase of the American cotton produce, we must notice that it has grown up in less than seventy years. In Mr. Simmond's edition of Ure's "Philosophy of Manufactures," published last year, is the following anecdote:—

Many years ago, the senior editor of one of the leading American papers was informed by his venerable friend, Samuel Maverick, Esq., of Pendleton, that, when a boy, as clerk in the house of his uncle, Mr. Wm. Turpin, of Charleston, he assisted in packing the first bag of cotton ever sent to Liverpool from the United States. Mr. Maverick is still living, and America now exports some 2,000,000 of bags of cotton every year. That packed by Mr. Maverick was put up in the seed! This was long before Whitney's invention of the cotton gin. The consignee of this lone bag of cotton informed the house of Wadsworth and Turpin that he could not sell it! that it was valueless! and advised them to send no more.

Farther, that we may observe how the progress of the English cotton manufacture has been concurrent with the production of American cotton, we will quote the state and value of our cotton trade in 1787. In that year there were in England and Scotland:—

143 water mills, valued at	£715,000
550 mule jennies, of 50 spindles each, valued at	19,250
20,070 hand jennies, of 80 spindles each	140,490
Buildings, carding machines, &c.	123,260
	£1,000,000

The number of persons employed in spinning was about 60,000. The imports of the raw material into England

for that year were 22,600,000 lbs., from the following places:—

British Islands	6,600,000
French and Spanish Settlements	6,000,000
Dutch Settlements	1,700,000
Portuguese Settlements	2,500,000
East Indies	100,000
Smyrna and Turkey	5,700,000
22,600,000lbs.	

Not a pound from the United States, and the East Indies contributing only a 226th of the entire quantity. Even allowing for the then circumscribed dominion of British India, it must be confessed it was a very small portion. It seems as if it had not been possible for India to compete for the supply of European markets even before America stepped in; and that, instead of checking, American rivalry has rather stimulated Indian production.

In 1790, Mr. McCulloch says, the export trade of the United States in cotton commenced, though it is known that small quantities were exported in previous years. The following admirably-arranged table, showing the growth, exports, and export value of the United States' cotton, from 1790 to 1835, together with estimates of the total cotton produce of the world, was communicated to the United States' Congress in 1836, by Mr. Woodbury, the then Secretary of the Treasury:—

GROWTH AND EXPORTS OF COTTON.			
IN THE WORLD.		UNITED STATES.	
Years.	Growth lbs.	Exports lbs.	Ex. value \$.
1790 ..	—	1,500,000	250,000
1791 .. 490,000,000	—	2,000,000	280,000
1792 ..	—	3,000,000	143,000
1793 ..	—	5,000,000	500,000
1794 ..	—	8,000,000	1,667,000
1795 ..	—	8,000,000	6,000,000
1796 ..	—	10,000,000	6,000,000
1797 ..	—	11,000,000	3,500,000
1798 ..	—	15,000,000	9,000,000
1799 ..	—	20,000,000	9,000,000
1800 ..	—	35,000,000	17,000,000
1801 .. 520,000,000	—	48,000,000	20,000,000
1802 ..	—	55,000,000	27,000,000
1803 ..	—	60,000,000	41,000,000
1804 ..	—	65,000,000	38,000,000
1805 ..	—	70,000,000	40,000,000
1806 ..	—	80,000,000	37,000,000
1807 ..	—	80,000,000	66,000,000
1808 ..	—	75,000,000	12,000,000
1809 ..	—	82,000,000	53,000,000
1810 ..	—	85,000,000	93,000,000
1811 .. 555,000,000	—	80,000,000	62,000,000
1812 ..	—	75,000,000	29,000,000
1813 ..	—	75,000,000	19,000,000
1814 ..	—	70,000,000	17,000,000
1815 ..	—	100,000,000	83,000,000
1816 ..	—	124,000,000	81,000,000
1817 ..	—	130,000,000	95,000,000
1818 ..	—	125,000,000	92,000,000
1819 ..	—	167,000,000	88,000,000
1820 ..	—	160,000,000	127,000,000
1821 .. 630,000,000	—	180,000,000	124,000,000
1822 ..	—	210,000,000	144,000,000
1823 ..	—	185,000,000	173,000,000
1824 ..	—	215,000,000	142,000,000
1825 ..	—	255,000,000	176,000,000
1826 ..	—	250,000,000	204,000,000
1827 ..	—	270,000,000	204,000,000
1828 ..	—	325,000,000	210,000,000
1829 ..	—	365,000,000	264,000,000
1830 ..	—	350,000,000	298,000,000
1831 .. 820,000,000	—	385,000,000	277,000,000
1832 ..	—	390,000,000	372,000,000
1833 ..	—	445,000,000	324,000,000
1834 ..	—	460,000,000	384,000,000
1835 ..	—	—	61,000,000

It will be noticed how steady, as well as rapid, has been the increase in the exports. From 1821 to 1835, there was an uninterrupted annual increase. In 1790 the quantity of cotton consumed in the United States was 1,250,000 lbs., and in 1834, 70,000,000 lbs., being fifty-six times as much. The cotton export of the United States in 1790 was 270,000 lbs., and in 1834 384,000,000 lbs., being 1336 times greater. But in 1834 the cotton trade was still in its infancy. The exports were 384,000,000 lbs in 1834, and in 1849, 1,026,000,000 lbs., being nearly a threefold increase in fifteen years. Further, according to the returns of the United States' Treasury Department, the crop of 1850 was 2,796,706 bales, the quantity exported was 635,381,604 lbs., and the export value was \$71,984,616; and in 1859 the crop was 3,851,481 bales, the quantity exported 1,386,468,542 lbs., and the export value \$161,434,923. We should remark that the official export value is always below the actual value. But taking the returns as they are presented to us, they show that in nine years (from 1850 to 1859), the crop had increased 50 per cent.; that the exports had increased more than 100 per cent.; and that the export value had increased at a still greater ratio, and that was due to the price in 1859 being higher than in 1850. In 1846 it was generally asserted that the limit of the American supply had been reached, a prediction strikingly refuted by the above statistics. We are met with the same argument to-day when we speak of

the Southern States being the cotton-field of the world, although but a twentieth part of the suitable land is under cotton cultivation.

The greater ratio of increase of the exports, as compared with the increase of quantities taken for home consumption, is an illustration of the soundness of the opinion that the Southern States can supply any demand for cotton. It is not that the Americans limit their consumption of cotton fabrics, or that they take back in fabrics what they send forth as raw material. Only a small per-centage of the cotton exported from the United States is returned to the United States in cotton manufactures; yet, if we add the imports of cotton fabrics to the cotton manufactures of the United States, we find that the home consumption of cotton per head of the population is as great, and rather in excess of the average consumption of civilized nations. The South has been able not only to supply the increasing demand of the United States, but the increasing demand of the world.

An inspection of the table we have given above will dissipate the impression, that the Southerners have enjoyed a monopoly of price. How could they? They could not regulate demand, and they could only compete with other markets by the quality of their material and its cheapness. In 1834 the quantity exported was twenty-three times greater than in 1800, while the export value was only tenfold. By comparing the estimates of the world's growth, and which are carefully prepared, it will be seen that the total increase of cotton production is from the Southern States, and that the rest of the world has remained nearly stationary. Not that in all other parts of the world there has been a lack of enterprise and capital, but that it was found impossible to compete with America for supplying the increased and increasing call for cotton. Cotton-growing countries have considered it cheaper to import fabrics of American cotton rather than increase the area of their own cotton culture. Before the introduction of American cotton the increasing demand was supplied from other places, as the following return of cotton imports into England shows:—

Years.	Imports.
1781 ..	5,101,920 lbs.
1782 ..	11,206,810
1783 ..	9,546,179
1784 ..	11,280,236
1785 ..	17,992,888
1786 ..	19,151,867
1787 ..	22,600,000

If the cotton-growing States of America were engulfed in the ocean, no doubt there would be an increased production of cotton in other places, because the article would then command a remunerative price, and would not be, after a year or two of higher price, depressed by the renewed and growing production of America. The cotton productiveness of America has checked the increased growth of cotton in other countries, and until the cause is permanently removed the check will remain.

We will supplement the table we have given from the official report of the United States' Secretary to Congress by a statement of the crops, exports, and export values, from 1836 to 1850—dates which embrace the most interesting period of the history of the American cotton trade:—

Years.	Crop in Bales.	Exports in lbs.	Export Value.
1836 ..	1,422,930 ..	423,621,367 ..	\$71,284,925
1837 ..	1,801,497 ..	414,211,537 ..	63,210,102
1838 ..	1,360,532 ..	595,952,277 ..	61,556,811
1839 ..	2,177,835 ..	413,624,212 ..	61,338,982
1840 ..	1,634,945 ..	743,941,061 ..	63,870,107
1841 ..	1,683,574 ..	530,204,100 ..	54,330,341
1842 ..	2,378,875 ..	584,717,017 ..	47,593,644
1843 ..	2,030,409 ..	792,297,106 ..	49,119,086
1844 ..	2,394,503 ..	663,633,455 ..	54,063,501
1845 ..	2,100,537 ..	872,905,996 ..	51,739,643
1846 ..	1,778,651 ..	547,555,055 ..	42,767,341
1847 ..	2,347,634 ..	537,219,958 ..	53,415,847
1848 ..	2,728,596 ..	814,274,431 ..	61,998,294
1849 ..	2,096,706 ..	1,036,602,296 ..	66,396,967
1850 ..	2,355,257 ..	635,391,601 ..	71,984,717

In 1850, the value of the cotton exports of the United States was \$71,984,717; in 1857, \$131,575,859; and in 1859, \$1,694,341,923—the increase in value in nine years being more than 100 per cent; but in 1850, the exports were 635,381,601 lbs., and in 1859 they were 1,386,468,542 lbs. So that the increase in quantity advanced with the increase in value. The crop for 1860 was 4,300,000 bales.

The British exports of cotton manufactures have been developed concurrently with the increase of the United States' exports of the raw material; but our exports do not afford an exact criterion of the increase of our manufactures, as our home consumption has become larger and larger, until it has been brought up to 9 lbs. per head of the population, whilst in France the consumption is 4 lbs. per head of the population. The

declared value of our exports of cotton manufactures were:—

1820	£16,516,748
1834	20,513,586
1850	28,257,401
1859	48,208,444

We have seen that the increased production of cotton during the present century is from the Southern States, and that other countries have remained stationary. This great increase has only been limited by the demand; that is to say, the Southern planters have been conducting their operations legitimately, not increasing the growth on speculation, or seeking to glut the market. The Cotton Planters' Convention prepared the following interesting table as to production and consumption of cotton throughout the world.

Production.		Consumption.	
Bales per annum.		Bales per annum.	
Average from 1825 to 1830 ..	1,231,000 ..	1,187,000	
" 1830 to 1835 ..	1,450,000 ..	1,540,000	
" 1835 to 1840 ..	1,319,000 ..	1,943,000	
" 1840 to 1845 ..	2,561,000 ..	2,414,000	
" 1845 to 1850 ..	2,791,000 ..	2,869,000	
		9,592,000	9,933,000

In twenty-five years the whole production was 49,760,000 bales, and the total consumption 49,765,000, being an excess of 5000 bales, equal to an excess of 200 bales per annum. So far from striving to discourage other growths by glutting the market, the Southern planters have always evinced an anxiety not to jeopardize prices by making the supply exceed the demand. Indeed, small crops have frequently yielded a better return than large crops; not that we would infer that small crops are therefore desirable, for cheapness and a fully satisfied demand encourages and increases consumption, and so ultimately benefits the producer.

(To be continued.)

THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.*

No. II.

We cannot, in the space of a review, or from the meagre hints contained in this "Calendar of State Papers," attempt to give a complete history of the establishment of the colony of Virginia. From first to last we meet with discussions between the Government and the Company in England, and with difficulties encountered by the colonists of Virginia. In forty years there were no less than twelve Governors, a pretty good proof of the difficulty of satisfactorily fulfilling the executive office. At that period England had not a Colonial Department of State; and, bad as it may be in the opinion of some persons, the administration of the Colonial Office is vastly better than that of the King and Council.

The Virginian planters, for many years, directed their attention almost exclusively to the cultivation of tobacco, notwithstanding the difficulty experienced in getting a remunerative price for the fragrant weed, the virtues of which were not generally appreciated 200 years ago. In 1634, in reply to a petition from the Governor of Virginia, showing that the planters did not realize more than a penny per lb. for their tobacco, and that the planters could not afford to sell under sixpence per lb. on the spot, and fourteen pence for the delivery in England, and that they needed a guaranteed annual consumption of 800,000 lbs., the King, who thought the demands excessive, appointed Commissioners to settle the matter, and John Stone was sent out as King's agent, and a councillor in Virginia, to treat for a yearly contract of tobacco, both as to price and quantity.

A law was passed forbidding the planting of English tobacco, and most rigidly enforced. To-day a similar law is executed with a like vigour, not to encourage the growth of Virginia tobacco, but for the sake of the revenue.

Governor Harvey turned his attention to lessening the planting of tobacco, and in one year Virginia produced 10,000 bushels of corn, and was enabled to assist New England with a supply of grain. "Virginia is now become the granary of all His Majesty's Northern colonies." Governor Harvey also reported plenty of beeves, goats, hogs, and all sorts of poultry, and that a beginning had been made of oranges, lemons, vines, figs, and all kind of fruit. An effort was also made to propagate the silkworm, and a present of silk was sent to the King. As soon as the colonists gave up the exclusive cultivation of tobacco their troubles abated.

There was a most jealous feeling with respect to the Dutch, and the colonists petitioned the King that the Dutch might not be allowed to trade with Virginia; and the King was pleased to comply with the prayer of the petition. We might smile at the young community being solicitous to have its commerce contracted, but

* Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1630. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by W. N. EL SAINSBURY, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

that we remember, even now, in this enlightened age, there are people advocating the doctrine that the best way to promote the activity and prosperity of Commerce is to load her with chains,—that if you want a river to rise, the best course is to dam up the rivulets that feed the river.

Amongst the many curious documents referred to in Mr. Sainsbury's volume, is one in reference to the proposed emigration of Walloons and French.

Promise of certain Walloons and French to emigrate to Virginia. In the centre of a large sheet of paper is written in French:—"We promise the Lord Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain, to go and inhabit in Virginia a land under His Majesty's obedience, as soon as conveniently may be, and this to be carried out in the articles we have communicated to the said Ambassador, and not otherwise; on the faith of which we have unanimously signed this present with our sign manual." The signatures and the calling of each are appended in the form of a Round Robin, and in the outer circle the person signing states whether he is married and the number of his children. Endorsed by Sir Dudley, Carleton. "Signature of such Walloons and French as offer themselves to goe into Virginia."

When the Commonwealth was established, Virginia was conspicuous amongst the colonies refusing to own allegiance to the new form of Government, although the Council had ordered narratives of the Battle of Worcester, and the Act for the day of Thanksgiving, to be sent to the colonies. Captain Robert Dennis and three other persons were appointed Commissioners for reducing Virginia. Their orders were to conciliate, if possible, but if hostility was manifested they were instructed to raise forces, and to free the servants of rebellious planters who acted as soldiers for the Commonwealth. They were also to publish the Acts of Parliament against Kingship, the House of Lords, and for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer.

Judging from the terms of surrender, the Commissioners found their task of subjugation anything but easy. The first article of the compact is the most surprising. It stipulated that neither the Governor nor the Council should be obliged to take any oath to the Commonwealth, nor be censured for speaking well of the King for one year; that is, for one year the Governor and Council were to permissively abjure the authority of the *de facto* Government, and to talk as much treason against it as they thought proper. They also bargained that the Governor should be allowed to send a person to the King to give His Majesty an account of the surrender. Further:—

The present Governor and Council to have leave to dispose of their estates and go where they pleased. Debts due to them by Act of Assembly to be made good. The Governor to have leave to hire a ship to take their goods to England or Holland. The captain of the fort to be remunerated for building his house on Fort Island; and all persons in the colony who have served the King to be free from danger or punishment. An act of indemnity and oblivion to be issued by the Commissioners; that no justices in Virginia be questioned for their opinions in causes determined by them. The Governor and Council to have passes to leave Virginia any time within a year, and to be free from trouble or arrest for six months after their arrival in England.

To these conditions the Commissioners assented—conditions which made the surrender a triumph, rather than a defeat, to the loyal Virginians. No doubt the moment was opportune for a favourable compromise. The Commonwealth had too much at stake at home and in Europe to wage a distant war if it could be avoided. But though we might expect the colonists to make excellent terms, we do not less admire the unanimous determination not to humble to the successful power; the chivalry displayed, not only in refusing to take the oath of fealty to the Commonwealth, but in stipulating for a year's license to talk as they liked of the King; and the sense of order and duty that prompted the condition of sending an envoy to notify the surrender to His Majesty. This stipulation was fulfilled, as may be seen by Mr. Sainsbury's notes on some papers dated May 10, 1652:—

Petition of Colonel Francis Lovelace to the Council of State. According to articles for the surrender of Virginia, he was appointed by the Commissioners to repair to the late King of Scots, "wherever he were," to give an account thereof. Prays for a pass into France, where he supposes the King to be, or elsewhere.

Pass "in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty of the Commonwealth of England" for Colonel Francis Lovelace, with his servants and necessities, to repair to the late King of Scots. Signed by Richard Bennett and William Claybourne.

Surely the exiled Prince could not have received the homage of the representative of his faithful Virginian subjects without deep emotion.

It is curious that though Virginia was disaffected, and known to be the hotbed of royalty, the Council of State ordered "that the prisoners desired for Virginia, to the number of 1610, be granted unto them, as the committee shall think fit, upon giving assurance to give them Christian usage." The prisoners were captured Royalists, and to send them to "Church and State" Virginia was adding fuel to fire.

In 1637 the Governor of Providence Island was directed to send some of his negroes to Virginia, "where they

may be put off to the masters' very great advantage." But, although Providence Island was supposed to have too many negroes, the slave trade was actively pursued.

We hope that this "Calendar of Colonial State Papers" will encourage the study and production of English colonial history, for modern colonization is grander and more useful, if not quite as patriotic and romantic as Greek colonization. And no part of our colonial history will prove more fascinating and instructive than that which relates to Virginia.

ALGERIAN COTTON SCHEME.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The debates which lately took place in the Corps Legislatif in relation to Algeria have disclosed the fact that the negotiations pending between the Algerian Administration and the Anglo-African Cotton Company have at last come to a successful termination.

A concession of 50,000 acres of land, situated in the province of Oran, has been granted to the English company upon the following conditions:—It is to pay 400,000 francs (cash) to the French Government; it binds itself to apply a further sum of 2,000,000 francs in improvements of all sorts upon the land conceded, and to devote its greater portion to the cultivation to the cotton plant.

On the other hand, the Government allows the company the exclusive privilege of using certain water-courses, and undertakes to pay the company a premium for each pound of cotton raised by them during the space of ten years; said premium to diminish by tenth from and after the first year.

I understand that the company is indebted to the exertions and influence of Mr. Cobden for this great victory over the bureaucracy of Algeria. Whether the founders of this company will have any reason to congratulate themselves on this treaty with the French Government, time alone can decide. But M. Mercier Lacombe, the *Directeur-général des Affaires Civiles de l'Algérie*, and the commissary of the Government, has made a few statements before the Corps Legislatif which I think worthy the close scrutiny of those who may hereafter feel inclined to increase the actual number of its stockholders. These official statements bear upon the scarcity of hands, the immense work to be performed to drain the lands conceded, and the price which Algerian cotton commands. These natural difficulties, coupled with the deadening obstinacy of the military Government of Algeria, forbode sad tidings for the 25,000,000 of English money about being trusted to the African soil. Indeed, it is but too well known to all those who have attentively followed the multifarious phases of that colony, that military jealousy has never neglected the occasion of smothering all commercial and industrial aspirations.

Upon this last point, however, it is to be supposed that Mr. Cobden has obtained, on behalf of the Company, the most positive assurance that it should not be interfered with by the Administration, else he could hardly have engaged his countrymen in a speculation otherwise so pregnant with misbaps.

Admitting that the climatic conditions of Algeria can be rendered propitious to the growth of merchantable cotton—a fact which past experience belies—whence is to come the labour capable of turning the waste land and pestiferous marshes of the province of Oran into rich and fertile cotton-fields? Is it to be found in Algeria? No; every one knows that, notwithstanding the kind, paternal, and praiseworthy endeavours of M. Mercier Lacombe to assimilate the Arabs, they will most ungratefully persist in their nomadic habits, and peremptorily refuse to perform any more work than is actually necessary to provide for the ordinary limited wants of an uncivilized people. They cannot, therefore, be made available; for the cultivation of cotton requires strong, steady, and industrious labourers.

European labour is not to be thought of, much less resorted to; for the scorching sun of Africa, and the deleterious miasma emanating from the marshes of Oran, would soon make of the Anglo-African cotton-fields an immense cemetery.

Is it to say that the Anglo-African cotton scheme is but an illusion of sensible minds? Such is not my opinion. On the contrary, I very earnestly think that it can be made just as advantageous to England as the cotton plantations of her Indian possessions, provided the proper labour can be procured.

This labour can be obtained. I hope the Abolitionist party and its prominent leaders, Messrs. Bright and Cobden, will thank THE INDEX for pointing it out to them, not only because the suggestion is calculated to forward the interests of their national enterprise, but also because it may afford them a splendid occasion of displaying before the world the sincerity of the doctrine they so warmly advocate, and enable them to prove that sincerity

by putting into immediate practice the plans they have been so lovingly maturing for more than a quarter of a century.

There are now in the Northern States of America over 250,000 negroes entirely destitute of the very first necessities of life. In the very midst of their abolitionist friends, these poor blacks are literally starving; they owe their present pitiful sustenance to the Government's charity, and cannot hope to see that relief continued to them for any great length of time, if we are to judge by the sentiments expressed by the *Dayton (Ohio) Daily Empire*:—

Is it not a shame—a burning shame to Americans—that while the Administration is expending 100,000 dollars per day, in supporting the lazy, trifling negroes, the wives and families of the men who have volunteered should be suffering for the actual necessities of life—be forced to beg for enough to keep soul and body together? The amount spent daily on the negroes by those in power would be sufficient to alleviate the wants of most, if not all, of those in want. What better right has the negro to our bounty than our own race? What clause in the Constitution requires that negroes should be supported at the public expense, while the wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the American soldiers are left to suffer and to starve? Charity begins at home, and our first great duty is to see that our own flesh and blood is taken care of and protected. If, after doing this, we have means to spare, it will be time enough to seek outside among the negroes for objects of charity.

Now the most part of these negroes have been emancipated by the generosity of Southern planters; they are consequently familiar with all the minute requirements of a cotton crop; they fear not the African climate, and would, no doubt, heartily respond to the call of Messrs. Bright and Cobden, and emigrate to a country where, at least—in default of theoretical philanthropy—they would be sure to find friendly help and daily bread.

This plan is not likely to meet with any opposition either on the part of France or of the United States; the last would be but too glad to get rid of their black favourites, the first is too truly liberal to shut the gates of Algeria upon such a useful immigration. As to the noble Duke of Malakoff, he would surely consider himself happy to attach his already glorious name to the realization of a plan the success of which might secure the future prosperity of Algeria. And finally, were there any unforeseen difficulties in the way, they would vanish before the mighty power and influence of those who have been able to wrest from the Administration of Algeria a concession of 50,000 acres of land.

Another very important point, however, remains for the consideration of the future stock-holders of the Anglo-African Company.

It relates to the mercantile price of the Algerian cotton. M. Mercier Lacombe has officially declared it to be worth three francs per pound. I humbly suggest that this may prove the stumbling block of the whole affair. It must be clear to every cotton business-man of Manchester and Lancashire, that the future losses of the company will inevitably increase in direct proportion with the quantity of staple raised by them in Algeria; for if ever raised, which is more than doubtful, when brought to market that cotton will be unable to compete even with that coming from India. Messrs. Bright and Cobden deserve unlimited credit for thus attempting to make of Algeria a great cotton mart, capable of freeing English industry from its American dependence. But should their scheme prove successful, and Algeria be made to grow a cotton crop fully adequate to England's industrial wants, will not Great Britain, pushed by its ridiculous monomania of industrial independence, have jumped from the frying-pan into the fire?

The speech delivered on June 24, in the House of Commons, by Lord Palmerston, calling upon Parliament to aid the Government to place England in a proper state of defence, so as to assure her independence, must convince every thinking man that his lordship considers a foreign war as a thing certain, though, perhaps, not immediate.

If such be the case, would it not be more safe and, especially, more profitable for the manufacturing districts of England to use their means and influence with their Government to procure the reopening of the only true and natural source of their cotton supplies, than to lose their time, waste their energy, and squander their money upon the fantastical hope of succeeding in the attempt to render the laws of nature subservient to a whimsical fancy, which, after all, is but the offspring of an anomalous situation? *

Paris, July 1, 1862.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

July 8, 1862.

SIR,—In the letter from Paris dated July 1, which appeared in THE INDEX of the 3rd inst., your correspondent proclaims, on the part of the South, that "the Southerners have little cause to feel any especial friend-

ship towards England, and that they may remember, to her cost, that in the rules of Political Economy, which govern commercial intercourse between nations, there are such things as *differential tariffs*."

In that Science which classifies the phenomena attendant upon the Production, Distribution, Interchange, and Consumption of Wealth, and which is called Political Economy, the effects upon the wealth and welfare of any nation which resorts to differential duties have been observed and examined, and they are universally found to be most detrimental to the well-doing of the nation itself. Of the truth of this fact the South at this very moment exhibits the most distinct proof which the world has ever yet seen. A Nation in itself—constituted a *separate* nation by the peculiar nature of its climate, productions, rivers and ports—wholly independent of every other nation in the world—it entered into a league in 1816 with a collection of political communities (with which it had not the slightest financial or commercial connection) directed against all the rest of the world, and especially against England, France, and Germany, who were the only consumers of its peculiar productions and almost the only suppliers of its general wants. It determined to levy a differential duty on all the produce of those nations which should come to its ports in ships owned by those nations, in favour of the same produce when imported in ships owned by its Northern colleagues; thus cutting off all direct communication between itself and its own purchasers. And not content with this act of suicidal folly, it consented to fine itself, additionally, 25 per cent. in the price of everything which it imported from Europe in exchange for its tobacco and cotton, for the purpose of enabling its colleagues of the North to manufacture the dry goods which it consumed profitably to themselves. Discovering what an error it had committed, it attempted in 1823 a partial correction of its blunder, but it found the North too strong in Congress to permit this; it made a further effort in 1832, when South Carolina demanded a change with arms in her hands; and finding, at last, all its effort vain, it separated politically from the North eighteen months ago; whose citizens are now murdering its men, insulting its women, laying waste its homesteads, and destroying its ports, for the avowed purpose of bringing it back to that state of commercial and financial vassalage from which it is now so justly seeking to emancipate itself.

It is impossible to conceive how this horrible condition of things could have been brought about but for this "differential tariff" which the South chose to adopt in 1816, and of which it is obviously the natural offspring. The South thereby encouraged the North to found manufactories of all sorts—the North has, during the last forty years, invested an immensity of capital in such establishments, which will not, and cannot, return any profit, unless the South shall continue to pay from 30 to 40 per cent. more for the articles produced by them than the price for which it can procure similar articles in England or France—the South very rightly refuses to submit any longer to this enormous annual sacrifice—the North has, consequently, no longer any market for its manufactures, and it is now savagely murdering and burning in all directions, with the unholy object of reducing the South to the necessity of re-submitting its neck to the Protectionist, or "differential tariff," yoke.

No one who will take the trouble to read my letters to Captain Maury, and those which I published in the *Examiner*, can doubt of the sincerity or of the earnestness of my good will towards the South. I readily allow that the sentiments of your Parisian Correspondent, who, I suppose, is a Southerner, are in this respect as strong, as deeply cherished, as vivid as my own, and certain am I they cannot be stronger. I earnestly appeal to him, and to every Southerner, not, in this supreme agony of the Southern crisis, to dally for one moment with the Siren—the mocking fiend—the betraying demon of Protection. "Let England remember that there are such things as *differential tariffs*." Let the South, I venture to say, remember this, and take warning. There are, indeed, such things as "differential tariffs," and the South adopted them, and by their adoption it has cut itself off from all direct intercourse with England, and the outbreak of the South found England entirely ignorant of everything that regarded the South—of everything regarding it which it was of the last importance to the South that England should feel and understand. How could it possibly be otherwise? By consenting to those "differential tariffs" in favour of the North, the South had constituted New York and the North its factor, its merchant, its banker, its carrier, its factotum, its representative, its vicegerent; and reduced itself, as far as England was concerned, to an abstraction. It gave us cotton, as the moon gives us light; but we knew little more about the inhabitants of the one than of the other.

This ignorance is, however, mutual. The South, by its action in 1816, has plunged England in darkness as to itself, and at the same time involved itself in the thickest darkness regarding England. I hear dropping from Southern lips such expressions as "the question is not so much whether you (England) shall acknowledge us, as whether we (the South) shall acknowledge you; we can do without you—can you do without us?" &c., &c. And your Parisian Correspondent imagines, in the same strain, that jealousy of France, and fears of French commercial rivalry, may be suggested as stimulating motives to the mind of England in favour of the South. I wish, indeed, as well for the sake of England as for the South, that this were so. But such expressions and suggestions imply the existence of underlying opinions that are wholly mistaken and erroneous; the Southern mind, had it ever come in direct contact with the English mind, would never have entertained them, and is now, and has been, leaning on a broken reed in counting upon them. The South and England have each to learn what the other is. What the South should have said to England and France in the beginning, eighteen months ago, and what it should say at this late hour, is simply and solely this: "We desire to sell our cotton and tobacco to you, please to send your ships to take these goods from us, for we have none of our own in which we can send them to you, and it is your interest to protect your own property against all who may attempt to interfere with you." Such an invitation would have come directly home to the understandings and interests both of England and France—both of these countries would have seen at once that the North had no right whatever to interfere with their long-established rights of purchasing Southern cotton, and would have refused to submit to the exercise of it.

By such a course the South would not have raised the confusing question of recognition. England and France would, practically, have been compelled to say to the North, "If, as you say, the sovereign States of Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, and Louisiana, are still integral parts of your Union, we have the right, by treaties and by long custom, to trade with them, and you, on your own very assumption, have no right either to deprive us of it, or to curtail it; if you choose to treat these States as rebels you must make war upon them in such a fashion as shall not interfere with our enjoyment of our rights, our title to which is absolute, whether as derived from custom and treaties with the United States, or as conveyed to us by the free action of those confederated States as sovereign and independent."

The action of the South towards Europe has been such as did not afford either to England or France this plain and simple standing-ground. It ostentatiously assumed that it had practically the power, by means of its cotton, to force England and France to act in the direction of its own wishes, irrespective of their opinions of what these nations might think just or expedient. It appealed, nakedly and somewhat cynically, to their mere pecuniary or mercantile interests. Your Parisian Correspondent is now appealing in a similar tone to the mercantile cupidity and jealousy which he assumes alone influence England with regard to France. Had not the South heretofore shut itself out from all opportunity of communing with the English mind, your correspondent would have felt and observed that such a manner of application was calculated rather to kindle our aversion than our sympathy.

During the last year the English have, for the first time, arrived at some knowledge of the character of their Southern relations, whom they are indeed proud *agnoscere* *proceres*; admiration, love, pity for them are spreading daily among us like a contagion, as do hatred and contempt for the brutal and hypocritical barbarians who are laying waste their homesteads, murdering their men, and insulting their women. Let not the South check this rising sympathy by silly threats about "differential tariffs" and commercial favours to be shown to one nation to spite another. The simple truths of Political Economy—if the South will but understand and adopt them—will give to the South the greatest amount of political power which it is really capable of acquiring. Let it institute no legislation, either for what is called protection to its own manufactures, or for exceptionally favouring or discouraging intercourse with any foreign nation whatever—not even with the Bostonians, New Yorkists, or Pennsylvanians. Let it merely lay *ad valorem* duties on all commodities it imports; and where any imported commodities compete with any of its own home products, let it impose an equivalent excise upon these last. So will it most certainly come to flourish in strength and wealth; and that the Almighty may bless its efforts speedily to free itself from its enemies is my earnest prayer.

JOHN W. COWELL.

41, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park.

COTTON.

From the *Times of India*.

I. *Cotton: an Account of its culture in the Bombay Presidency*, prepared from Government Records, and other authentic sources, in accordance with a Resolution of the Government of India. By WALTER R. CASSELS. Bombay, 1862.

II. *Hand-book to the Cotton Cultivation in the Madras Presidency*: exhibiting the principal contents of the various public Records and other works connected with the subject, in a condensed and classified form, in accordance with a resolution of the Government of India. By J. TALBOYS WHEELER. Madras, 1862.

III. *Cotton Hand-book for Bengal*: being a Digest of all information available from Official Records and other sources on the subject of the production of Cotton in the Bengal provinces. Compiled by J. G. MEDLICOTT, B.A. Calcutta, 1862.

The question of the Indian cotton supply furnishes the most prominent and remarkable illustration of our times, of the ease with which the popular judgment may be led astray by the representations of enthusiasts, or of interested men, when these representations chance to fall in with the general wish of the hour. With the experience of the last twelve months before us, we should hardly despair, under judicious agitation, of convincing the mind of Lancashire that supplies of cotton were to be obtained from the moon, or of getting up a sensation cry against the Government that refused to entertain the project of a celestial railway for the purpose. The hopes of Lancashire, in so far as they are directed towards India, are destined only to disappointment, and it is an infirmity of judgment alone, or something worse, that permits our public writers to tell them otherwise. What are we to think, for instance, of the conduct of the *Cotton Supply Reporter*, which, passionately reproaching the Indian Government as the cause of a state of matters stereotyped by nature, systematically excludes from the columns of the periodical all testimony adverse to the hopes of Manchester, while throwing them freely open to every assurance that ignorance or enthusiastic folly may contribute? Half a century of patient and uniformly unsuccessful effort has not sufficed to show the hollowness of the hope that India will ever render Lancashire independent of the American staple; but we are as eagerly engaged in discussing the chances of success to-day, as though the exhausted field of experiment were still untried. For the last twenty years, the cautious observer of these experiments must have felt that perseverance in them were but to hope against hope. The teachings of a practical philosophy in these circumstances have been neglected for the day-dreams of an idle fancy. Instead of forcing upon the Indian Government, twenty years ago, those great measures of improvement in the country upon which all reasonable hope of enlarged and improved supply of cotton rests, and freely offering her gold for the purpose, Manchester has been content idly to amuse herself with the flattering tales of the enthusiast, and to relieve her periodic fits of alarm upon the subject by frantic abuse of the Government whose hands have been tied, and are to this hour tied, by the folly of English statesmen.

That India does grow cotton and is capable of indefinitely extending its growth, is a question altogether separate and distinct from the question of her power to compete with America. This latter question, were not our national interests so mixed up with its settlement in the affirmative, would long since have been held to be finally set at rest. We are not blaming any who choose to persevere with the experiment; but we do blame and protest against the mischievous prominence this experiment is allowed, and ever has been allowed, to the neglect of those measures which, as practical ones, ought long since to have engrossed all our attention. If the Confederate States were to sink into the Gulf of Mexico, India would at once take the place of the first cotton-producing country of the globe; but while those States remain she never can do so, let the question of her subordinate supply be of what importance it may. On the other hand, if you will sink Bengal in the Indian Ocean, Brazil will at once take the place of the chief indigo producing country of the globe, and Sind or Chili of saltpetre. The hope of India's competition with America in cotton is based, as all experience of the century testifies, upon a hope of successful rebellion against conditions in the soil, or in the climate, of the two countries. You may produce pine-apples in an English hot-house of a finer flavour than the fruit of the West Indies, but you had better not try to compete with them in the market. And so it is possible that a few pounds of cotton, here and there, grown under conditions attainable nowhere in the country upon the field scale, may have been found equal to the New Orleans staple; and you may, if you please, upon the strength of these chance successes, persevere in experiment as widely as you please; but we insist upon it that you cease to pester the Government upon a subject on which, as practical men, we are bound to look as a hobby ridden to the detriment of the commonwealth, when you insist upon forcing the Government into the saddle.

No doubt, again, agriculture in India admits of great improvement, but it is downright folly to compare, as is constantly being done, the high farming introduced into Great Britain within the last few years with the rude husbandry of India, and then to pronounce a comprehensive anathema against the people that tolerate it. The only comparison that we can make of any practical value, is that between the agriculture of India and of other tropical countries. India not only holds her own against such countries, but successfully competes with them in all the markets of the world. In silk, coffee, tea, sugar, wool, seed, and a hundred other articles of produce, she is abreast of all; while she as easily distances the world

in indigo and saltpetre, as she is herself distanced in the quality of her rice and cotton by South Carolina. But who dreams of attributing the inferiority of Bengal rice to the low condition of our agriculture? The truth is, that Indian agriculture is fully on a par with the general agriculture of nations; and to look for the high farming of a small part of Europe in this country, is as reasonable as to look for it in the backwoods of America, or in the heart of China. High farming is the result of high national cultivation and wealth, and in due course will doubtless reach this country; but to look for high farming in India, in its present condition, is as visionary as all the other expectations of these cotton supply reporting gentlemen. A comparison between the agriculture of India and that of a large part of America itself would, we are persuaded, be by no means to the disadvantage of the former. It is a curious and very suggestive fact, although we have never seen it noticed in print, that one of the commonest of our staples, linseed, is at times shipped in large quantities from India to New York, the rude agriculture of this country thus successfully competing at their own doors with the famed farmers of the North-Western States of America.

The preparation of these Hand-books forms a fitting close to the long series of Governmental efforts to determine this question. First in order of time comes Mr. Cassell's, and it is but just to add, first in order of merit also. But for Mr. Cassell's valuable work, the Hand-book of Indian Cotton would yet have to be written; the Bengal book by Mr. Medlicott being as loose and unsatisfactory an affair, as the Madras one, by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, is trashy beyond conception. As a sample of the slovenliness of Mr. Wheeler's execution of the task undertaken by him, we notice that whereas he was requested to supply us with the latest statistics of the trade and cultivation in the Madras Presidency, he gives us simply an old table of 1848 compiled by others. The only information this book contains upon half-a-dozen of the most important heads of the inquiry he was set upon, is a reprint from Dr. Royle just fourteen years old! The book contains not even an estimate of the cotton land of the Presidency. It supplies us with abundance of useless information at second-hand, as to rates of assessment, but nothing that we are interested in knowing. The work is disfigured, too, by a strong bias against the American planter (Mr. Finnie), whose conclusions Mr. Wheeler is himself obliged to adopt; and in dismissing the history of this gentleman's experiments, he descends to the level of a coarse calumny against the good faith of his service, upon random hearsay authority that any person of good sense would have discountenanced at once. Inconsistent and slovenly throughout, the only value of the book is the corroboration the author gives in his "Conclusions" to the comprehensive, careful, and elaborate summary of his collaborator, Mr. Cassell. It is not fitting that a work done so discreditably should be reviewed with the indulgence the general Indian press has shown it.

In striking contrast to this trashy affair of Mr. Wheeler's is the elaborate and scholarly book of Mr. Cassell's, produced months before it, of treble its bulk, and full of the most valuable analyses. To be simply just to Mr. Cassell, he has so completely distanced the other two works, that comparison with them is impossible. His handbook is a marvellous repository of facts and statistics brought down to the latest dates, and carefully analyzed and summarized. It is difficult to make the reader, who has not these books before him, appreciate the contrast they present. Indeed, it is, perhaps, unjust to Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Medlicott to measure their performances by so exceptional a standard as Mr. Cassell's book presents. From the nature of his work it is impossible to review it in the ordinary sense of the term; and we can do little more than give a rough summary of its contents. The first fourteen chapters are devoted to an exhaustive resume of the progress of the Indian Cotton trade, and of experimental cultivation of the staple in the various Collectorates of the Presidency. These are followed by three important chapters on the soils and climate of India, and its cotton culture. The 18th chapter is devoted to the subject of roads, the 19th to the vexed question of land tenure and assessment, and the last contains the conclusion of the whole matter. It must suffice that we say Mr. Cassell's work fulfils all the requirements of the task set by the Government Resolution which appointed it—and that it is the only work of the three that does so. These requirements were:—(1) That the handbook should contain a summary of all that had been done within the limits of each Government, by or with the aid of Government, in the way of experimental cotton culture; the history not to be confined, however, to the records of Government, but illustrated from as many sources as possible. (2) That it should relieve the future inquirer from the necessity of reference to official records in bulk or to previous publications. (3) That it should contain the latest statistics of the trade and cultivation, with maps illustrative of the cotton districts existing and possible, and their line of debouchment. (4) That it should be produced as rapidly as possible.

Produced months before the other two, Mr. Cassell's is the only one of the three, that fulfils these conditions, and it does so with a marvellous fulness of information. The book has but one defect, and that is the want of a copious index, which it would be well were Government to supply. And now, what is the result of all this analyzing and summarizing?

Let Mr. Cassell speak for himself:—

1. Exotic cotton cannot be successfully cultivated on a large scale in the Bombay Presidency, except in a limited portion of its southern districts.
2. Indian cotton may be improved in cleanness, and somewhat reduced in cost, but the general characteristics of the staple will not be materially altered.
3. In so far as this quality of cotton is serviceable to the manufacturers of England, India can compete with America; but if a finer description be required, India cannot adequately supply it.

4. Unless, therefore, such alterations in machinery can be devised as may render the manufacturer indifferent to length and fineness of staple—and of the probability of this others must judge—India is not likely to replace the United States.

5. It seems evident, then, that Indian cotton must continue to hold a subordinate place in European markets, and that there is a point at which its competition with other growths entirely ceases.

Substantially the same verdict is pronounced by Mr. Wheeler:—

Four general conclusions appear to have been established, viz:—

- 1st. American cotton can be grown, but the profit is questionable.
- 2nd. Indian cotton may be improved, but only to a degree.
- 3rd. American cotton must always command a higher price than Indian.
- 4th. The demand for Indian cotton must always depend on the supply of American.

Mr. Medlicott, whose works shows considerably more industry than Mr. Wheeler's, contents himself with the following hazy deliverance upon the subject:—

The balance of the evidence before us, and the confident assertions of many who have had the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion, agree in establishing the probability that Bengal could produce cotton for exportation to almost any desired extent; and of a quality which would, under favourable conditions, adapt itself to the requirements of the English market; it will scarcely be questioned that the fact of the ground being more profitably employed in raising other crops is, as above stated, a very sufficient reason for the neglect of this one.

So that the result of this inquiry is, that in so far as Bombay and Madras are concerned, the question of competition may be considered settled, and the utmost Mr. Medlicott will affirm of the chances of Bengal in the race, is the "probability" that Bengal may yet supply cotton "of a quality which would, under favourable conditions, adapt itself to the requirements of the English Market"—the conditions being all yet to be discovered.

We should trust that the publication of these hand-books will give the *coup de grace* to the agitation that has been carried on for so many years, against what the cotton supply reporting gentlemen call "the barbarous land tenures" of this country. It seems never to have occurred to any of these men as strange, that while the land tenures of India offer no obstacle to the growth of indigo, seeds, sugar, rice, or wheat, they should have been so fatal to the production of cotton. The truth is the cry was begotten of alarm, and maintained in ignorance. It were impossible to devise a tenure better fitted to develop the resources of our soil than prevails in the cotton growing districts of this Presidency, wherever the new Revenue Survey has been made.

THE FALL OF NEW ORLEANS.

The following interesting particulars are reprinted from the correspondence of the *Charleston Mercury*:—

When General Lovell was assigned to the defence of the coast of Louisiana, he immediately discovered that the only serious danger to New Orleans was by an attack of gunboats up the river. He went to work, and with the assistance of the heroic Duncan, soon placed Forts Jackson and St. Philip in as good condition to destroy any fleet that might attempt to pass to the city as the very limited means in his power would permit.

The obstruction of the Mississippi River, at a point near those defences, was deemed essential to the successful defence of the city, and a very short time after he assumed command a raft was moored from one bank to the other of the river, immediately under fire of both forts. This raft was constructed of very large logs, with two immense chains passing under and fastening below; and they were likewise secured by rivetting large strong slabs across the top. No one for a moment then believed that the combined fleets of the Federal Government could pass up the river.

Upon the night of February 28 this immense structure was torn to pieces and swept away by the Mississippi, which is higher than it was ever known before. The writer of this well remembers the energy and dauntless determination with which General Lovell went to work immediately to place another obstruction in the river. It was clearly shown that no raft could withstand the terrific flood that was then passing over the country. An order was issued seizing a large number of ships and schooners, and they were formed immediately, under that gallant, accomplished officer, Colonel Higgins, into a line, and anchored with every care and precaution across the river near the forts.

Officers and gentlemen of the highest engineering attainments were confident that this second obstruction could not be carried away. Each vessel was heavily and securely anchored, and immense chains passed from one to the other. The fragments of the first raft were also again moored and anchored across the river. The Federal fleet was then in the river, but we felt no apprehension; in fact, everybody was more than willing that they should make the attempt against the forts, which were garrisoned by 1000 experienced artillerymen.

Right here it is proper to add that there were very few first-class siege-guns at either fort; that the few we had, General Lovell had procured with great trouble. It is true, he had often called for ten-inch guns, but those having the power to aid him paid but little attention to these demands.

So far as the land defences of the city are in the question, it is only necessary to state that they were of such a character as to have enabled a very small force to hold them against any numbers which the enemy could have brought. Every confidence was felt by men and officers, and universally shared by the community, that the city could not be taken, except the fleet of gunboats succeeded in destroying the defences above Memphis, and coming down the river.

Such was the condition when the enemy opened fire, from, as near as could be ascertained, twenty-seven mortar boats. They took their position nearly three miles below Fort Jackson, where but few of our guns could reach them. On Friday night a most violent storm arose; and when the morning came, to the unspeakable anguish of the gallant Duncan and men, it was discovered that the anchors which held the ships and schooners across the river had yielded to the combined pressure of the wind and flood; and the obstruction upon which so much depended was destroyed. Prompt measures were taken to repair the damages, but the Federal gunboats opened a tremendous fire upon the

men and boats engaged on the work, and they were forced to abandon it.

An open passage to the city was thus before them, through agencies which no power of man could resist. The river was still rising rapidly; the parade ground in Fort Jackson was covered to the depth of fifteen inches with water, and the sharpshooters who had been sent to annoy the enemy below the forts were driven by the water from that position.

The bombardment of the mortar fleet was kept up day and night for a week. They succeeded in getting the range, and the number of shells which fell into Fort Jackson is almost incredible. The woodwork of the fort was burned early in the action, and the garrison, up to their knees in water, and without clothes, save what they were wearing when the quarters were destroyed, cheerfully and bravely stood to their guns.

Upon the morning of April 21, about three o'clock, the enemy's fleet of gunboats and frigates was discovered coming up; but owing to the treason of a scoundrel who was on watch below, and whose duty it was to give warning of their approach by sending up rockets, they had reached a point nearly opposite the forts before they were observed. The country knows how the indomitable Duncan fought them; but it was beyond the power of man to hold them in check. On they passed. General Lovell was on an ordinary steamboat (the *Doobloom*) in the thick of the fight; and, at one time, some of the Yankee fleet were between him and the city. He came up in all haste, and ordered well-trained artillerymen, under General Smith, to the few guns that were at Chalmette—five on one side and nine thirty-two pounders on the other. It may be asked, why there were not more guns at this point? Simply for the reason that General Lovell did not have them. He had been requested to turn over to the naval authorities the guns which he intended for these batteries; and, besides, it was never pretended by any one that any open works, with the river at least four feet higher than the level of the country, could stand the broadsides of a fleet under such disadvantages.

The works at Chalmette held the thirteen large frigates and gunboats about an hour. The last defences having been overcome, the thirteen vessels came up and anchored off the city. General Lovell was in town, and ready and willing to remain with all the troops under his command, which the morning report of that day showed to be about 2800, two-thirds of whom were the volunteer and militia companies which had recently been put in camp, and not one-half of whom were respectably armed.

It was the undivided expression of public opinion that the army had better retire and save the city from destruction; and, accordingly, the General ordered his forces to rendezvous at Camp Moore, about seventy miles above New Orleans, on the Jackson Railroad.

If General Lovell had had any number of first-class guns they could not have been used, as the country was covered with water. As before stated, the river was higher than it was ever known before, and from a few miles below the city to the Gulf was one vast sheet of water, with the exception of the narrow levee on either side, and upon which there was not space enough to manage the guns that could have been effective against ships-of-war.

If any obstruction could have stood the flood of the Mississippi and the furious storm that raged on Friday night, by which the line of schooners was swept away, the city could not have fallen.

The forts were not armed with the largest guns, but they could have destroyed the fleet if it could have been held under their fire for any considerable period. After they succeeded in passing to the front of the city, General Lovell had either to stand a bombardment without the power of replying, and by which the city would have been destroyed, and more than 100,000 helpless women and children exposed; or retire and let the enemy take possession. He followed in his decision the wishes of the people; he was ready and willing, and so were his officers and men, to perish in the ruins of New Orleans rather than yield, if such a course had been agreed to by the inhabitants. But it was decided otherwise; and in making this statement no reflection is intended upon the courage and loyalty of that unfortunate city. A truer, braver community, never felt the power of the invader; and to-day they are proud and defiant in their devotion to the cause.

I again repeat, but for the storm and flood, which combined to destroy the obstructions in the river, New Orleans would have been saved. General Lovell did all that mortal man could do to save the city; and, it is believed, that the good sense and candour of the people will do him him justice. No soldier in the armies of the South has shown stronger evidences of devotion to the cause.

WAR SONGS OF THE SOUTH.—Before the breaking out of the present war, few persons thought of having books published in the South. Southern authors sent their productions to Yankee land to be printed—in fact, we blindly looked to the North to furnish us with books and papers. The war, notwithstanding it has entailed numberless evils upon us, has nevertheless been a source of benefit to us in a great many respects. We are now writing and printing our own books. Messrs. West and Johnson have in press a volume, by Dr. Shephardson, of Georgia, entitled "War Songs of the South," edited by "Bohemian," the talented correspondent of the *Dispatch*. The New York press, having seen the above announcement in the Richmond papers, ridiculed the idea, and considered it preposterous for a "rebel" to publish a book. Dr. Shephardson is one of Georgia's most gifted sons—a high-minded and chivalric gentleman—and we feel convinced that he will prove to the Gothamites, by the publication of his "War Songs," that we are not dependent on them for books. Southern books have always been far superior to the trash gotten up at the North, for we have no "isms" in them—they are pure and unadulterated. The songs are the spontaneous outbursts of popular feeling. They show the sentiments of the people, and give the lie to the assertion of our enemy, that this revolution is the work of politicians and party-leaders alone. They show the spirit of Southern poetry, and contain a wealth of patriotic sentiment, that cannot fail to animate the whole country and meet with a ready response in every heart. They record the patriotism of Southern women, who possess the proud and unconquerable spirit of Gertrude, in Schiller's "William Tell." Many of them were written by soldiers in camp, and nearly all have particular reference to some battle, heroic act, or event of war. The book preserves poems that would be otherwise lost to the world. The ballads and songs of the Revolution were only collected a few years ago, and it was a source of much regret that many meritorious and valuable poems, partially preserved by tradition, could not be found. We shall look with pleasure for the appearance of the book, which will be ready in a short time. It is a book of genius and of patriotism—a genuine Southern book, by a true Southern gentleman, and should have universal circulation.—*Charleston Daily Courier*.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifica-
tions furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

RED AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBURIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Killed Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Dresses, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
ufactured Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Brydon's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES:
Their Origin and the Remedy for them
Prior Is.
London: HURSTON, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. B. Roman and
French Books. Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travel, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FORTH-LOOKING CATALOGUE. Issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Capita-
lists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
destroy the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bid their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern paper for the adver-
tisement of a single Yankee notion. They will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might leave "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise Southern Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.

2nd. To advertise Southern business, property, &c.,
in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE AND CONGRESS INTERNATIONAL
DE BIENFAISANCE.

LONDON MEETING, JUNE, 1862.
The Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Association
for the Promotion of Social Science, in conjunc-
tion with the Third Session of the Congress
International de Bienfaissane, will take place in
London from the 1st to the 14th of June.

The Departmental Meeting of the National Association
will be held at Guildhall in the Forenoon,
and there will be Evening Meetings for the dis-
cussion of special subjects in Burlington House.
The Session of the Congress will be held in the
Forenoon, in Burlington House.

A series of Societies will be given during the period
of the Meeting; and it is intended to provide for
visits to places and institutions illustrative of the
objects of the Association.

Members' Tickets, price One Guinea each (en-
titled to the volume of "Transactions"), and Ladies'
Tickets, price Half-a-Guinea, will admit to all
the Meetings of the Association and Congress,
and to the Societies.

Tickets will be issued, and every information
given, on application at the Offices of the Meeting
at Guildhall, E.C.; and 12, Old Bond-street, W.

As the local expenses have in all former cases
been borne by the towns in which the Association
has met, and as the expenses of the London meeting
will necessarily be considerable, the Finance Com-
mittee appeal to the inhabitants of the City and the
Metropolis for contributions in aid of the local fund.

For every £5 subscribed to this Fund, subscribers
are entitled to a Member's Ticket and a Lady's
Ticket for the meeting.

Subscriptions will be received by Andrew Edgar,
Esq., Finance Secretary, at the office for the London
Meeting, 12, Old Bond-street, W., and at the City
office, Guildhall, E.C.; by Messrs. Ramsden, Bouverie,
and Co., 1, Pall-mall East, S.W.; the London and
Westminster Bank, Lombury, E.C.; the Union Bank,
Princes-street, E.C.; Messrs. Heywood, Kennard,
and Co., 4, Lombury-street, E.C.; and by Mr. George
Lederer, 4, Charlotte-row, Mansion House, E.C.

GEORGE W. HASTINGS, Hon. Gen. Sec.,
and Chairman of Executive Committee.
A. EDGAR, Finance Secretary.
G. WHITLEY, M.D., Foreign Secretary.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysees—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent non-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under tutelage.

Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Laigne,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE:—78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 232,003 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,333,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1867.
Interest of redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 73
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 565,449 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issued
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
J. Maspero.
P. Poux.
C. Harold.
G. Miltenberger.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$61,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,059 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPERATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.

PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Ship Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry thereon, aquaports, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying on sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

GENTLEMEN requiring an excel-
lent Tailor are recommended to the establish-
ments of **A. M. CAMPER, 229, Regent-street,**
London, and **Anger's Restaurant, and 20, Rue de**
la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENNY.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XI. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and distort-
ing was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal, and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street, and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—July 10, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 12.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 17, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	177
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	179
Manchester Letter	179
THE TOBACCO MARKET	180
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
The Destruction of the Virginia	180
Private Letters and Extracts	180
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	180
Washington	181
Paris	181
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	182
LEADERS—	
The War News	184
What the Situation Requires	184
The "Slava Power"	185
Southern Patriotism in Europe	186
THE CRUISE OF THE SUMMER—	
Cornered	187
The Escape	187
REVIEWS—	
Southern Statistics—	
The Cotton Production (concluded)	188
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	189
ADVERTISEMENTS	192

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND.

WE will endeavour to give a succinct, and, we trust, an intelligent account of the sanguinary conflict that has resulted in the defeat of General McClellan, and the retreat of the Federal army to the cover and protection of the gunboats. The Northern reports are meagre and contradictory, and here and there most palpably false. Still, notwithstanding the embargo laid on the news by Mr. Stanton, notwithstanding the careful dressing of the defeat to modify its effect on Europe, certain facts are admitted which could not, indeed, have been concealed, and which are sufficiently definite and important to enable us to compile an accurate and satisfactory outline of the encounter.

In order that we may understand the late movements we must recall to mind the position occupied by the Federal army before they commenced. General McClellan had advanced between the James River and the Pamunkey, on his way to Richmond, but between him and that city was the Chickahominy River. Across the last-named river he threw a portion of his forces, with the intention of advancing with his right towards the north of Richmond by the right bank of the Pamunkey; then occurred the Confederate sortie, named by General McClellan the Battle of Fair Oaks, which resulted in the defeat of the division which had crossed the Chickahominy, and which was only saved from being driven into that river by the bringing up of enormous reinforcements. The late exploit of Confederate cavalry will be freshly remembered. A body of troops not exceeding 1500 in number passed through the right wing of the enemy, destroyed property and captured prisoners and stores in his rear, and making a complete circuit of the army, returned to Richmond via the left Federal wing. Such was the posi-

tion of General McClellan, and such were the ominous disasters that had befallen him since the commencement of the siege of Richmond.

It will now be as well to see whether there is the slightest pretence for the assertion that General McClellan contemplated a retrograde movement before the last battle forced upon him the commonplace "strategy" of defeated armies,—a retreat. On Wednesday, June 25, General McClellan forwarded the following despatches to the War Department at Washington:—

Redoubt No. 3, June 25, 1:30 p.m.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:—

We have advanced our pickets on our left considerably to-day under a sharp resistance. Our men have behaved very handsomely.

Some firing still continues.

(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Redoubt No. 3, June 25, 3:15 p.m.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:—

The enemy are making desperate resistance to the advance of our picket lines. Kearney's and one-half of Hooker's are where I want them.

I have this moment reinforced Hooker's right with a brigade and a couple of guns, and hope in a few minutes to finish the work intended for to-day.

Our men are behaving splendidly. The enemy are fighting well also.

This is not a battle—merely an affair of Heintzleman's corps, supported by Key's; and thus far all goes well, and we hold every foot we have gained. If we succeed in what we have undertaken, it will be a very important advantage gained.

The loss is not large thus far.

The fighting up to this time has been done by Hooker's division, which has behaved as usual—that is, most handsomely.

On our right, Porter has silenced the enemy's batteries in his front.

(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Redoubt No. 3, June 25, 5 p.m.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:—

The affair is over, and we have gained our point fully, and with but little loss. Notwithstanding strong opposition, our men have done all that could be desired.

The affair was partially decided by two guns that Captain De Russy brought gallantly into action under difficult circumstances.

The enemy have been driven from his camps in front of this, and all is now quiet.

(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

On the next day, the 26th, a despatch was received from General McClellan, in which he announces that he had gained from the enemy "a swamp, with thick underbrush, beyond which is an open country," and he expresses considerable satisfaction at such a result. We beg our readers to note that, until the 26th, General McClellan, so far from preparing for a retrograde movement, was doing his best to push forward his lines, and was making official announcements of his advance. If General McClellan contemplated a retrograde movement, it was a confession that his plans had been frustrated by the superior strength or superior strategy of his enemy; but that he did not contemplate such a withdrawal is amply testified by his despatches which we have quoted, and therefore the Confederate victory is

the more complete since it forced the Federal army to retreat for seventeen miles.

The prelude, or rather the first scene of the bloody drama, was enacted on Thursday, June 26, the day on which General McClellan wrote rejoicingly about the swamp he had taken from the Confederates.

The Northern newsmongers describe the affair of Thursday as heavy skirmishing, renewed from the previous day. Of course the Federals claim the victory, but if the claim was justified it is curious that Mr. Stanton should immediately publish General McClellan's glowing and grateful despatch about taking possession of the "swamp," and should, upon hearing of the said heavy skirmishing, have peremptorily forbidden the publication of all war news.

On Friday morning, at three a.m., General "Stonewall" Jackson, who was supposed to be preparing for another battle in the Shenandoah Valley, and who the Irish-Federal soldiers affirm to be able to be in two places at one time, attacked the right wing of the Federal army. Whether General McClellan and his Pennsylvania reserves were taken by surprise, we know not. We should imagine, after the heavy skirmishing on the Thursday, that the whole line was on the alert; but we are perfectly sure the Federals had no idea of being attacked by General Jackson, and that, as usual, they were profoundly ignorant of the Confederate movements.

It is said that the fight between General Jackson and the troops under General McClellan lasted for three hours; and, according to the Northern version, General Jackson was repulsed. Later in the day, the engagement became general; and we are told that the Federal General Porter, commanding the right wing, repulsed the Confederates four times, and, after making fearful havoc with his artillery, drove them back at the point of the bayonet for more than a mile, but mysteriously returned again and again to his encampment to be freshly attacked by the enemy.

This report is shown by the result to be a fabrication. According to a correspondent of a Northern paper, as soon as General McClellan heard that his right wing was repulsing and driving back the enemy, he ordered it to abandon its position and commence a retrograde movement. Surely this is wonderful strategy, absolutely marvellous, when we remember that only twenty-four hours before General McClellan had been boasting of his advance, and yet, when his troops make a fresh advance he commands a retreat! Just as at Bull Run, the newspaper correspondents at first announced a complete Federal victory, and the imminent capture of Richmond. On June 30, it was currently reported at Fortress Monroe the city was bombarded, and in flames; and finally, that Richmond had been taken. Let us now, having given the imaginary version of the affair, look at it by its results.

According to the Northern telegram, the result of the two days' fighting was that "the Federals, by order of General McClellan, receded several miles, hotly pursued by the Confederates;" and we are further told "that he made for the James River,"

and that "the Federals are stated to have retreated for a strategic purpose."

General McClellan then commenced the strategic movements for which he had been preparing; his whole right wing fell back, and crossed to the south side of the Chickahominy, in rear of his left wing. He afterwards made for James River.

Now, the only strategy evinced by a General besieging a city, who retreats several miles, hotly pursued by the besieged troops, and who, twenty-four hours previously had been pushing forward his lines and boasting of his advance, is the inevitable strategy of a defeated army. It was impossible to disguise the retreat; and yet to announce it, is a complete and unmistakable confession of defeat. We have no details of the battle, even from Northern sources, but the admitted result shows that the Confederates were triumphant.

The more we dwell upon the terms of the report, the more vivid becomes our conception of the disaster. Receding "several" miles, and "hotly pursued" by the Confederates; what a scene must that retreat have been! Defeated on June 27, yet finding no rest from hot pursuit until the cover of the gunboats was reached on July 2; how often in those five days of hot pursuit did they occupy position after position, only to be forced out of them by the triumphant foe! What a comprehensive sentence is that, "he made for the James River." In such relation there is a peculiar significance about the word "made." We are not deceived by the pretended repulse of General Jackson, or the victories of General Porter. The first assault was successful enough to determine McClellan to retreat as fast as he could, and even to abandon his siege guns; for Jackson's attack took place on Friday morning, yet the same day commenced the hot pursuit, and long before sunset on Saturday the White House had been abandoned. In that place the Federal movement was precipitated by the telegraph operator receiving notice to quit from the Confederates, who were in possession of Tunstall Station. Under these circumstances no one can be surprised to hear that sufficient stores were captured to supply the Confederate army for three months.

The Federals were not allowed to retreat unmolested. The fighting was continued on the 29th and 30th June, and the 1st and 2nd July. Every now and then the discomfited troops were obliged to make a stand to check for a moment the hot pursuit of the enemy; but after June 27, when General McClellan found himself beaten, and perceived that the speedy advance he had anticipated and announced on the 26th would not be realized, and he was obliged to sound a retreat, the battle resolved itself into a flight, harassed by the victorious foe. The Northern telegram says:—

A series of severe and bloody battles, extending over seven days, have been fought before that place, resulting in the defeat of General McClellan's army, with heavy loss, during four days' fighting.

The Federal army retreated seventeen miles.

This is not entirely correct, since the defeat was perfected after two days' battle, and the remaining five days' fighting was forced on the Federals until they found rest under the cover of the gunboats on the James River.

On the afternoon of the 2nd, General McClellan telegraphed to Washington that "he had succeeded in getting his army to Berkeley Harrison's Bar, on the James River, and that "he had fought a severe battle on the 1st, and had beaten the enemy on the 2nd." That is, the Confederates, having driven him across the Chickahominy, and chased him for at least seventeen miles—for Berkeley, the present position of the Federals, is forty-eight miles from Richmond by water, and thirty-five miles from Richmond by road—gave up the pursuit when he had got under the protection of the gunboats. Even then General McClellan felt insecure and uncomfortable, and immediately began to throw up entrenchments. From being the besiegers, the Federals became the besieged.

One effect of the victory is, that the Confederates have recovered the whole of the ground between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey Rivers, and that they

have regained the command of the head of the York River.

We will not hazard any opinion as to the losses. No doubt the slaughter must have been fearful on both sides, and especially in the ranks of a fleeing army "hotly pursued" for five days by the enemy flushed with victory. It is reported that General Macgruder has been captured; and, on the other hand, that two Federal Generals are prisoners. But it is useless to speculate on these rumours.

With regard to the booty, the latest telegram says:—

The Southern newspapers claim that the Confederates have captured 12,000 prisoners, all McClellan's siege guns, and supplies sufficient to last the Confederate army for three months.

We pretty well know what this form of expression means. The Confederates "claimed" the victory at Fair Oaks, and they had it. The Confederates "claimed" the victory at James Island, and they had it. The Confederates "claimed" the victory at Shiloh, and they had it. It is a favourite way with the Federals, to admit a reverse, to say that "the Confederates claim, &c." The 12,000 prisoners show splendid generalship, and these guns and stores will be of great use. As we lately remarked, the Federal armies have become the purveyors of stores and war materials for the Confederates. Was it part of General McClellan's "strategy," which he had been "preparing," to lose his siege guns, an immense quantity of stores, and 12,000 prisoners? If so, we must admit General McClellan is master of the art of defeat, and that he can calculate the exact moment and the extent of a disaster.

The Federal Commander evidently knows very little about what is going on in his army. In his despatch of July 2 he states, "he had lost but one gun and one waggon;" but the official despatch two days later states:—

No guns have been lost since the 27th ult., when General McClellan's division was at first overwhelmed, and twenty-five pieces of artillery fell into the hand of the Confederates.

As we have said, on the 27th the Federals were defeated, and driven from their position; and it was then, no doubt, the artillery was captured and the bulk of the 12,000 prisoners.

General McClellan says that reinforcements from Washington have reached him. That he has need of them is quite certain.

Mr. Stanton has found it difficult to invent a plausible fabrication to cover the serious Federal disaster. The following excuse is worse than puerile; it is almost idiotic:—

The Federal army moved into the position now occupied, because it affords greatly superior advantages for the operations of the gunboats, seventeen of which are now in James River, protecting the flank of the Federal army.

If the position is so good, why did the Federals ever move out of it? Why did they advance, at such a tremendous loss of life and time? But if we discuss this excuse we shall fairly lay ourselves open to the charge of idiocy.

Under date of July 7 we learn that

General McClellan has issued an address to the army, declaring that the Federals shall enter Richmond, and that the Union shall be preserved, no matter what the cost of time, of treasure, and of blood.

What an undignified specimen of insane rage engendered by disappointment. We will not assert that by a reckless expenditure of blood and treasure, in course of time Richmond may not fall. God only knows. Judging from the past, and looking to the present, we do not think Richmond is in any danger. But there is no potency in the squalling rage of General McClellan. He may utter grandiose predictions about the future, but he is not the arbiter of war. The enemy he could not conquer with his army he will not overcome with his tongue. "The Federals shall enter Richmond!" Well, since June 27th, 12,000 Federals have been permitted a near view of the city, if they have not entered it. The oracular utterances of General McClellan are obscure. He does not intimate whether the Federals are to enter Richmond as victors or vanquished. If he himself were to enter Richmond under a Confederate escort, it would only

be a brilliant "strategy" for which "he had been preparing."

All the care of the Government could not prevent a panic in Washington, and in New York gold advanced to more than 10 per cent. premium, and there was a heavy fall in stocks. The most prominent evidence of the panic was the wild cry for more men for McClellan. At one time there was a demand for a conscription, we presume limited to the Irish and German population. To quiet the public mind, the Government published a communication from eighteen Governors of States, asking the President to raise more troops; and the President gave assent to a further levy of 300,000 men. If we mistake not, this correspondence was manufactured on the spur of the moment by the indefatigable Stanton, or it had been prepared in case of need. If the safety of the army of the Potomac depends upon the new levies, it will be in danger for a long time. It takes full four months to raise troops and bring them into the field, and even then they are no better than raw recruits. We are far from saying that 300,000 additional soldiers are not required; for the Federal force must have been fearfully reduced by the casualties of the camp and the battle-field. Possibly it may be found more difficult to raise an army now than it was at the commencement of the war. Union feeling has cooled at the West, and Irish and German mercenaries are not fond of so many hard blows and no plunder.

The first news of the defeat was accompanied by the intimation that

Information obtained from reliable sources leads to the belief that General Burnside was to attack the Confederate defences near Richmond on the 28th inst.

General Burnside did not attack the Confederates on the 28th, and we do not suppose he had any intention of so doing. Mr. Stanton is always ready to announce what the Federals are going to do, though he is so particular in concealing what has been done.

The publication of war news was still forbidden when the last mail left New York. The correspondent of the *Baltimore American* was arrested for forwarding the following despatch to New York papers:—

Baltimore American office, Baltimore,
Sunday, June 29, 9 p.m.

I am writing for the *American* a detailed account of events at White House, before Richmond, and on the Peninsula, during the last four days, including facts obtained from Washington, having been sent for by special train to communicate with the President.

If you desire it, I will send it to you. It will make 4000 or 5000 words.

We have the grandest military triumph over the enemy, and Richmond must fall.

C. C. FULTON.

The Washington Government dread a panic that might suddenly lead to a financial crash, and hence the strictness of the censorship of the press. But to quote a vulgar saying, "Murder will out," and the postponement of the revelation only postpones the evil consequences.

It is reported that the White House is burnt.

The Federal newspapers were divided in opinion. Many of them attacked General McClellan; others blamed the Government for not supplying the "Young Napoleon" with sufficient force. This criticism has, however, been checked by the Government, and the press has been taught to appreciate and applaud the clever strategy of retreat. The New York Chamber of Commerce

Has passed resolutions that it would by its influence continue to sustain the Government in the determined effort to put down the rebellion and to maintain the Union.

But no amount of loud talking can dispel the gloomy feeling caused by the defeat of General McClellan. The Confederate victory is too glorious and complete to be ignored or slurred over.

On July 4 the North was to have celebrated the capture of Charleston, as well as the downfall of Richmond. The former, as well as the latter, expectation has been disappointed.

The Confederate victory on James Island was so

important that General Hunter has retired from his position on James Island, and, although he has been reinforced, has deemed it prudent to discontinue his operations against Charleston. Thus, the city threatened with such peculiar and deadly vengeance has been able to repel the foe. General Benham, who commanded the Federal attack, is to be tried by a court-martial for disobedience to General Hunter in assaulting the batteries. It is likely that the plan of punishing unsuccessful Generals may become popular with the Northerners. With them anything is better than a confession that they are not invincible. The Federal accounts state that they lost no less than two-thirds of their attacking force.

Last week we were informed that Vicksburg had been taken, and this week we are told that Vicksburg has not been taken. It is said:—

The Federal Commander before Vicksburg is employing his troops to cut a canal across the land opposite the city, so as to change the course of the Mississippi, and render Vicksburg for ever an inland town.

What a grand undertaking to change the course of the Mississippi for ever! What terrible fellows are these Federal generals on paper!

On June 21 the Union mortar fleet was repulsed at Grand Gulf by the Confederate batteries.

The position of General Curtis in Arkansas was very critical. He was threatened on his rear by a Confederate force, 6000 strong; whilst General Hindman, with 5000 troops, was marching against his front. The advance of General Hindman had caused Colonel Fitch to evacuate Port St. Charles, after spiking the guns.

There was a rumour that General Curtis had retired from Arkansas, with his forces, into Missouri.

The Federal fleet in the White River made an attempt to go up to reduce some batteries and forces at Dandal's Bluff, but they could not, owing to the lowness of the water in the river, proceed beyond Crooked Point, and were compelled to return to St. Charles. All the distance up the river and back again they were continually fired upon from the shore.

According to the correspondents of the *New York Times* the Confederates are threatening Port Royal.

Amongst the latest achievements of the Confederates is another successful cavalry attack on an express train. The Northern accounts state:—

A train on the Memphis and Ohio Railroad was captured by a force of Confederate cavalry, fourteen miles north of Memphis. Two railroad superintendents, a colonel, and one company of an Ohio regiment, and a number of mules and provender were taken. Ten Federal soldiers were killed.

It is evident that General Halleck is very weak, or not very vigilant. Much anxiety is felt in Washington with respect to his safety. It is rumoured that a Confederate force, under General Breckinridge, is moving northward to attack him.

General Pope has assumed the command of the Federal forces in the Shenandoah Valley. Mr. Stanton will find him an admirable assistant. A General who does not scruple to invent the capture of 10,000 prisoners will be ready to announce any number of victories that have not been gained. General Fremont has resigned, and retires to enjoy the fortune he has made out of fort building. He is succeeded by General Rufus King, a West-country lawyer, who, although he does not know anything about fighting experimentally, will be as good a general as his predecessor.

The news from New Orleans is, as usual, a record of tyranny and barbarity. General Butler has prepared a new form of oath for foreigners. The attempt to make foreigners take an oath is an unprecedented and monstrous violation of the law of nations.

General Butler's notions of the rights of property would find considerable favour within the precincts of Newgate:—

At New Orleans the Federal surgeon Biddle having taken a slave to be his servant, the owner of the slave retook him from Biddle. The owner was thereupon condemned to two years' imprisonment in the parish gaol, it having been decided that the Federal army must have everything it requires for its use.

This is adding inhumanity to robbery. Surely it was enough to steal the man's property without

sending him to prison for two years for trying to get it back again.

The *New Orleans Delta*, which is edited by General Butler, has assumed an offensive tone of ridicule towards foreign Consuls, the British Consul being specially abused.

At Nashville the clergy, at a special second conference before Governor Johnson, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Most of them, including the Rev. Drs. Baldwin, Schone, and Sawvie (Methodists), and Ford and Howell (Baptists), were sent to the penitentiary.

The Tariff Bill makes the new rates of duty applicable to goods in bond and on shipboard.

A meeting had been held at the Cooper Institute of a pacific tendency; the Hon. Fernando Wood was the principal speaker.

There has also been an important meeting of the Conservative members of Congress at Washington, at which the abolition schemes were indignantly denounced.

Mr. Lincoln has sent to the Senate a Treaty made by the American Minister loaning to Mexico \$11,000,000. This is a marked insult to France.

The ill will towards England is greater than ever, and a war with this country is looked forward to with immense satisfaction.

The possibility of intervention by England and France is regarded with great disfavour; but the idea of mediation does not meet with so much opposition.

The Count of Paris and the Duke de Chartres, since the late battles, have quitted the Federal army, and returned to Europe.

The Federal War Department has ordered all returned prisoners, liberated on parole by the Confederates, to report themselves immediately, and they will be appointed to some duty compatible with their parole. What employment can be found for the multitude of prisoners that have been released by the Confederates that will not violate their parole, we are at a loss to conceive.

Financial affairs in the United States are very gloomy. Gold is at 10 per cent. premium, and at New York there is a cry to prevent the exportation of specie. There is no prospect of collecting war tax in the West; still the issue of redeemable paper money continues; the public debt is being rapidly augmented. Repudiation and national bankruptcy are the natural and inevitable consequences of an increasing expenditure and a rapidly diminishing means.

The next mail steamers due from North America are the Bremen, on the 17th, the Arabia, on the 21st inst.

The Hibernia and Kangaroo passed Cape Race on the 5th, and the Europa on the 6th. The Great Eastern passed St. Andrew's on the 8th. The Anglo-Saxon has arrived out.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 16.

Our last report left the market quiet in tone, with Middling Orleans at 17½d. and Fair Dhollerah 13½d. It was evident that the speculative feeling was quelled for the moment, and holders were beginning to betray some little uneasiness. On Thursday the feeling made further progress, and the sales fell off to 3000 bales. Surats were very difficult to move, and the few transactions that occurred were at ¾d. to 1d. decline from the highest point. In American there was more steadiness, and but little quotable decline. The Etna's news was received this day, and gave the first intimation of that series of murderous combats which have taken place in front of Richmond. The intelligence, which was very confused, created a strong impression that the Federals had met with a severe reverse, and was generally construed in favour of the market, but it failed to arrest the drooping tendency. On Friday the depression continued in the morning, and Surats on the spot were sold at 13d. for Fair Dhollerah, while that description was sold to arrive as low as 11½d. As the day wore on, however, the feeling improved. Attention was forcibly called to the rapid reduction of stock; the week's returns showed that the actual export reached the enormous amount of 28,000 bales, against 18,000 delivered to the trade, bringing the estimated stock down to the exceedingly small figure of 157,000 bales. More business accordingly was done in the afternoon, and Dhollerahs were sold to arrive at 12½d. On Saturday there was a further improvement, with sales of 6000 bales, and half the decline was recovered for cotton on the spot, while to arrive there was a large business at ¾d. to ¾d. below the highest point touched before.

On Monday the China's advices were to hand, confirming the disastrous nature of the defeats McClellan had sustained before Richmond. The whole scope of the news was decidedly adverse to the Federals—more so, indeed, than on any occasion since the battle of Bull's Run. At Charleston the Federal expedition was withdrawn. In Arkansas the Northern troops were falling back, while guerillas were anticipating communications in Tennessee. The whole scope of the news was deemed favourable to the market, with the single exception of a paragraph of the telegram published in the *Times*, announcing that an enthusiastic peace meeting had been held in New York. This report, which afterwards proved to be utterly groundless, completely neutralized the other news and made the market dull and lifeless, though without quotable decline.

Yesterday, however, the tone was completely altered by a fresh batch of news from America. By the Jura, intelligence was to hand from New York as late as the 7th inst.; and though the telegrams were so confused and contradictory that it was almost impossible to unravel them, it was easy to perceive that the former impressions regarding the fighting at Richmond were fully borne out. Amid the smoke and obscurity of that seven days' desperate strife, it was clear that the Federal troops had been driven back from their former position with fearful slaughter, and that Richmond, for the present at least, was safe from attack. The prominent feeling in the public mind was one of sickening disgust at this horrible carnage, accompanied with a strong persuasion that the North would not for the present abate one jot of its determination. The papers by the China also disproved the alleged peace-meeting in New York. It turned out to be only a demonstration of the Democratic party thrown against an Abolition policy. Not a whisper was heard from any quarter of peace or settlement, but the unanimous tone of the Northern press was one of fierce determination to redouble their efforts for the conquest of the South. Lincoln's call for 300,000 additional men was received with enthusiasm, and it was alleged that the requisite number would soon be raised.

The effect of this news on our market was to kindle afresh the speculative feeling. Large export orders came to hand from the Continent, and the business reached 12,000 bales—three-fourths for speculation and export, at ¾d. advance on all sorts. To-day the demand still continues active, but runs chiefly on American cotton. A strong demand still exists for Havre, where prices keep 1d. or 1½d. ahead of Liverpool; and it is said that the consumption of American cotton in France is still nearly 4,000 bales per week, which must be chiefly provided out of our market. Some American cotton is also being bought for New York, where prices have advanced to 40 cents., and the supply is almost exhausted. The influence of this extensive demand on our extremely small stock of American cotton causes it daily to harden, and prices are again dearer to-day; but Surats are dull of sale, and the extreme rates of yesterday can hardly be obtained "to arrive." Our quotations for middling American may be given as 18d. for Orleans, 17½d. to ¾d. for Mobiles, and 17½d. for Bowads. On the spot, Fair Dhollerahs are worth 13½d. to ¾d.; Omrawutta, 13½d. to 14d.; and Broach, 14½d. The best Saw-gioned Dharwar has been sold at 16d., and fair quality may be quoted 15½d.

To arrive, April shipment, may be quoted 13½d. for Broach, 13½d. for Omrawutta, 13d. for Dhollerah, and ¾d. to ¾d. less for May shipments.

The attention of operators in our market is now directed mainly to the expected discussion on American affairs in Parliament on Friday. The effect of the late Federal disasters on the policy of our Government is watched with much anxiety, for it is felt the time is approaching when the recognition of the South may probably be resolved on. The speculative feeling is somewhat restrained here by the uncertainty that attaches to this point.

MANCHESTER, July 15.

Since Tuesday the market has been much quieter, and the change of tone in Liverpool has reacted on the demand for goods and yarns here. Small as it was at the commencement of the week, it was perceptibly reduced at the close.

On Friday last business came to a stand, and beyond the execution of a few trifling orders nothing was done, either for the export or the home trade; prices were generally steady, but buyers holding off. The firmness of spinners was hardly tested in the absence of any offers being made.

In some cases spinners, anxious for orders, were found easier to deal with; for the most part, however, they adhere strictly to their extreme quotations.

Cloth also has been quiet, and what little demand there was has been readily met by speculative holders, who can now afford to undersell the manufacturer.

From the neighbouring manufacturing towns the same unwelcome intelligence of increasing distress continues to be received, varying only week after week in the number applying for relief.

In the Stockport union there has been a large increase since the beginning of June. One remarkable fact deserves special notice, and that is, there has been a considerable decrease of crime in the borough.

In Wigan, also, there is a large weekly increase of distress; and it is stated that in the course of another month all the mills will be closed.

We have yet to see what effect the remarkable movements in the price of cotton will have on these manufacturing districts, heretofore hives of industry, but now distinguished amongst the

communities of the kingdom for enforced idleness, privation nobly borne, and an all pervading gloom. It is not necessary for the sufferers to entreat the attention of their fellow-countrymen to their already painful situation, or to the increasing bitterness of their trials, for the gaze of the whole country is now riveted upon the sad spectacle now presented, and there is a ceaseless prayer for their speedy relief; their case is one which the most careless among us will soon be found to take into anxious consideration, great as the distress among the operatives has been, the severity of the crisis is only beginning to be felt; the ground assigned for this conclusion, has only, unfortunately too much reason on its face, namely, that many manufacturers who have hitherto kept their mills open, will not face the risk involved on the extraordinary prices to which the raw material is being forced up. It is a peculiarity of the time, that while nothing but discouragement has surrounded the legitimate trader, the speculative spinner or manufacturer—he, who had the courage and means at his disposal, to hold his production for the anticipated cotton famine, may now realize a fortune: this is one of those times when regular industry is deranged and replaced by rank speculation, and when the most successful man is as likely as otherwise to be the adventurer who goes for a fortune or for ruin, to those with whom he has dealings.

The great body of consumers of cotton goods have hitherto felt the effect of the dearth of the material much less than might have been expected, the disturbance having been singularly slow in its progress down from the fountain head of supply to the retail consumer. But this exemption does not seem likely to continue much longer, and perhaps it is quite as well it should not do so, for there are some minds too careless and apathetic to notice the most remarkable phenomena of commerce, yet which can be effectually aroused into a selfish attention by a sudden rise in price of articles of common use or wear. It has frequently been observed during the course of the present disturbance in the cotton business, that the home trader, by which term may be understood the houses that act as purveyors of cotton goods to the retail dealers and to the British public, have slackened their purchases with each successive rise in prices.

Now, however, that prices have reached a point never known before the home trade are buyers at the advance, of nearly all classes of goods which enter into the consumption of the country.

To-day our market is again much firmer, having quite recovered from the depressed and unsteady feeling observable at the close of last week.

The renewed advance in the raw material consequent on the last American advices, and more favourable telegraphic news from India, have had a strengthening effect in prices, which have rallied considerably since Friday, and are now to the full as extreme as in this day week.

In yarns the business doing is very small, and, to a large extent, consists of resale of speculation lots, at rates below those at which spinners would sell, as each rise in prices leaves spinners in a worse position than before. They are generally indifferent about selling, except at extreme rates, and appear resolved to close their mills to a much greater extent than has hitherto been the case. Buyers are acting with great caution, and restrict their operations within the narrowest possible limits.

The cloth market is very firm at the full rates current last week, but the demand continues quiet.

On the whole, prices are fully as firm as on Tuesday last, but in all departments the business doing is small.

TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, July 16.

There has been less actual business in our markets, London and Liverpool, the past week, than for several preceding.

Holders are firm and advancing their pretensions as they receive more certain accounts of American markets, and of prospects of future supply.

The Home trade have bought but little. Considerable inquiries are being made for South European descriptions.

Late advices from Australia show advancing prices for Twist and Cavendish, with stocks diminishing.

AN UNGRATEFUL SECESSIONIST.—The correspondent of the *New York Times* writes:—"The nearer we approach Richmond the more violent and bitter is the feeling exhibited towards the North. Dr. Gaines, the owner of the grounds upon which our camp is located, is the most unblushing, undaunted, and defiant rebel that we have yet encountered. His residence, surrounded by choice fruit and ornamental trees, with a magnificent flower-garden between it and the avenue, is one of the most attractive that can be found in the State. His lands extend over a large area, comprising hundreds of acres, and in his back and call he has nearly a hundred and fifty slaves. In his store-houses we found a large quantity of corn and wheat, which we appropriated to our own use. In payment the commissary tendered him a receipt, but he refused to accept it, declaring it was worthless paper, and he would not be encumbered with it. He was informed, by order of General Stoneman, that unless he took the receipt he need never expect to be recompensed by government for the property taken. He persisted in his refusal, and will justly lose the whole of his grain. Notwithstanding Dr. Gaines' rank secession proclivities, a strong guard has been stationed round all his property, and no one is allowed to injure it in the least. For this humane act the traitor is exceedingly ungrateful, and indulges in the most insulting expressions, not hesitating to proclaim that we are Vandals and vampires, and cherishes the hope that not a man of us will ever leave Virginia soil alive."—It is certainly curious that Dr. Gaines' should not be grateful for the invasion of his country, and the theft of his property.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The following is an official copy of the report of the Court of Inquiry, which investigated the destruction of the steamer Virginia, (formerly the Merrimac):—

C. S. Navy Department.
Richmond, June 11, 1862.

The Court of Inquiry, convoked by the order of this Department of the 20th ult., whereof French Forrest, Captain in the Navy of the Confederate States, is President, and which Court convened at the city of Richmond on May 22, 1862, to investigate and inquire into the destruction of the steamer Virginia, and report the same, together with their opinion as to the necessity of destroying her, and particularly whether any, and what, other disposition could have been made of the vessel, have found as follows:—

The Court having heard the statement read, submitted by Flag Officer Tatnall, was cleared for deliberation, and, after mature consideration, adopted the following report:—

The Court, after a full and careful examination and investigation of the evidence connected with the destruction by fire of the C. S. steamer Virginia, on the morning of April 11, 1862, near Craney Island, respectfully report that it was effected by the order and under the supervision of Flag-Officer Tatnall, after her draft had been reduced to twenty feet six inches, and on the representations of the pilots, that in consequence of recent prevalent westerly winds, she could not be taken with a draft of eighteen feet as high as Westover, near Harrison's Bar, in James River (whither he designed to take her), which they previously stated they could do.

1. The destruction of the Virginia was, in the opinion of the Court, unnecessary at the time and place it was effected.

2. It being clearly in evidence that Norfolk being evacuated, and Flag-Officer Tatnall having been instructed to prevent the enemy from ascending James River, the Virginia, with very little more, if any, lessening of draft, after lightening her to twenty feet six inches aft, with her iron sheathing still extending three feet under water, could have been taken up to Hog Island, in James River (where the channel is narrow), and could there have prevented the larger vessels and transports of the enemy from ascending, the Court is of opinion that such disposition ought to have been made of her, and if it should be ascertained that her provisions could not be replenished when those on hand were exhausted, then the proper time would have arrived to take into consideration the expediency or practicability of striking a last blow at the enemy or destroying her.

In conclusion, the Court is of opinion that the evacuation of Norfolk, the destruction of the Navy Yard, and other public property, added to the hasty retreat of the military under General Huger, leaving the batteries unmanned and unprotected, no doubt conspired to produce, in the minds of the officers of the Virginia, the necessity of her destruction at the time, was, in their opinion, the only means left of preventing her from falling into the hands of the enemy, and seems to have precluded the consideration of the possibility of getting her up James River to the point or points indicated.

The Court of Inquiry, of which Captain F. Forrest is President, is hereby dissolved.

S. R. MALLORY, Secretary of Navy.

The British steamer Memphis, Captain Cruikshank, from Liverpool via Nassau (N. P.), arrived at Charleston on June 23. She had on board a most valuable cargo of British goods. The Memphis, had the misfortune, while coming into port, to get ashore on the beach at Sullivan's Island, where she remained several hours, but was finally towed off by the steamers Marion and Etiwien. When she first got aground she was approached by one of the blockaders, which fired into her six times a number of shells; most of them struck on Sullivan's Island, but none of them hit the ship. All her letters and papers were thrown overboard. The Federal gunboat was finally driven off by a rifled gun on Fort Beauregard, which discharged but one shot at her, when she retired. The Memphis made the passage from Liverpool to Nassau in sixteen days and a half, and was hoarded off Abaco by the Yankee steamer Quaker City. The Federal cruisers keep up quite a sharp blockade off Nassau, and board nearly all vessels bound in or going out. Mr. Ward, late Minister to China, and Major Bateman, were passengers in the Memphis.

The entire cotton crop of Arkansas, north of Arkansas River, is being destroyed. The cotton in Concordia parish, La., is entirely destroyed, and all in Tensas parish soon will be. These two parishes produce the heaviest crops of any in the State, that of Tensas having been over 70,000 bales.

PRIVATE LETTER.

Extract of a letter from New Orleans:—

NEW ORLEANS, June 21.

Yesterday only I received yours of the * * * Picayune Butler must, no doubt, have found them very interesting, since he kept them so long. The reason that I have not written to you sooner is, that the letters are opened and read before delivery. * * * I was pretty well through the State of Mississippi, and did some little travelling in Alabama. Make up your mind to one thing: in so far as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas are concerned, every bale of cotton will be burned so soon as Northern forces appear; and if any man tries to save his cotton, his neighbours will burn it for him. The feeling is, "If we are not to have our own way, no money shall be made out of us by any one else."

Already, from the most reliable accounts, 1,000,000 of bales are burnt between here and Memphis—in short, all cotton along the river banks.

On Red River all is moved fifteen miles from the banks; and between the two are the Confederate forces, prepared to fight any Northern forces that land, and if beaten to burn the cotton. There is not the least use in trying to move any cotton at present. The country people would kill the man that tries to do it, and burn the cotton. And the case is the same with sugar, which is rising rapidly in price; there is no sugar coming in.

I consider the grown crop of cotton last year to have been 4,000,000 of bales. This year the corn and wheat planting is enormous, and there are so many small pigs about that one might think he was in Cincinnati. But of cotton in the region where I was the planting is but five acres where there was 100 last year—just enough to save seed and make "home-spun." This last article is very fashionable. The stock of cotton here, when New Orleans was taken, was nominally 11,000 bales; but I think 7000 or 8000 was about the mark, and this was all burnt except some few scattering lots. A good deal of sugar was rolled into the river along "the coast."

I am very much of the opinion that guerilla warfare will be resorted to by the Confederates, until the North gets tired of paying taxes and getting no cotton. The determination of the people in Mississippi is really awful; their idea, and that of the Texans, is about the same, viz., "Food is scarce, and prisoners troublesome; but dead men tell no tales."

From one of the towns I was at in Mississippi, six companies of 100 to 125 each had left; the total inhabitants were at most but 2500.

In regard to cotton getting to market this season, supposing peace made to-morrow, it could not be brought in any quantity, for the boats are all destroyed, burnt, or used up by the Confederate States' army authorities. The rolling stock on the railroads is much in the same condition, and the river, after being very high and overflowing the upper part of the city towards Carrollton, is now rapidly falling. * * *

If any of your Liverpool friends have received consignments of cotton or produce that have run the blockade, write to them on no account to send out account sales here, for Picayune Butler will open the letters, make the shippers here pay him the proceeds, and pocket them. He has done so in three cases already.

Of course every one who has no cotton is in favour of burning that of his neighbour who has any. Out of 30,000 bales which were ready and waiting to be shipped to one firm, 27,000 are burnt, and only 3000 remain.

The overflow above, has been greater (by report) than ever before known. River now falling fast.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 1, 1862.

SIR,—Mr. Chase manages to meet the large amount of dividends maturing to day, and which are payable in specie, by making use of the Federal reserve fund of \$4,000,000, and what he has saved from the Customs' dues, the amount received from that source, having been about \$11,000,000 in May and June, against \$3,000,000 in the corresponding months of last year. The gold thus set afloat finds its way into the hands of the bullion dealers, and will supply the export demand for several weeks to come, unless, as has been intimated, the incorporated banks enter the market and become purchasers of the precious metals, in order to get rid of the United States' demand notes now held by them, preferring to make a loss of 10 to 12 per cent. than to risk the whole. These notes of the Federal Government must not be confounded with the Treasury notes bearing interest that the banks subscribed for last autumn, and which they have since disposed of. It is likely that the Government will prohibit the export of specie, in which case it will become more scarce than ever, as the hoarding will increase, these soulless moneyed institutions taking the lead in such a course. The foreign bankers are very much alarmed, and fear to create a panic, or they would be shipping more largely of gold; their principal sales of Bills of London are for the Cunard steamers that leave on Wednesday; with the proceeds of the same they buy specie, and thus the Imman vessels of Saturday take out the heaviest shipments of the precious metals. Selling foreign exchange has not been profitable recently, the premium having advanced so rapidly.

There are rumours of the defeat of McClellan before Richmond, but up to the time of writing no particulars have been received; should they prove true, the "bears" will again be in the ascendancy.

The recruiting for both the army and navy is at a stand-still. President Lincoln has "forged" a letter, getting the Governors and mock Governors of 18 States, and parts of States, to lend the use of their names, by telegraph, to be appended to it, urging him to call for 300,000 additional troops; he has the audacity to publish this as a true document, with his reply, but the trick is known to every one. No troops will be forthcoming; the labouring classes away from the cities are all occupied in agricultural pursuits, and will be so engaged until October; while the mechanics in the large towns are busily employed in making material of war. The truth is, that the rich people, or those who were wealthy, have suffered most by this war, and now that taxation is being added on to loss and depreciation, it may well be said that the conflict has acted as a perfect leveller.

[Though, owing to unavoidable delays in the transmission, no letter from our Washington correspondent has reached us since the great battle before Richmond, the subjoined, written before that event, has not lost its interest.]

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1862.

I look with considerable curiosity for the next three or four steamers. The news which would reach Europe during this month must have an influence, at least, to produce new opinions. The certainty that any expectation of receiving cotton may be abandoned, cannot fail to be an important fact, and the conviction will also grow upon the foreign mind, that the war is no nearer to a settlement than at any previous time. The effect that may be produced by these conclusions I cannot foresee, except that it will surely advance the price of cotton to a very high figure. The political effects are in the keeping of the rulers of England and France, and what they may feel disposed to do, it is impossible to know.

From present indications, this steamer will convey you no important military events. As I have heretofore advised you, General McClellan is at work entrenching himself in his camp, so as to be protected from any attack by the Confederates, whilst he progresses with his plan of siege, gradually working away with parallel after parallel until he hopes to get near enough to command the city and its defences with his heavy siege guns. The Confederates, however, are not disposed to permit him to proceed unmolested with this work, but are now constantly sending out skirmishing parties, and at the same time shelling his works from their artillery. General McClellan's army has been greatly weakened by sickness and casualties; and it is now generally admitted to be so far reduced as to be quite incompetent to the task of taking the city of Richmond by assault. The brilliant movements of Jackson in the Valley of Shenandoah have entirely crippled all the forces in that direction. Originally the plan of the campaign was, undoubtedly, for McDowell, with his corps, to march down from Fredericksburg, while Banks and Fremont should come in with their armies from the South West, and all uniting with McClellan, entirely surround the city. Banks was driven across the Potomac, and his army scattered; and to regain the valley, McDowell's army at Fredericksburg was broken up, a portion sent to McClellan, the balance to Fremont, who was recalled from his position in Western Virginia. Fremont then, being reinforced by McDowell's men, moved rapidly up the valley, Jackson retreating until the latter, having got into a good position, fought two battles, one at Fort Republic and one at Cross Keys, resulting not only in the defeat of the Federals at both places, but all that portion of Fremont's army which was under Shields was entirely demoralized and scattered, its stragglers being all over the country; whilst Fremont with his main body, was forced to retreat to Mount Jackson, at which place he is now resting his men. Thus McClellan has been entirely deprived of the assistance of these three corps of McDowell, Banks, and Fremont (the original strength of which was not less than 120,000 men), with the exception of about 25,000, which was sent to him when McDowell's force was divided at Fredericksburg. The strategy of the campaign has been entirely overthrown, and McClellan now finds himself in front of Richmond with a force of about 100,000 men, in presence of an army of at least equal numbers, who also possess strong fortifications. Hence his necessary delay; and in the meantime he is again trying to reach the city by the way of the river, another attack having been made on Fort Darling on the 17th inst., which was repulsed, but the particulars of which, as well as the action itself, seem to have been carefully suppressed. His next movement may probably be in the direction of this fort. He may determine to capture it so as to ensure the passage of the gunboats. He cannot pass these obstructions whilst this fort is in possession of the Confederates, and he may conclude that he cannot take the city until he can push up the gunboats; so he may make a movement in that direction. I think there is strong probability that Beauregard is now in Richmond, but whether any portion of his army has been brought up is, of course, unknown. His presence, however, will be in itself a valuable acquisition to the Confederates, even without a portion of his army, but I would not be surprised if some few thousands of his best men had gone there with him. The critical condition of things with the Federal army is universally acknowledged, and the newspapers are all talking very plainly of the mismanagement of the campaign, but all calling upon the Government to call out at once 200,000 additional men. I am told that the Government is endeavouring to get as many men as they can, and on Saturday an order was issued from the War Department

offering additional and special inducements for recruits; but it is very palpable that the spirit which raised the army of 70,000 men at the outset of the war does not now exist. The recruits that are now obtained are mainly of the character of the material that forms the rank and file of the regular service. There are plausible reasons for this condition of things. That the present position of affairs in Virginia, and the financial necessities of the Government, now give great concern to the Administration may readily be granted.

There does not appear to be any active movements in progress outside of Virginia, except on the islands near Charleston, where there has been, latterly, some fighting without any definite result. The time must soon be near when the Federal troops will be compelled to abandon these islands; the weather is already very hot, and considerable sickness among them; but the regular sickly season does not begin until July. I cannot believe that it is the design of the Federal commanders to retain their force in this exposed situation—and with all the certainty of the disastrous consequences—much longer. Halleck's army has been divided, and portions of it are occupying districts in Tennessee and North Alabama. We hear nothing further from Vicksburg; it is, therefore, yet in possession of the Confederates.

I have seen some persons from the South, who left there but a short time since. They all confirm the fact that there has not been any cotton planted beyond what is necessary to make seed. I do not now, therefore, entertain any doubt as to the omission of the crop of 1862; and from the reports of these parties, I am also satisfied that about half a million of bales have been destroyed of the last crop. They further confirm what I had previously written to you, that there might be some cotton obtained from planters who would sell a few bales to get necessary supplies.

As to the determination of the people to maintain the contest, these parties said there was no doubt, and herein also agreed with my former information, that the people were really more determined than the leaders. At the same time, the deficiencies of the various articles of a vital and important character were quite as great as I have informed you. Salt sold at one time in Memphis for \$1 per lb. Powder is worth \$4 per lb.

There appears to be at Memphis a stronger reaction in favour of the Union than at any other place that has been yet occupied; but I am told that the Union sentiment is mainly confined to the foreign and Northern element of the population, which constitutes a great portion of the citizens.

We have also one week later news from New Orleans, but I hear of nothing of especial interest. Doctor Stone had been released from prison. James Robb, formerly the New Orleans banker, and at one time the partner of young Nallett, in New York—under name of Robb, Nallett, and Co.—has been appointed Military Governor of the city. It is said that Butler is now endeavouring to be more conciliatory in his action with the people. Several New Orleans parties have recently arrived here and in New York, but they are generally very circumspect and cautious in their remarks as to the condition of things in the city. It is pretty clear, however, that no progress has yet been made in changing the popular sentiment. That a general determination exists to make no purchases of Northerners or of Northern goods is very evident, except in cases where there is no alternative. I find that people who live at the North, and own real estate in New Orleans, are determining to move out there, as, I suppose, they fear that non-residents will not be able to find tenants for their stores.

The gallantry of the 3rd Alabama in the Battle of Fair Oaks is the theme of all the Confederate army. They are said to have covered themselves with glory. The Confederate loss in the Battle of Fair Oaks is said not to have been all told of killed, wounded, and missing, over 2500. This is much less than I had supposed.

A writer in the *New York World* states that he has undoubted information that the casualties in McClellan's army, since his landing at Yorktown, have been upwards of 25,000 men.

The shipment of specie on Saturday reached the large amount of \$2,346,000, and the total shipment of the week is placed at upwards of \$3,000,000. A few such weeks will make a decided mark upon our specie reserve—and it is mainly caused by the return of our securities from abroad, which are being sold, and the proceeds returned in gold. Exchange remains about the same, 117½ to 118; gold, 6½ to 6¾. Nothing further has been done by Congress with reference to financial measures, but I think the privilege of issuing \$150,000,000 more of demand notes will be granted.

Since writing the foregoing portions of my letter, I have seen several letters from New Orleans, by the Roanoke (15th inst.) from business people, as well as some

on private affairs, and the tenor of them corroborates all that I have written on this subject. There is yet some sugar on the plantations, but it cannot be got to market for want of boats, and nothing will be done until boats can come down the Mississippi River, which they cannot do at present. The private letters all speak of the unflinching determination of the majority of the people to adhere to the Southern Confederacy. Those who have shown any willingness to return to the Union are mainly foreigners.

The decision of Butler that the banks must pay all their depositors in their own notes will ruin all the banks. The currency now at New Orleans consists of the issues of the banks, which are not redeemable in anything.

No doubt very full letters will go over to Europe from New Orleans by this steamer, which will give even more detailed accounts of the position of affairs than those that are sent North.

PARIS, July 15, 1862.

While, for fear of doing a gross injustice to the well-deserved reputation of the English people for universal information, I do not feel at liberty to admit the correctness of Mr. John C. Cowell's proposition which purports to plead ignorance of the character of the Southern relations, and of their constant readiness to ship, at all times, their produce to England, Southern hearts, overflowing with gratitude, can but tender their most cordial thanks to the English people for their sentiments of admiration, love, and pity, which they reciprocate to the fullest extent. And it is natural it should be so, for their sufferings are common, and proceed from the same causes. But, if the South entertains warm and brotherly feelings for the English people at large, as a nation, it deeply resents the unjust treatment it has received at the hands of the English Government, or rather of Earl Russell; and nothing can more clearly justify this resentment than the language of Mr. John C. Cowell: "Admiration, love, and pity for the Confederates are spreading among us like a contagion, as do hatred and contempt for the brutal and hypocritical barbarians who are laying waste their homesteads, murdering their men, and insulting their women." And yet the British Cabinet, alone hermetically closing their hearts to this contagion, will disregard public opinion and persist, against all Parliamentary rules, in refusing to the admired and the loved of England a recognition to which every principle of justice, of humanity, and of international law entitles them to.

But why should the South be pitied? Is it because, true to the high dictates of loyalty and honour, she has always firmly stood by England, and averted from her, by unflinching energy, the blows which the unprincipled politicians of the North have constantly aimed at her? Is the South to be pitied because, in the Oregon, Maine, and San Juan questions, it forced the dishonest Seward's clique to respect the rights guaranteed to England by virtue of the existing treaties? Is it because her sons are nobly fighting against a horde of barbarians, to maintain the integrity of their sovereignty? Is the South to be pitied because alone she has the manly courage to resist the brutal fury of the Northerners, whilst all the nations of earth seem tamely to submit to the monstrous impertinence of the United States, and to their insulting pretension of dictating their laws to the world? No; the South need not be pitied. Let the worst befall her; let her even die in her attempt to free humanity from the brutality and commercial rapacity of her adversaries; even then the South will want no pity, for while her death would be a glorious one, it would enshroud the escutcheon of other nations with an eternal reproach.

Be this as it may, the news brought from America by the last steamer seems to have opened the eyes of England. The warlike manner with which the remonstrances of Lord Palmerston against the infamous proclamation of the more infamous Butler, were universally received, the insolent declamations which they provoked, the blockading tariff of the Northern ports voted by Congress, must have powerfully contributed to propagate the contagion spoken of by your London correspondent. Indeed, unless England chooses to deny truth, and remain in a wilful blindness, she must now be satisfied, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that if the South is not her best friend, the North is certainly her worst and most bitter enemy. England must now understand that the forbearance of her Government towards the Yankees has but encouraged and fostered their spirit of aggression and roused it to such an extent that it has become now almost an impossibility for her to avoid a collision with her Northern friends.

The answer of General Butler to the Consuls of New Orleans, the oath required by him from the foreigners

residing in that city, and the approval of the Juarez-Corwin treaty demanded from the Senate by Mr. Lincoln, are considered here as so many acts of hostility towards France, and the Government have most undoubtedly put the same construction upon them, for in addition to the already numerous fleet plying in American waters, and independently of the transport ships preparing to take the French troops to Mexico, eleven steamships of the line are now arming to proceed forthwith to the Gulf.

It is currently reported about town that the Government have received despatches from Washington giving full account of the battle which took place before Richmond. If credence is to be given to their pretended purport, the battle should have lasted during four consecutive days, beginning on the 25th, and ending on the 29th of June, in the defeat of the Federals who, to avoid complete destruction, had to retreat towards James River, there to place themselves under shelter of their gunboats. It is further stated, always alluding to the same despatches, that upon the advice of General Scott, the Government of the United States had ordered the withdrawal of the Federal army from the Virginia Peninsula, to reassume his (Scott's) original plan of campaign; i.e., to march upon Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and the plains of Manassas.

The above rumours were not mere speculations if we construe the Northern telegrams received yesterday in their proper light. The precarious position of McClellan's army means, of course, that it is annihilated; that part of the programme relative to its withdrawal will have, therefore, to be given up. As to the other part, the Federal Government will have to wait for the organization of the 300,000 raw recruits just called by Mr. Lincoln, before they can be marched through the valley where, in all probability, they are to meet with the same ominous fate.

In the meantime the Northern Cabinet and General McClellan and his Royal Aid-de-camps have become the laughing stock of the Parisians, who are well known to be as prompt to extol the merit of successful generals as ever ready to turn into ridicule the military pretensions of blundering captains. Poor McClellan! he was proclaimed a Napoleon by his countrymen, even before he had proved himself to be a general. The fortunes of war have fully justified the expectation of his friends. Indeed, they can now claim that there exists some sort of resemblance between their favourite and the great military genius who kept Europe trembling for a quarter of a century, for he began like Napoleon finished, by a *Waterloo—sic transit gloria mundi*.

The new call made by the Autocrat Lincoln for 300,000 men is here considered as an official acknowledgment of the utter impossibility to subjugate the South, and a conclusive proof that the Government and people are labouring under the fatal influence of a *delirium furiosum*. It is to be hoped that the English Government, sharing that opinion, will take advantage of this Federal disaster to demand, jointly with France, the restoration of peace in North America, for never will there be a better chance for these two Powers to be heard than that of a forced armistice imposed upon the North by a glorious Confederate victory.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I am informed, by the most undoubted authority, that the Corwin-Juarez treaty had been partially executed before the presentation to the Senate for confirmation. I am assured that \$2,000,000 has actually been paid to the Mexican Government by the United States a few days after the treaty had been received at Washington.

(From another Correspondent.)

PARIS, July 15, 1862.

The newspapers which are alleged to possess the state secrets announced yesterday that France and Russia have finally come to a perfect understanding with regard to the question concerning Italy, Denmark, and Constantinople; which fact implies a quasi-alliance between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Paris. Some papers even go so far as to say that the very stipulations of a Franco-Italo-Russian treaty have already been agreed upon, and will be signed next October by these three Powers at the Castle of Brühl, where the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia are to have an interview under the royal auspices of the King of Prussia.

On the other hand, it is reported that, with the view of guarding against all eventualities possibly to arise from this treaty, England, Austria, and Constantinople have conjointly sent to M. Thouvenel a note, declaring that their respective policy should be entirely governed by the Treaty of Paris of 1856.

Two opposed camps seem thus to be organized, their policy clearly defined, their intentions mutually known, and thus the matter is likely to stand until some new

unforeseen events come to scatter to the winds these deeply-matured plans. It is folly, even for the Governments now-a-days, to enter into schemes that are to be realized at any future day. It is sufficient to examine the internal situation of each of the six Powers now engaged in this sort of *champ clos* to nurse the conviction that none are sure of their morrow.

The capital of Russia, but a few days ago, came very near being the prey to the flames lighted by political incendiaries, her serfs are getting impatient, and Poland shoots at her Russian Vice-King.

In France, the tribunals are now engaged in the trial of the "Fifty-four," as it is called here, or, more properly, of a political secret association which aims at nothing less than to do away with the Emperor and his entourage.

Constantinople is like a mummy which looks firm and solid as long as it remains enshrouded in its bandages, but tumbles into ashes at the slightest touch of the hand.

Austria can hardly be considered better off than the United States. Their financial condition is about on a par, and the Unionist feelings of Hungary, Venetia, and Servia, are very vivid.

And, lastly, England will probably have more work to attend to at home, when next winter sets in, than will be agreeable to her, or permit her to attend much to European politics.

What, then, do all these diplomatic movements amount to?—To child's play, and nothing else; for all these Governments must know that a European war, in the midst of the forthcoming sufferings about being brought upon the people by the interruption of commerce which was the fountain source of their daily support, may well originate between kings and dynasties, but might eventually terminate by a war of the people against the crowned heads of Europe.

In the meantime the Emperor has gone to Vichy to repair his health, which, by-the-bye, was never more flourishing, and the Empress has returned to St. Cloud. She came to Paris last Sunday, and visited the new Hotel de la Paix. Her Majesty is said to have been amazed at the luxury which has been displayed in the parlours and reception-rooms of this new establishment; of which I will give you a full description next week.

Monsieur le Duke de Morny enjoys, for the present, the sweets of his new title at his royal country seat of Auvergne, and the Prince Napoleon lovingly attends his charming wife, Princess Clothilde.

The friends and adherents of the Count de Chambord announce his visit to the London Exhibition.

M. Troplong, the President of the Senate, is spoken of as being one of the most prominent candidates for the seat of the French Academy left vacant by the death of the Duke Pasquier.

The news just brought in by the Quebec steamer, to the effect that McClellan's army had been forced to fall back a distance of seventeen miles from Richmond, on James River, and cut off from all communications, except by that river, has been received in Paris with a universal sentiment of delight. This Confederate victory is regarded as a just retribution for the infamous proclamation of Butler, and already are the rumours spreading that the Government thinks the moment arrived to interfere and request the settlement of the American difficulties.

GENERAL HALLECK'S DESPATCHES AND GENERAL POPE'S CAPTURES.

We did not, from the first, hesitate to pronounce the despatches of General Halleck in reference to the evacuation of Corinth, and the capture "of 10,000 prisoners and 15,000 stand of arms," pure fabrications. On June 19 we observed, "General Halleck is not a great commander, but it would be unfair to deny that he has a very glowing imagination;" and "we may be sure the prisoners captured in General Halleck's despatches will not diminish the effective force of the Confederates." The official report turns out to be completely false. As was justly remarked in the *Times*' leader of Monday,

We have henceforward just the same trust in the veracity of General Pope as Prince Hal had in that of Sir John Falstaff. General Pope turns out to be the Sir John Falstaff of the Yankee army. He took 10,000 "men in buckram" from General Beauregard, and multitudes of arms and knapsacks. But General Pope is infallible only in the well-censored American press. It is now proved that he has simply written a false despatch.

We copy from the *Mobile Register* the following letter written by General Beauregard, in answer to General Halleck's despatch:—

Headquarters, Western Department, June 17.

Gentlemen.—My attention has just been called to the following despatch (published in your issue of yesterday) of Major General Halleck, commanding the enemy's forces, which, coming from such a source, is most remarkable in one respect—that it contains as many misrepresentations as lines:—

"To the Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War,

"General Halleck's Headquarters, June 4, 1862. "General Pope, with 40,000 men, is thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard. He already reports 10,000 prisoners and deserters from the enemy, and 15,000 stand of arms captured.

"Thousands of the enemy are throwing away their arms. A farmer says that when Beauregard learned that Colonel Elliot had cut the railroad on his line of retreat he became frantic, and told his men to save themselves the best way they could.

"We have captured nine locomotives and a number of cars. One of the former is already repaired and is running to-day. Several more will be in running order in two or three days. The result is all I could possibly desire.

"H. W. HALLECK, Major-General Commanding."

General Pope did not "push hard" upon me with 40,000 men thirty miles from Corinth, on the 4th inst., for my troops occupied a defensive line in the rear of "Twenty Mile Creek," less than twenty-five miles from Corinth, until the 8th inst., when the want of good water induced me to retire at my leisure to a better position. Moreover, if General Pope had attempted, at any time during the retreat from Corinth, to push hard upon me, I would have given him such a lesson as would have checked his ardour; but he was careful to advance on after my troops had retired from each successive position.

The retreat was conducted with great order and precision, doing much credit to the officers and men under my orders, and must be looked upon in every respect by the country as equivalent to a brilliant victory.

General Pope must certainly have dreamed of having taken 10,000 prisoners and 15,000 stand of arms; for we positively never lost them. About 100 or 200 stragglers would probably cover all the prisoners he took, and about 500 damaged muskets is all the arms he got. These belonged to a convalescent camp, four miles south of Corinth, evacuated during the night, and were overlooked on account of the darkness. The actual number of prisoners taken during the retreat was about equal on both sides, and they were but few.

"Major-General Halleck must be a very credulous man, indeed, to believe the absurd story of 'that farmer.' He ought to know that the turning of two or more cars on a railroad is not sufficient to make 'Beauregard frantic' and ridiculous, especially when I expected every moment to hear of the capture of his marauding party, whose departure from Farmington had been communicated to me the day before, and I had given, in consequence, all necessary orders; but a part of my forces passed Boonville an hour before the arrival of Colonel Elliott's command, and the other part arrived just in time to drive it away and liberate the convalescents captured; unfortunately, however, not in time to save four of the sick, who were barbarously consumed in the station-house. Let Colonel Elliott's name descend to infamy as the author of such a revolting deed. General Halleck did not capture nine locomotives. It was only by the accidental destruction of a bridge before some trains had passed that he got seven engines in a damaged condition, the cars having been burned by my orders.

It is, indeed, lamentable to see how little our enemy respect truth and justice when speaking of their military operations; especially when, through inability or over confidence, they meet with deserved failure.

If the result be all he desired, it can be said he is easily satisfied; it remains to be seen whether his Government and people will be of the like opinion.

I attest that all we lost at Corinth and during the retreat would not amount to one day's expense of his army.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

A NORTHERN ACCOUNT OF THE LATE BATTLE.

The *New York Times* of the 3rd inst., gives the following survey of the news:—"We have at last full reports of the recent movements in front of Richmond. We are sorry to say that they do not sustain fully the encouraging interpretation which the public sought to put upon the brief announcement, that our right wing had been attacked and had withdrawn to the other side of the Chickahominy. We have now no room to doubt that our army has met with a very serious reverse, and that it is in a condition of peril which, if not imminent, at least calls for the instant and energetic efforts of the Government and the country. Two of the regular corps of the *New York Times* reporters left General McClellan's head-quarters, which are now on the James River, on Monday afternoon, and reached this city last night. They were spectators of the events which they describe, and although their reports of necessity are written in haste, and may therefore err in matters of detail, there is no reason whatever to doubt the entire accuracy of the narrative they give of the principal movements of the opposing forces. It seems from their statement that the right wing of our army, numbering about 20,000 men, was attacked on Friday by an overwhelming rebel force of 50,000 men; and that after a hot and protracted fight, sustained with gallantry by our troops, they effected their retreat across the Chickahominy. This leading fact was known before; but it now appears that they did not wait to destroy the bridges across the swamp so effectually as to prevent the rebels' passage; that our forces on the left, for some reason or other, did not dispute the passage, although they had planted batteries for the purpose of doing so, but decided to abandon their position; and that accordingly on Saturday and Sunday the whole left wing, comprising the main body of the army, under Heintzelmann, Keys, and Sumner, fell back along the whole line of the railroad and the Williamsburg-road, turned the foot of the White Oak Swamps, which approaches the Chickahominy, and marched to James River, a distance of ten or fifteen miles. The rebels, after crossing the Chickahominy, in the immediate neighbourhood of what had been General McClellan's head-quarters, paused on reaching the railroad, and made no further pursuit. They remained, however, in possession of the ground held by our troops on both sides of the Chickahominy, including the bridges and earthworks we had erected against their approach in front. Our whole army, therefore, now lies upon the James River, at a point called Turkey Bend, within reach and under cover of our gunboats.

THE UNITED STATES TREATY WITH MEXICO.—The subject of this treaty affords the Federal press a splendid text for insulting the French nation. The *New York Herald*, in one of its leaders on Mexico, observes:—"We should not hesitate about giving her the financial aid she needs, so as to strengthen her hands for more desperate resistance to her invaders. That the Mexican people are determined to maintain their national rights and to defend their independence may be seen in the unflinching bravery with which they met the French, and so signally defeated them, at the late battle of Puebla. All they require now are means for recuperating their strength and solidifying their army, and then, with their own strong arms, they will be enabled to drive the French invader from their soil and into the sea.

FOREIGN CONSULS IN NEW ORLEANS.

As a specimen of General Butler's literary style, and the manner in which he insults foreigners through the columns of his journal, the *New Orleans Delta*, we furnish our readers with an editorial that appeared in that paper on June 18. The composition has the genteel title of "Dry Up, Consuls!"—

The Major-General of this Department has made the word 'Consul' rank. He has stripped these pretentious fellows, and exhibited them to public gaze. He has done this 'one, two, three times,' and, strange to say, such is the thirst for notoriety among the Consuls, they insist upon their nude condition all the time. If General Butler rides up Canal-street, the Consuls are sure to come in a body and 'protest' that he did not ride down. If he smokes a pipe in the morning, he is sure to have a deputation in the evening, asking why he did not smoke a cigar. If he drinks coffee, they will send some rude messenger with a note, asking, in the name of some tottering dynasty, why he did not drink tea. Foremost among these foreign flies, who have been perching on the General's brow, is the creature who pretends to be the British Consul. It seems to us that that person is sufficiently embalmed. It seems to us that he should dry up. He is the subject of universal laughter in New Orleans. The fellows who follow after him, and sign his letters, are objects of pity simply; but the 'Acting' British Consul is the sport of beer-shops and shady sidewalks.

The following "General Order," has been issued, in which it is announced that Southern soldiers who do not come forward and take an oath prescribed by General Butler will be treated as spies!—

Headquarters Military Commandant,
New Orleans, June 14, 1862.

General Orders No. 13.

All officers and soldiers now in service in the army of the so-called Confederate States, who are citizens of New Orleans, and who desire to return, are hereby permitted to do so upon the following conditions:

Upon their arrival within the lines of the army of the United States, they shall immediately report their names and rank in the service to the officer in command.

They will then register their names, rank, and residences, and take and subscribe the following oath:—

I,, late (or now), a in the Confederate army, do solemnly swear that I will not take up arms against the United States, and will not furnish any information, or afford any aid or comfort, to the enemies or opposers of the United States, until I am regularly exchanged or released from this my parole.

All officers and soldiers now in the city who have served in the Confederate army are required immediately upon the publication of this order, to register their names and residences at the office of the Military Commandant, in the Custom House.

Those who have not already been released on their parole will take and subscribe the oath aforesaid.

Officers and soldiers in the service of the Confederate army who have not given their parole, and who do not within three days from the publication of this order, if now in New Orleans, and within one day after their arrival in New Orleans if they came after the publication of this order, comply therewith, will be liable to be treated as spies.

Any violation of this parole will be punished as provided in the articles of war, and according to the law and usage of nations.

By order of Acting-Brigadier-General G. F. SHEPLEY.

Military Commandant of New Orleans.

EDWIN LLSLEY, A. A. G.

THE MURDER OF MR. MUMFORD.—The *Boston Courier* thus criticises the transaction:—"When General Dix uttered the exhortation to shoot upon the spot whatever person should attempt to pull down the flag, it was accepted as a popular expression of patriotic feeling, and, no doubt, most persons felt that such an outrage, under circumstances of actual indignity, might justify the taking of life. Still, the imagination would only conceive of such a summary deed as done in hot blood, and in such case that the pulling down the flag was likely to be the precursor of other rebellious conduct, and the immediate incitement to it. In the midst of violence, adequate vindication of the honour of the flag might render the most extreme act of violence necessary. We cannot but regard this as a very different case from that of which the papers of New Orleans have just given us an account. As we read the relation, it makes the same impression almost as any absolutely incredible statement would. It seems that upon taking possession of the city, the United States' flag was hoisted upon the Custom House, and at some ungarded moment the crowd hauled it down, among whom was a man named Mumford, who was probably a principal actor in the transaction. Mumford, who, we see, was a North Carolinian, and apparently not a very reputable character, was arrested, and having been tried by a court-martial, was sentenced to death for his offence. That such a sentence for such an offence would be carried into effect in cold blood we imagine very few could consider possible. The case is totally different from that conceived of by General Dix. New Orleans is completely in the power of the United States' forces, the flag floats freely wherever it is flung out, and no injurious consequences having flowed, or being likely to flow, from Mumford's act, actually to carry the sentence of the court-martial into execution seems to us one of the most extraordinary acts of this most extraordinary war. If he had been instantly shot, it might have admitted of some palliation, on the plea that it would strike terror into the hearts of the tumultuous and rebellious citizens; after this lapse of time we can only look upon the deed as not only needless and cruel, but as indiscreet in the highest degree, and likely to produce the most injurious effects. If the man had been sent to jail, or subjected to any infamous punishment, of proper duration, it would have been all very right—but a sentence of death carried into effect is, we believe, totally unprecedented in a civilized country, and in modern times, under such circumstances."

A letter in the *Moniteur* says:—

The battle before Richmond is looked upon as a complete defeat for the Federal troops. The most devoted partisans of the North admit that the reverse is of the most serious character, not only for the position of General McClellan, but also for the Northern cause. Within the space of one week here are two great battles, both lost by the North. Under these circumstances it is hoped that the partisans of an arrangement will be emboldened to raise their voice."

The Northern press is not quite contented with the state of affairs, though it still revels in the glorious strategy evinced by the defeat and retreat of General McClellan's army. The *New York World* thus writes in an editorial:—

The military situation at the West is not what it should be. General Curtis is retreating, with a prospect that he will lose his army, and leave Missouri undefended. General Mitchell is retiring before rebels in Tennessee, and General Morgan is marching in the opposite direction from Knoxville. Rebel armies are turning up in every direction, and our forces are nowhere as strong as they should be.

The following is the new form of oath for foreigners, prescribed by General Butler:—

I,, solemnly swear that I will, to the best of my ability, support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. So help me God.

DEMORALIZATION OF A BATAILLON.—The Winchester Va., correspondent of the *New York Tribune* writes as follows, under date of 19th instant:—"Blenker, with his staff, arrived here to-day, en route for Washington; the General, I am informed, having been relieved of his command, which is completely demoralized. Under the able management and controlling influence of General Carl Schurz, the men may be brought back to a sense of propriety and decency. Blenker is a medium-sized, restless, overbearing sort of man, extremely rude and boisterous. Himself and staff stopped here a night; and every time they moved about the hotel, the clank, clank, clank of their swords on the floor or over the stairways disturbed the rest of the guests. The brief space allotted me would not allow anything like a recital of the barbarities and butcheries of Blenker's men, and even, should I recount a half-dozen or so, they would scarcely be credited. While on marches everybody and everything suffered; tongues were cut out of cattle, and the poor animals left to suffer, and perhaps die; as many as fifteen sheep and lambs were sometimes stolen in a day, and slaughtered; articles of no value whatever to the soldiers were carried off and destroyed, &c. From the highest officer in the command to the lowest the demoralization was complete. Matters finally arrived at such a pass that officers in the division tendered their resignations in order to escape the odium which the conduct of Blenker's men threw upon them. General Fremont eventually ordered an investigation, and it is said, but with what truth I do not know, that during the examination of some men Blenker became very insolent, upon which Fremont took off his (Blenker's) shoulder-straps and broke in two his sword. After his arduous whiskey campaign, General Blenker will probably be allowed a long rest."

EUROPE DEFIED.—The *New York Herald*, in the course of an editorial on the Federal iron-clad navy, observes:—"Our fleet of nine sea-going monitors will all be ready next fall. Early in August we may expect to witness in our bay the trial trips of several of them. Including the new ironclads, Whitney's iron boat, the large shot-proof iron vessel building at the Morgan Works, and the Roanoke, with her three turrets and heavy deck and side armour, thirteen iron-clad vessels will be added to those already afloat, without counting the iron-clads now building on the Western rivers. Europe will view with astonishment this prodigious display of energy and mechanical resources. It was supposed that our power would be taxed to the utmost in arming and sustaining an army of 700,000 men, in addition to the cost of maintaining our active fighting vessels and enormous blockading fleets. Yet, while thus vigorously carrying on the greatest war ever known, we have created an impregnable fleet of nearly 400 vessels of all kinds, and 130,000 seamen, that will enable us to defy all opponents. Our commerce, manufactures, and resources are more than double those of England when she carried on a war of fifteen years with Napoleon and came out victorious at last. The rebels are growing weaker every day; the Union feeling is spreading, and we will be ready to defy all the maritime Powers of Europe combined in less than two months. Napoleon, in Mexico, may then look out."

PRESIDENTIAL DIGNITY.—In passing through Jersey city, on his return from visiting General Scott, the mob invited Mr. Lincoln to address them, which he did in the following terms:—"My Warm Union-loving Friends of New Jersey,—It is not the first time I have been honoured with your cordial welcome in this very place; and I have only to warmly thank you for your present recognition of me, although I had hoped that I should have passed unnoticed. (Loud cheers.) I admire not only your generosity as citizens, and your strong attachment to the Union, but I also notice with much pleasure the gallantry and daring bravery of your noble troops on the battle-field, both officers and men. (Great applause.) When animals and birds are viewed through a fog they cannot be seen to advantage. You may all feel anxious to know about my flying visit to West Point to see General Scott; but I am sure you will feel satisfied when I tell you that it was not to make or unmake any generals now in the army. (Great cheering.) The Secretary of War has put an injunction on the press, lest it might tell more than is requisite, and if I were to give you too much information he might hear a tight rein on myself. (Great laughter and cheers.) My time is necessarily limited, and as I see the cars in readiness I hope you will permit me to conclude for the present by again thanking you for the reception I have received in your city." (Bursts of applause.)

The *New York papers* give a glowing report of a lecture on Secession by Parson Brownlow, in which occurs this elegant passage, and which, we are told, was vociferously applauded by a fashionable audience:—"At this point Brownlow exclaimed to persons in the aisles, 'Gentlemen, come upon the stage. Here are seats for you. I will not contaminate your skirts with Secession. Bring the ladies also with you if they are on the side of the Union.' (Laughter, and cries of 'Good egg.' 'Go it, Parson.') He continued:—'Don't introduce a Secession woman, for a Secession woman South has more devils than Mary Magdalene had. (Laughter and applause. The crowd in the aisles mounted to the stage, among them several members of Congress.) As I was saying, I occasionally delivered short sermons. (A voice:—'What church do you belong to?') The miserable Methodist church South, that's going hellwards—(laughter and applause)—but when I return I intend to set up my own church in East Tennessee."

The *Philadelphia Ledger* notes a remarkable instance of Northern despotism and lawlessness. It says, "Wm. H. Cowan Esq., was arrested in Baltimore lately by the Provost Marshal and, by order of General Dix, was sent to Fort McHenry. His arrest is said to have been ordered in consequence of language used while defending a prisoner on trial at the Criminal Court."

The following remarks upon the prospects of mediation, the hatred of the English in the Northern States, and the desire to bring on a war with this country, appeared in the *Times' City Article* on Tuesday:—

Although in some quarters the last news from America has awakened hopes of the possibility of a settlement being arranged through the mediation of France and England, or by these two Powers in conjunction with Russia, or by Russia singly, the feeling on the point among those who have watched the whole course of the war is far from sanguine. It is seen that there is reason to apprehend that, if a talk of mediation should be permitted by the Government, it will be merely for the purpose of coveting their inaction during the season of deadly heat, and while they are recruiting the 300,000 additional men now demanded, and that, as soon as strength had in some degree been recovered, the mediators might find their labours closed by some transparent pretext, if not by open insult. According to the present advices, the rage against England, consequent upon the loathing expressed against General Butler, had reached a point of insanity; and it is also apparent that in several quarters the idea was again current that it would be a good plan to force on a quarrel with this country, and to attribute to it the necessity for abandoning the war against the South. In the shops at Boston placards are exhibited with the announcement "No English merchandise sold here;" and in Philadelphia, for the sake of patriotism, many persons inflict upon the ladies of their family the compulsion not to wear anything of British manufacture.

GENERAL BUTLER's general order as to the administration of the oath of allegiance to residents of New Orleans, contains this clause:—

It is further ordered, That all persons ever heretofore citizens of the United States, asking or receiving any favour, protection, privilege, passport, or to have money paid to them, property, or other valuable things whatever delivered to them, or any benefit of the power of the United States extended to them, except protection from personal violence, must take and subscribe the oath above specified, before their request can be heard, or any act done in their favour by any officer of the United States, within this department. And for this purpose all persons shall be deemed to have been citizens of the United States, who shall have been resident therein for the space of five years and upwards, and if foreign born, shall not have claimed and received a protection of their Government, duly signed and registered by the proper officer more than sixty days previous to the publication of this order.

In reference to the defence of Mobile, the *Mobile Advertiser* says:—

The people of Alabama are vigorously prosecuting works for the defence of the Alabama river, in case the enemy shall take Mobile, which, however, General Forney, with the concurrence of its citizens, says he will defend to the last extremity. The marshy nature of the country between Mobile and the coast, and the shallowness of the water in all the channels approaching the city, are said to render its defences more feasible than, perhaps, any other of our seacoast cities, and there is said to be a reasonable prospect of successful defence.

The following advertisement appears in the *Delta*:—

New Orleans, June 11, 1862.

Mr. Editor,—Seeing my name published as a member of the Executive Committee of the Union Association of New Orleans, I beg, as an act of justice and historical truth, that you will state that there is no authority for such use of my name; that I am not a member of said association.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS ACKLEY WATSON.

The Federals have grown so sensitive that they cannot tolerate the slightest mark of respect even from children; witness the order of the military commandant of Norfolk:—

Office of Military Governor.

Norfolk, Va., June 28, 1862.

Assemblages in the streets for the purposes of political discussions, being provocative of civil disturbances, are positively forbidden, and the exhibition of badges and flags indicative of disloyal sentiments will not be tolerated.

Parents will be held responsible for the conduct of their children in this particular.

By command of Brigadier-General ROBERT L. VIERE,
Military Governor.

DEATH OF A BEADAN SHARPSHOOTER.—A gentleman gives an account of the death of one of McClellan's sharpshooters, on the peninsula, under circumstances which possess interest sufficient to give them to the public. Several of our men, it seems, were killed while going to a spring near by, but by whom no one could imagine. It was at last determined to stop this inhuman game, if possible. So a sharp look out was kept for this sharpshooter, and the next time he fired the smoke of his rifle revealed the locality of his pit. That night a pit was dug by the Confederate soldiers, commanding the position of the Federal sharpshooter, and arrangements made to get rid of him. For this purpose a young Kentuckian was placed in our pit, with a trusty rifle, and provisions enough to last him until the next night. Next morning early a man was dispatched, as usual, with two buckets to go to the spring. He had proceeded about 200 yards, when the Federal marksman elevated himself, and placing his rifle to his shoulder, was about to pull trigger, but the Kentuckian was too quick for him, for he pulled his trigger first, and simultaneously therewith the Federal fell. Upon repairing to the spot which the Kentuckian did immediately—he discovered a rifle-pit, and a sturdy man in it, in the last agonies of expiring nature. The pit was provided with a cushioned chair, pipes and tobacco, liquors and provisions. But the rifle which had been used was really a valuable prize. It was of most superb manufacture, and supplied with the latest invention—an improved telescopic sight upon its end. The pit had been dug at night, and its occupant had been provisioned at night; so, but for a sharp lookout for the smoke of his gun, there is no saying how long this sharpshooter would have enjoyed the luxury of killing Southern men, without even a chance of losing his own life.—*Petersburg Express*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wood and seventy of Morgan's command, who were captured recently at Lebanon, escaped by overpowering the Yankee crew on the boat which was taking them to St. Louis. They took the boat down to Clarksville, where all landed safely and proceeded to join their command.

The *New York World* says:—"Should General McClellan meet with a great disaster, there can scarcely be a question but that it will lead to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 103, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1862.

The War News.

THE late conflict before Richmond, which has resulted in the retreat and defeat of the Federal army, is the greatest battle of the war, and the worst disaster that has befallen the North. History does not record a battle of equal duration. There is no pretence for saying the Federals were panic-stricken and fled, but it was a stoutly-maintained contest, which fairly tested the strength of the respective armies. Although few details have reached us, they are sufficient to enable us to appreciate the epic completeness of the Confederate plan, and the eminent success that has attended its execution. The opening scenes of the grand drama were enacted on Wednesday and Thursday, June 25 and 26. On those days there was heavy skirmishing, and General McClellan expressed his satisfaction that he had pushed forward his advance. The correspondents of the New York papers reported mysterious movements in the Confederate lines—that some of the pickets were withdrawn, while others retained their position. The tone of General McClellan's despatches on June 25 and 26 shows that he had no conception that these movements were preparatory to a general engagement. On Wednesday he telegraphed to Washington "that the affair was over," and on Thursday he announced that he had gained an advanced and important position hitherto occupied by the enemy. On Friday, at three o'clock in the morning, the battle which had been preluded by the two days' skirmishing, was commenced by General Jackson attacking the re-erves of the Federal right wing, under the command of General McCall. This engagement lasted three hours. Later in the morning there was a general attack upon the whole of the right wing of the Federal army, which was commanded by General Porter, and, according to Northern accounts, the Confederates made four distinct assaults. General McClellan saw that he was defeated, and ordered General Porter to retreat. The Confederates captured the Federal siege guns and 12,000 prisoners. The vanquished army was hotly pursued, and had no breathing time until Saturday evening, when the evacuation of the White House was completed, and it had crossed the Chickahominy, leaving the Confederates in possession of all the ground between the Chickahominy and the Pamunkey, and a booty of stores sufficient, we are told, for a three months' supply of the Confederate army.

On Sunday morning Generals Hill and Longstreet, with their divisions, crossed the Chickahominy. So hasty had been the retreat of the Federals that they had not even attempted to destroy the bridges so as to impede the pursuit, much less did they essay to dispute the passage of the river with the batteries they had planted for so doing. After crossing the Chickahominy on the Sunday, the Confederates took possession of the ground lately held by the enemy, together with the bridges and earthworks that had been erected. Owing to the nature of the ground, notwithstanding the urgency of the case, the Federal retreat was protracted. On Monday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Confederates came up

with the enemy at a place called Turkey Creek, and a fierce engagement ensued, in which the Federals were assisted by their gunboats. The retreat continued during the next two days, with constant skirmishing, until, at length, General McClellan had succeeded in reaching the James River, and placing his troops under the protection of the gunboats; but, still anticipating a further attack, he at once began to throw up entrenchments. Berkeley, the position occupied by General McClellan, is about forty-eight miles from Richmond by water, and thirty-five by land; and it is worthy of remark that this point of the river to which he has been forced to retreat was that intended to be guarded by the Virginia.

It would be superfluous to offer any criticism upon this tremendous battle. The energy of the attack, and the resistance of the Federals, must equally discourage the North. The first shows how invincible is the resolution and devotion of the Southern people to maintain their independence, and the latter that superiority in numbers and resources will not enable the North to subjugate the South. We do not know the numbers of the contending armies in the late battle, but we do know the North spared no effort to take the Confederate capital, and that the South was equally determined to defend it, and that, therefore, it was a trial of the strength of the belligerents—a trial that even the Northern press admits has issued in a Confederate triumph.

But the battle before Richmond, and the defeat of the grand army of the Potomac, though the most prominent, is not the only disaster that the North has lately sustained. Charleston was to have been captured before the 4th of July, but, in consequence of the Federal defeat on James Island, the attempt to take that city has been postponed by the withdrawal of the Federal army. Vicksburg, so often reported as captured, is still in possession of the Confederates. Port Royal is threatened. The operations of the mortar fleets on the White River have been checked. The capture of an express train between Memphis and Corinth shows that there is good reason for the anxiety felt in Washington with respect to the safety of General Halleck's army. General Curtis has had to abandon Arkansas, and to retreat into Missouri.

These facts, admitted and reported by the North, do not need any comment. They show that the Federal effort to effect the conquest of the South has signally failed, and that it was not an idle boast of President Davis when he declared that, if necessary, the war could be continued for twenty years. At all events, the news of the last fortnight must have convinced Europe that there is not the most distant prospect of the termination of the war by the Federal conquest of the Confederate States.

What the Situation Requires.

THE vacillation between the extremes of hope and fear which characterizes the people of the North, has been not inaptly compared to the symptoms of a well-known American disease, sufficiently described by the name of "chills and fever." The comparison holds good also in the mode of its treatment. The remedies which, in the period of chills, are deemed most efficacious are those which most aggravate the disease if given in the period of fever. The chill, in fact, is only the earlier stage of the fever, and the stage in which its progress can alone be checked. The mind of the Northern population is again suffering from a chill of unprecedented severity. The Northern heart is sick from hope too long deferred. The 4th of July, which was to be the day of rejoicing over triumphs such as no other country could boast of, and which was to bring promises of the future still grander and more glorious, has come, but it is a day of national sorrow. It has become a new anniversary, but it is the anniversary of the overthrow of the great army before the rebel capital. It is the anniversary of the abandonment of the siege of Charleston, as well

as of Richmond. And as from the East, so from the West, comes nothing but rumours of impending disasters. Every homestead has some member to mourn whom this cruel war has cost, or a father, or son, or brother, or husband to nurse, who is lingering with the fatal fever of the camps. Yet a new levy, five times as great as the first which was to crush the rebellion, half as great as all the subsequent levies together, is to be made. Already the tax-gatherer is knocking at every door to collect his tribute upon every necessary of life, and yet more treasure is to be spent, greater debts to be incurred, heavier burdens to be assumed, for the same fruitless purpose. A damp, deadly chill has seized upon the vitals of the nation.

But it is transient only. The fever is sure to follow, and its intensity of heat will be in exact proportion to the icy coldness of the chill. In a few months hope will be once more buoyed up by a few trifling successes magnified into triumphs. With the despair of men who have nothing more to lose these Northern populations will make a greater effort than ever before to recover all. The inaction of the defeated armies will be explained by the necessities of a Midsummer campaign. The delay will give time to recruit their numbers, and to drill the contingents which Germany will freely send from her inexhaustible population. Thus before was the Northern mind chilled after the disgrace at Bull Run, and thus before was the chill succeeded by delirious ravings and fever visions of triumph and conquest. If the experience of the past has not convinced Europe that this war will never be abandoned by the North by its own spontaneous act, let the experiment be tried a few months longer, and the proofs will not fail. It is true that it will then be too late to interfere, except by armed force; the fever period will then have set in, and peaceful remedies will only make the ravings and the struggles of the patient more violent.

We have heard much of the opportune moment for European action. If that opportune moment could ever arrive, it has arrived now—now that the winter and spring campaign has ended in disastrous failure, now that the North is panting for breath, and is preparing, with superadded difficulties, to begin its work anew. It is now when capital trembles for its safety, when the young recruit hesitates to share the fate of the relatives that have preceded him in the ranks, and not when the contract mania, fed by the requirements of thrice 300,000 new conscripts shall once more have drowned the fears of wealth, and when regiment after regiment, with flaunting banners and sound of drum, shall march through Washington to the scene of war. We were told that the opportune moment to recognize an insurgent Power was not when its very capital was beleaguered, and its Government might at any moment be a fugitive body. But Richmond is no longer at the hazard of a battle, and the Confederate President and Congress are more securely seated there than Mr. Lincoln and his adjuncts are in Washington. We were also told that the opportune moment for putting bounds to the progress of a conqueror was not in the height of his triumph and success. But the conqueror at this moment is checked at every point. His armies are demoralized by defeat, and in the West, as in the East, are strictly on the defensive.

The Powers of Europe which do not now raise their voices against the further prosecution of the war become parties to it as accomplices after the fact. Their inaction is, in truth, the most powerful stimulus to its prosecution. It is to the North an implied acknowledgment that its undertaking is not a hopeless one, and that by renewed efforts it may yet succeed. In this fact lies the potency of the recognition of the Confederate States as an agency of peace. Why should the North, its Government, its capitalists, and its people, abandon as hopeless, after having staked so much on it, an enterprise in which all the world encourages them to persevere? They, as well as we in Europe, understand the claims which the Confederate States have established upon foreign Governments according to international usage. They,

as well as we, understand the powerful interests which urge foreign Governments to admit these claims. What is more natural and more logical than that they should construe the hesitancy of those Governments, if not into an approval, at least into a confession of the practicability of the subjugation of the South? They do more, and in a self-conceit which is peculiar to them, they construe this hesitancy as a confession of fear of their irresistible power, and their threatened vengeance. Every press, every stump-speech, every official document, embodies this idea in some form, and by it more than by ought else are the demagogues of the North able to delude the people with vain hopes. Thus the non-recognition of the South has become a chief agency in this war, and each reverse of the Northern arms renders its influence more pernicious. Even now, it is argued, does Europe despair of the ability of the South to maintain itself; even in our crippled condition Europe trembles before us, and dares not do what it lists, lest we be offended. Should Europe recognize that just title to independence which a gallant people has written with its best blood, the most fatal of Northern delusions would vanish as if by magic. Every capitalist would feel that the crash could no longer be averted; the Peace Party, which even now must disguise its mutterings in terms of humble submission to the powers that be, would raise its head and speak in tones of command instead of supplication; political leaders, guided by the instinct of self-preservation, would seek to win the favour of what they know must soon become the popular sentiment; the recruit about to step into the bloodstained ranks would, for the first time, be confronted by the doubt whether, indeed, the power of his country's arms was so great, and their success so certain, as he had so long been led to believe. For the first time, in brief, in the history of this war, would its utter hopelessness come home to the minds of all classes of the Northern people. The despotism at Washington would totter, for now for the first time its real strength would be tested, and mankind would discover with amazement, as after the fall of Robespierre, on what a slender basis its enormous power rested. If it did not fall at once, its only supports, the power of raising money, and that of raising troops, would fail it, for the supplies of both would be dried up in their sources.

Is the simple recognition of the Confederate States as a nation an adequate remedy at this crisis? We honestly and firmly believe it. Nay, more, we believe that the attempt to do more could only be productive of mischief. What need is there of mediation between two countries, one of which claims only the government of its own soil and makes no pretensions upon the government of the soil of the other? There are no disputed or disputable possessions which mediation is to adjudge to the rival claimants. It is not as though both claimed the same things, as in the case of rival pretenders to a crown, or of rival factions in a civil war. But, it will be asked, are not boundary questions at dispute an arbitration of which is implied in the recognition of the South? By no means. In recognizing the Confederate Government, European Powers recognize, not a territorial dominion of undefined and doubtful limits, but a Confederation of States the boundaries and governmental organization of each of which antedates the war. The only manner in which these boundaries can be altered is the same in the law of both belligerents. In both it can only be done by the constituted authorities of the State itself, with the consent of its partners in the Federal compact. No difficulty can, therefore, arise on this head calling for the mediation of foreign Powers. The adjustment of questions which may arise out of the former partnership, such as relates to the public debt, the public property, may safely be left to the decision of the parties concerned, when they have once laid down their arms; and in all of these the South has always sincerely professed its willingness to make the most liberal concessions. All it has ever asked is its own soil, and the right of its inhabitants to govern themselves.

We conclude that Europe has now again the opportunity of ending the war by a mere diplomatic

act, without committing itself to the local pretensions or minor differences of the belligerents; without becoming itself entangled in the war. That it has the right to do this, whenever in its judgment it sees fit, no one on this side of the Atlantic will seriously dispute. That it is a duty which it owes to humanity, the progress of events has already shown. The recognition, then, of the Confederate States as an independent nation—nothing less and nothing more—is what the present situation of American affairs requires, the only course of action which it justifies, and the only course of action which can lead to beneficial results.

The "Slave Power."

THE term "Slave Power" has for thirty years been employed by those who in the American Union waged an unrelenting war against the institutions, the peace, and the reputation of their fellow partners of the South, to sum up all the wickedness and heinous crimes with which they charged the objects of their attack, and all the dangers with which they terrified the virtuous inhabitants of the North. Under this title a book has recently been published, which the friends of the North pronounce to be the ablest and most complete advocacy of the Northern side of the American dispute. This is high praise, considering that the advocate had the advantage of all that the talent, the ingenuity, and the sophistry of the North has said for over a year and a half—the greater part of this period almost uncontradicted—in defence of a cause which, nevertheless, the common sense of Europe has well-nigh unanimously condemned. This praise we should not ourselves have bestowed, but as the partisans of the North may be presumed to be the best judges of the strong points of their argument, we have no right to question their discretion in the selection of a champion.

The author of the work—Mr. J. E. Cairnes, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway—does not pretend to be an impartial investigator. His opinions are definitely formed, and he has neither ear nor patience for any others. In the very outset of his book he prejudices the case in dispute by designating the Southern people as a "band of treasonable conspirators," all their acts as treacherous, and their institutions as "robbery and murder on a gigantic scale." From such a judge the South has no mercy to expect; but it is a merciful judgment on him to believe that he has never visited the South himself, has never known a representative man of that country, and has never read a Southern book. Accordingly, he can see nought but unmixed evil in the object of his hate, not so much even as a palliative to its lesser faults. He assumes all to be bad, wicked, and monstrous; and from these charitable premises he proceeds to demonstrate that all must be bad, wicked, and monstrous, without much concern whether his deductions agree with the facts.

His object—and this explains the otherwise unmeaning title which he has borrowed from the old vocabulary of the revilers of the South—is to prove that the institution of Slavery is a formidable aggressive Power, which endangers not only the peace and prosperity, but the very civilization of mankind; and, therefore, that the accident which has imposed this system of labour upon the Confederate States makes their independent national existence a standing menace to the best interests of humanity. It is an easy task to assail what no one, at least in Europe, has thought of defending these two or three generations back; and painting is not difficult where the only colour permitted is black, and the only merit consists in the intensity of the hue; and hence the feeblest capacities have successfully vied with the highest in this species of rhetoric and painting, and Europe has been favoured *ad nauseam* with specimens of every degree of excellence. But as neither Brazil nor Spain, with its slave-holding colony, have been considered as peculiarly formidable or aggressive Powers, the horror at their exceptional institutions might be indulged in without any ad-

mixture of fear. The devil, though very black, might be painted without danger of the proverbial consequence. He had no clutches long enough to reach us, and we might lecture him, abuse him, hold him up to scorn and indignation, with as perfect impunity as naughty boys make faces at, or poke sharp sticks at, the encaged wild beasts in the menagerie. Now, if we are to believe Professor Cairnes, it is not so. The evil thing is about to break loose; soon, like a roaring lion, it will seek whom it may devour; and Professor Cairnes gives the alarm, and calls upon all good people for assistance ere it be too late. This is the originality of the book before us. Except this it does not contain an idea which has not been worn threadbare by the Abolitionists of the Wendall Phillips school since 1833; not an assertion which has not been confuted over and over again. Even this originality is restricted, and consists in giving a more general significance to a word and an imaginary danger which had long had only a local application.

Brought forward seriously, with much show of authority and argumentation by an avowed champion of the North as the best justification of its course, Mr. Cairnes' theory deserves our consideration. Mr. Cairnes asserts that a "Slave Power," as he calls it, has been the dominant Power in the American Union since its formation, that it has been the author of all the wrongs which that Union has perpetrated or attempted upon others, that it is the one evil influence which has poisoned the public and private morals of the American democracy, and that the present war has no other motive than a sublime moral effort of the Northern people to shake off and destroy this Power for ever. He further asserts that, from the conditions of its existence, this "Slave Power" is compelled to spend upon a vaster theatre those irresistible destructive energies for which it no longer found scope in the late Union, and that if not checked now by the combined efforts of the civilized world, it would grow to such dimensions as to impede, if not wholly obstruct, the path of human progress. This is the fundamental idea of Mr. Cairnes' book. Let us first consider how far the past warrants the fears which he hopes to awaken in our minds.

When the American Union was formed, twelve out of the thirteen States composing it had the law of slavery written on their statute books. After an existence of eighty-four years, during which it more than quadrupled its territory, and multiplied its population by ten, fourteen out of thirty-three States retained that law. This shows no very formidable progress as made by Mr. Cairnes' "Slave Power." But these altered proportions do not tell the whole story. While free labour has supplanted slavery in State after State, slavery has not supplanted free labour in a single one of the many States which added new stars to the galaxy on the banner of the rapidly expanding Union. Kentucky was a part of Virginia when the Union was formed, and while this new State retained the law of the mother State Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, also integral parts of Virginia when the Union was formed, rejected it. Tennessee was a part of North Carolina at the same period, and on becoming a State simply sanctioned what had existed before. The same is true of Alabama and Mississippi, which originally were parts of Georgia. In Florida, and in the Louisiana Purchase—out of which latter were carved the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa—slavery was implanted by the Spanish and French colonists, whose descendants still form an important element of the population of some of these States. Texas entered the Union as an independent Republic, recognized as such by foreign nations, and brought the law of slavery with her. It appears from these facts that the "Slave Power," whose aggressive energies Mr. Cairnes professes so greatly to dread, instead of encroaching upon the possessions of others, has not been able to retain its own. At the adoption of the Constitution, the South—already then so termed—was the superior of the North both in territory and population; in 1860 it possessed but one-third of the joint population, and not quite one-half of the territory. Indeed, the deterioration of the South, its hopeless inability to compete with its more en-

lightened, more thrifty, and solidly progressive rival, is Mr. Cairnes' favourite theme in the very book which is intended to alarm the world with the formidable proportions and threatening attitude of the "Slave Power."

Having conjured up an imaginary danger by the invention of an imaginary fact, Mr. Cairnes proceeds to invent its causes in the same felicitous manner. He discovers them in a supposed law of the nature of the "Slave Power." He asserts that slave labour exhausts beyond redemption the soil it cultivates, which compels the "Slave Power" to constantly seek new fields for its fearful ravages, and to prolong its life by preying on that of others. He draws a graphic picture of abandoned farms, of deserted villages in countries which had been settled scarce long enough for a white child born in them to grow to man's estate. Strange that this inevitable result of slave labour, according to Mr. Cairnes' theory, has never been noticed in Cuba or Brazil. Still stranger that each of those States where the originals of his pictures are supposed to abound, figures in the official census statistics as yearly increasing in population and in productiveness. Thus Georgia, one of the original States, in 1840 had a population of 691,392, and produced 300,000 bales of cotton; in 1850, with a population of 920,000, it produced 450,000 bales. Such a progress is a strange consequence of abandoned farms and deserted villages. Mr. Cairnes might have surmised, and in another part of the book a glimmer of the truth seems to have flashed athwart his mind—that in all new countries, where lands are plentiful, there is a wasteful system of agriculture quite independent of the form of labour employed, which has for its obvious reason that it is cheaper to buy new lands than to fertilize the old ones. Neither Mr. Cairnes, nor any one else, to our knowledge, has ever adduced any proof that cotton exhausts the soil more rapidly than cereals; and an *à priori* reasoner like Mr. Cairnes might have reasoned that the abandonment of land consequent on exhaustion would be a more potent agency in free-labour than in slave-holding countries. He might have argued that the small farmer, with his thrifty wife, rifle and axe in hand, was the true pioneer of the wilderness, and more apt to seek and find untried fields for his industry than the planter, with his slave family, and the cares, expenses, and difficulties of transporting and providing for them. What with the one was only a congenial adventure, an *à priori* reasoner might have added, would become to the other, bidding adieu to his ancestral mansions and his broad estates, the last resort of a cruel necessity. Slavery—might have been the conclusion—is in its nature sedentary and stationary; free labour is migratory and progressive. But this reasoning and conclusion would not have suited Mr. Cairnes' purpose in this branch of his argument, though it did admirably in another; and hence he ignores the palpable fact that in no one instance has slave labour successfully competed with free labour in the settlement of new territories. The bitter struggle for Kansas, while it flooded that land of dispute with free labourers, did not induce the introduction of fifty slaves; and the territory of Arizona, with a climate and soil adapted to slave-labour products, and where free labour offers no competition, yet contains after ten years of organization less than fifty. This is the reason why the contest of the South with the North for the possession of the nascent States of the West was so utterly hopeless, and is one of the chief causes of the dissolution of the Union. Less biased historians than Mr. Cairnes might, not illogically, conclude that it was the conscious weakness of the "Slave Power," and not its strength, which forced it to resign all hopes of future expansion and aggrandizement, and to seek its last refuge in a new national existence; and History herself will soon solve the doubt whether that new national existence is more competent to protect it than was the stronger and greater one from which it has fled.

It is not our intention nor our desire to defend the institution of Slavery; but we cannot conceive why the accident of its existence in the Confederate States should justify a British author in stigmatizing

the whole people of those States with the most opprobrious epithets. Surely a people who worship the same God as ourselves, who read the same Bible, and who base their hopes of future salvation upon the same Mercy, cannot be a nation of robbers and murderers. If they are wedded to error, surely accusations which in their inmost hearts they must feel to be cruelly unjust will not impress them with the knowledge or the wisdom of the teachers who seek to convert them. Mr. Cairnes would have us believe that all of civilization in the late United States resides on one side of a geographical line, and on the other side all is darkness and barbarism. An unsupported assertion is not to be met by an unsupported counter-assertion; but the present war has revealed facts sufficient whereby to test Mr. Cairnes' charge. We can compare the side of exclusive civilization with that of barbarism, in the official documents of their respective Governments, in the acts and reports of the commanders of their respective armies, in the tone and temper of their organs of public opinion. The comparison is not favourable to Mr. Cairnes' conclusions. Those lawless and untamable barbarians, of whom the author speaks as "mean whites," and "white trash"—as if these terms were familiar household words in the South—have executed the most difficult and successful strategic operations that have ever been performed by the best disciplined armies of the Old World. Under unheard of hardships and privations there has been a striking absence of the mutiny, desertion, treachery, which are the ordinary consequences of such sufferings. The negroes, between whom and their wicked tyrants, Mr. Cairnes tells us, no human tie of affection is possible, have kept guard over the unprotected wives and children of their masters, have followed the latter in the field, have been the sappers and miners, as well the faithful spies, of the Confederate armies. But what will be thought of an author—and a political economist, too—who gravely informs his readers, and repeats it in every chapter of his book, that of a population of eight millions, five lead a life "alternating between listless vagrancy, and the excitement of marauding expeditions." Did it not occur to Mr. Cairnes to ask himself how five millions of vagrants and marauders could live at the expense of the industry of three millions? Did it not occur to him, that in one single branch of industry the product of the South has, within half a century, increased from a few thousand bales of cotton to 4,000,000 bales? After this the reader is prepared for the astounding statement, that "all attempts at conveying education to the bulk of the people of the Southern States have proved costly failures."

Throughout the book there is no evidence that Mr. Cairnes has consulted a single table of official statistics, either as regards population, productions, churches, schools, distribution of property, or any of the facts which one might suppose indispensable to the performance of the task he set himself, although the census of the United States, and publications without number of equal authority, tempted to the study by their elaborate accuracy and convenient arrangement. His chief authorities, which indeed he quotes copiously, appear to have been Olmstead and Helper, books which any author who values his reputation opens with distrust, and shuts with a stronger feeling. Throughout his work Mr. Cairnes betrays an amazing perverseness of judgment, which besets him already in the introduction. He there says that at the outbreak of the American difficulties public opinion in Europe ascribed the cause to conflicting commercial interests and prohibitive tariffs, but as the war progressed, it became obvious that slavery was the true cause, and its abolition on the one hand, and its extension on the other, the objects of the contending parties. Would any one but Mr. Cairnes have thus written the history of European public opinion on American affairs?

Such, then, is the best argument which the North, after more than a twelvemonth's exclusive possession of the ear of Europe, can put forth in its own defence. We have presented its essential features fairly and as forcibly as the author himself could

have wished. Into its minor details we need not enter; most of them require no other reply than a mere reference to the Census and the Trade Returns.

Southern Patriotism in Europe.

PERHAPS no country ever engaged in a great war under such discouraging disadvantages as did the Confederate States of America. When Mr. Lincoln assumed the Presidential Chair, they had not an arsenal, not a dockyard, not a powder-mill, or a gun factory, not a single regiment of troops under the orders of the Confederate Government, and not a penny in the Confederate treasury except £100,000 loaned it by the State of Alabama. The subsequent accession of Virginia to their number supplied some of these prime necessities of warfare; but up to the fall of Fort Sumter, when the Washington Administration dropped its mask, the belief in peace was so general that no steps had been taken to obtain supplies from Europe. Since that period they have waged a war of self-defence, upon the whole successfully, against the vastly superior numbers and resources of their enemy; they have twice defeated his main armies, once at Manassas and once at Richmond, and have never lost a pitched battle, except that of Somerset, which can scarcely be called a pitched battle. These great results they have achieved by an unanimity of which it would be difficult to find a parallel in history, and which caused a whole people to act as one man. Regiments were raised, clothed, and even armed, at individual expense; banks, corporations, and private persons, placed their funds at the disposal of the Government. The highest in station took their places by the side of the humblest in the ranks, the lad from school by the side of the hoary grandsire. The whole male population of the country became one great army, of which the women were the sempstresses and nurses, and the slaves the teamsters and labourers. Fearful as have been the sacrifices which every age, sex, and class has been called upon to make, and has cheerfully made, it cannot be said that they have not been compensated by great rewards. They have extorted the reluctant admiration of mankind for a people whom the systematic misrepresentation of a quarter of a century had almost placed beyond the pale of mankind's sympathies. If the war had purchased nothing else, it would have purchased, at perhaps not too dear a price, that elevation in the estimation of the civilization of the world which fifty years of peace could with difficulty have earned.

The same spirit which animated the Southern people animated also those members of the national family whom the war surprised in distant climes. Southern navy officers, in remote regions of the globe, threw up their commissions, though with the certainty of being incarcerated as traitors on their arrival in a Federal port. Men educated for the army, and having devoted their lives to the profession, felt the tie to their Southern home more binding than the ties of life-long professional and private associations, and hastened by scores to offer their services where they deemed them rightfully to belong. Civil appointments, posts of honour, and prospects of ambition were alike sacrificed without hesitation and without regret. Youths engaged in pursuits of study or of pleasure in European capitals braved the dangers of the blockade, or the greater perils of a journey through the enemy's country, to take their proper place among the defenders of their homes. Those to whom this course was not open, compulsory exiles from the land of their affections, sought other means to aid its cause. Who had money to give, gave it; who could ply a pen, plied it. According to his means, his position, his social or business connections, each one applied his hands to the work nearest to him with an unremitting, untiring, never despairing effort. Nor were the women idle; again and again have remittances been made of money, or what is more than money's worth, medicines and surgical instruments, the spontaneous contributions of Southern ladies residing in Europe; and, in alliance with their sisters bearing that harder yoke than exile,

the sway of a brutal conqueror, female ingenuity and fertility of resource, has often contrived to relieve the objects of its patriotic benevolence, where the efforts of men had failed. Silent as has been this work, or rather, overlooked in the great tragic spectacle enacting, its fruits are nevertheless apparent everywhere, and every one that numbers a Southerner among his acquaintance can bear personal testimony to the fact. No system of Freemasonry ever so closely united together in common sympathies and common objects, as has this fervid Southern patriotism, men strangers to, and living remote from, each other, and, perhaps, without affinity of taste or pursuits. Surely, a nation which, in a great emergency, has such a hold upon its individual members, that even those who might be supposed alienated by long absence, or who, at least, are withdrawn from the contagion of a powerful popular enthusiasm, imperil and sacrifice in its behalf position, prospects, private fortunes, even life itself—such a nation cannot be otherwise than a homogeneous one, and one endowed with more than ordinary vitality. In such a nation the craving for independence cannot be a transient or accidental sentiment; it must spring from, and feed itself from, the deepest roots of the national life.

We are led to these reflections, which we could illustrate with innumerable interesting details, were we at liberty to do so, by the intelligence that a safe and certain channel having been discovered to relieve the lamentable sufferings of Southern prisoners in Northern hands, within a few hours several hundred pounds had been collected in Liverpool alone, and were by the next mail already on their way. The energy and promptness exhibited in this instance is more suggestive than the pecuniary value of the gift, which has since been, no doubt, largely increased. The transmission was effected, we are informed, through the agency of the "Southern Club," at Liverpool, founded for such purposes by Mr. J. H. Ashbridge, of New Orleans, and others; and it proves the efficacy of organization even for objects which the law of God and man sanctions, under all circumstances, but especially under those where the vigilance of a suspicious enemy is to be eluded. Thanks to such organized and united efforts, the Southerners in Europe have been enabled to contribute in no small degree to the results of the battles waged across the ocean, while raising their country's character in the eyes of foreigners. The time was when, for any one to call himself a Southerner, exposed him to the risk of being considered little better than a barbarian of the most cruel and savage type. The time has already come when men are proud of the name, and when many claim it who have no right to bear it. The manner in which those who have that right have proved their title to it will make it an easy matter at all times to draw the distinction.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

CORNERED.

We made the Island of Martinique after a long and unprofitable cruise of fifty-seven days from Maranham, Brazil. This island is one of the few possessions still remaining to the French in the West Indies. The scenery is bold and precipitous, the mountains bearing evident traces of volcanic origin, and as we steamed along the shore at sunset the scene presented was grand and varied; the soft light of sunset lent a mellow tint to the picture, the sides of the mountains being covered with verdure, while the white cottages of the planters, peeping from amidst this maze of tropical vegetation, afforded pleasing evidences of civilization and refinement. The authorities kindly accorded us permission to lay at the man-of-war anchorage, and on the morning of November 9 we moved into the inner harbour of Port Royal, and came to under the guns of the immense fortifications which command its approaches. The defences of the harbour consist in four or five forts, two of which are well manned and very large; they would prove formidable obstacles to any foe. The town is regularly laid out and very handsome.

Josephine was born a few miles from this spot, and the inhabitants have shown their appreciation of the virtues and graces of the first Empress, by the erection of a handsome statue to her memory.

The officers of the garrison, while practising that strict neutrality which is the policy of their nation, treated us personally with great kindness, inviting us to their clubs, and acting as cicerones in pointing out the various places of interest and beauty. We will ever retain grateful recollections of their kindness and friendship. The Sumter was an object of great curiosity, and they could not understand how so frail a vessel could encounter so many dangers, and yet remain unscathed: for many days our ship was thronged with visitors. We could not obtain coal here, but were permitted to purchase it from the merchants of St. Pierre, a small town some thirty miles to the northward. We accordingly bid farewell to Port Royal, with its many pleasant associations, and on the 13th inst. got under way for St. Pierre, and came to in front of the town at three p.m. The anchorage is very unsafe, the "barbour" being merely an indentation of the coast, and wholly exposed to the sea; a protracted stay during the hurricane season is extremely dangerous. Curiosity was rife to see "the pirate," and the beach was literally covered with people, while hundreds of little negroes swam out to the ship with perfect impunity from the sharks which infest the West Indian seas. Mooring the ship stern on to the shore we commenced coaling and making preparations for sea.

The United States' steamer Iroquois had visited this port some time before, in search of "the pirate" Sumter, and it was rumoured that she had stranded on the rocks off Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil; thus, as we hoped, delivering us from all further pursuit from her, for she was considered an ugly customer; but while in the act of congratulating ourselves, she hove in sight, and afforded us an apt illustration of the old saw about "speaking of the devil, &c." On the 16th, at four p.m., when we had nearly finished coaling and other arrangements for sea, a steamer was seen rounding the north point of the island. She was under Danish colours, and had made, it was evident, some ludicrous attempts at disguising herself, such, for instance, as a studied disarrangement of her yards, and some alterations in her head booms; I was under the impression at the time that we were very old birds to be caught with such chaff. She came up slowly at first, evidently not seeing us, as we lay concealed in the shadow of the hills, but when within about two miles we could see, with the aid of our glasses, the water curling from her bows, and we knew that the Yankee had scented his prey, or, to employ the expressive phrase of our rough old signal quartermaster, "she had got a bone in her mouth." All the good citizens of St. Pierre came down to the beach to witness the scene, and a great many indulged their aquatic instincts by swimming out to us, to await the denouement. The Iroquois was now close on to us, and when about 100 yards distant, hauled down the Danish colours, and set the Stars and Stripes in their place; thus we were once more in the presence of our hated foe.

The Iroquois is one of the new class of gunboats, powerfully armed with nine and eleven-inch guns, and is about 1000 tons burden; her crew consists of about 200 men; and we knew that it was useless for the Sumter to think of fighting her; our only hope of escape being by strategy. The enemy stood in close to the land, and sent a boat on shore to communicate with the United States' Consul and the French authorities, being, however, very careful not to drop anchor. Captain Palmer informed his Excellency the Governor that there was a pirate at anchor in the Port of St. Pierre, and requested permission to destroy her, but this was refused emphatically, and the irate commander furnished with the proclamation of his Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., according belligerent rights to the Confederate States, and decreeing strict neutrality on the part of France. He was informed that it was necessary for the Iroquois either to cast anchor, or leave the waters of the Isle, and if accepting the former alternative, that an interval of twenty-four hours must elapse be-

tween the departure of either belligerent; also that in case of any breach of neutrality occurring, the forts would open on the offending party.

After remaining stationary for some two hours, her boat returned; the Iroquois stood out of the harbour, taking a position a short distance ahead of us, and commenced backing and filling across our bows. Meanwhile the crew of "the pirate" were not idle; every preparation was made to repel boarders and to defend our ship to the last extremity; the crew were inspected, and every man seen to be properly armed and equipped for action. We fully expected an attack that night, and remembered the threats and loud pretensions of not respecting any neutrality which prevented them from destroying the Sumter, as made by the commander of the Niagara and the redoubtable Porter, of the Powhattan; this latter gentleman having actually followed us as far as Maranham, only to find the people "*Sumter mad*" on his arrival. Very few on board the Sumter that night felt any inclination to slumber; the men were sitting about in groups commenting in low tones on the contest which now seemed to be imminent; while those officers who were at leisure were gathered on the quarter-deck engaged in the same interesting discussion. At two a.m., the word was passed by the look-outs forward that the Yankee was bearing down close upon us; and the order passed, almost in a whisper, "to go to quarters." I never saw men obey an order with more alacrity: in a few minutes the boarders, pikemen, and small-arm men were ranged in three lines close to our low rail to await his attack, all preserving a perfect silence that seemed death-like. When about twenty feet distant from us, we heard the deep tones of her bell in the engine-room, as it rung the order to back; but not before we had discovered her men at quarters, and, in fact, presenting every appearance of a ship intending to board an enemy. A single stray pistol shot would have brought on the engagement, and to judge from the lights and signals glancing along the fortifications, the Frenchmen would have taken a hand too. The appearance of our decks next morning was amusing; the men were strewn about promiscuously, fully armed and accoutred for battle, endeavouring to obtain some rest; a stranger might easily have imagined us to be a buccaneer. Captain Palmer stated, next day, that he was afraid we would board him in boats, when asked the meaning of his threatening manoeuvres; but it is difficult to believe that the commander of a ship-of-war would make such a flimsy excuse, and let us hope, for his own credit, that he did not really believe his own statement. The demeanour of the crew was most satisfactory; no noise or bustle could be noticed, but a quiet, firm determination was expressed in the countenance of each man to defend our noble little ship to the bitter end, and never to strike our flag to the foe. These flagrant violations of neutrality greatly irritated the inhabitants, and the better portion of them threw off their thin mask of indifference, and openly expressed sympathy for us; some were so excited as to volunteer to go with us, but their kind offers were not accepted. The negroes, however, did not seem to recognize us for what we really are, their best friends, but were somewhat opposed to the Sumter; and their allegiance to our enemy was made the subject of one of Captain Palmer's voluminous despatches to Mr. Gideon Welles.

THE ESCAPE.

On Saturday, the 16th inst., the French war-steamer L'Achiron, came in from Port Royal, and anchored, in order to assist the authorities in preserving the neutrality of the port. She is a small vessel and very lightly armed, but her commander was none the less emphatic for that, and Captain Palmer was fain to consent to either come to anchor or cruise full three miles off the land. He chose the latter alternative, and departed accordingly, after having established a well-concerted code of signals, and instituted a complete system of espionage on our movements. The method of ascertaining the news concerning us was an ingenious one, being effected through the agency of the negro

fishermen and their little canoes. They would row out as if to fish, the Iroquois would take up a position in-shore of them, and then what passed was veiled from profane eyes. One of these fellows I noticed as being particularly zealous; the words "*Con fiance de Dieu*, No. 718," were painted on the sides of his boat, and as he rowed by us, it was amusing to see how serious and inflated he appeared to be with the importance of his mission.

The moon was now approaching its full, which was very unfortunate for us, as it almost turned night into day, and gave the Yankee a most important advantage; I never was so sensible of its brilliancy before; Venus also appeared to dispense us a most extraordinary light; though all this, I suppose, was the effect of my heated imagination, and may have originated in a desire to "keep dark." Our best chance of escape, therefore, was early in the evening, when the moon had not yet risen from behind the tall cliffs of St. Pierre.

By the 23rd of November the slight repairs necessary for some portions of our machinery were effected, and the Sumter was ready for sea. At five minutes to eight, p.m., we went to general quarters, carefully extinguishing all lights and shrouding the battle-lanterns. All was in utter darkness, and it was difficult to distinguish the forms of the men as they stood by their guns, while the sauded deck, piles of shot, rammers, sponges, &c., in their places, indicated preparations for a desperate defence. The word was now given, the cable slipped, a few strokes of an axe severed the stern line, and the Sumter bounded away to the southward. I will never forget the yell which the negroes on shore gave at this moment, it seemed like the exclamations of men under the influence of mortal excitement, and I could not institute a more apt comparison than to liken it to the howl of demons. We were a little way from our anchorage, and just astern of the Acheron, when we observed three brilliant lights flash up on shore, followed by two "blue lights" from a Yankee hermaphrodite brig in the harbour. A boat immediately left the French steamer in pursuit of those making signals, while the Sumter, rightly surmising that the signals indicated her present course, wore round on her keel and stood to the northward. About this time the "journal" became so heated that it was necessary to proceed very slowly, which we did, keeping close in under the land, to obtain the benefit of the tall shadows of the mountains, which were thrown far out into the deep. When opposite the north point of the island, the look-out in one of the quarter-boats reported the enemy bearing down on us under all sail and steam, and we all strained our eyes anxiously in the direction indicated, but nothing like the Iroquois was to be seen, the enemy in question turning out to be a small fishing smack, sloop-rigged, and broad off our port beam. The unfortunate discoverer was called down, and severely reprimanded for his stupidity.

The order "to give her all steam and let her go," was given, and the Sumter shot out from under the lee of the land with great speed. We were, however, destined to have more trouble with our machinery, the engineer reporting that the "journal" was again getting hot rapidly; we were forced to "slow down," and finally to stop entirely. This was a moment of extreme danger, and if our huge foe had pounced upon us he would have made short work of the little Sumter; but, fortunately, a heavy rain squall came up at this juncture, so obscuring everything that any object was invisible at twenty yards distance. The engine was again started after some fifteen minutes delay, and, favoured with a fine breeze, the Sumter seemed to fly through the water; indeed, none had seen her make such headway before.

At eleven p.m. we made the Island of Dominique, beat the retreat, secured the battery, and spliced the main-brace, drinking to the health of Jefferson Davis and the Southern Confederacy. We skirted close along the shore of the island, and after making some very narrow escapes from running on the rocks, finally ran out clear of the islands, and the Sumter was at sea again, free once more to pursue her destructive career.

A court of inquiry was held on the captain of the

Iroquois, and he was deprived of his command. The Northern press indulge in marvellous stories concerning a patriotic old tar, who went on a spree at St. Pierre, out of pure chagrin at our escape; but we could not find out what became of the vessel, though it was understood that she went in pursuit of the Sumter, but as this was generally thought to be a wild-goose chase, we considered it indefinite.

Reviews.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS.

THE PRODUCTION OF COTTON (*continued.*)

In England there has been a chronic panic lest the supply of the raw material should fail. With regard to the increasing consumption of cotton fabrics, no doubt has been entertained. With the advance of civilization, this consumption of cotton increases, and, indeed, the consumption of cotton is an unerring test of national wealth and national progress. India and China would multiply our cotton trade, if the consumption of cotton in those countries should equal 20 per cent. of the present consumption per head of the population of the United Kingdom.

The present consumption of cotton may be thus estimated:—

Country.	Population.	lbs. consumed.	per head.
England	29,000,000	260,000,000	9 lbs.
France	36,000,000	140,000,000	4 lbs.
United States.....	28,000,000	315,000,000	11 lbs.
Other European Countries	213,000,000		
Other parts of America	29,000,000	1,096,000,000	1 lb.
Asia	775,000,000		
Africa	200,000,000		
	1,310,000,000	1,811,000,000	

To make the general consumption equal to 2 lbs. per head, it would require nearly double the quantity of cotton at present grown; but, unless the progress of civilization is a chimera, 2 lbs per head is a low and inadequate average. The above estimate is made up partly from statistics collected nearly four years ago; and during the last four years the consumption of cotton, especially in France, has greatly increased.

It has, then, never been a question of finding a market for our manufactures, but whether we could rely on obtaining a sufficient supply of the raw material. On the other hand, the planters of the Southern States have been fully persuaded of their power to produce any quantity of their staple that might be called for; but they have always been anxious concerning the possibility of the demand being limited; and that the development of the plantations might result in loss by raising more cotton than could be consumed, and so making it comparatively a drug in the market, and forcing down prices; a very unreasonable surmise, we must confess, but it is not more unreasonable to dread the limitation of the demand, than to dread the limitation of the consumption. There will always be fluctuation in consumption, values, and prices, but hitherto there has not been any over productiveness of staple; that is, the bounty of the Creator has not been found a needless waste. Nor hitherto has the productiveness of the earth been proved inadequate to the wants of man. The increase of demand has gone hand in hand with the development of production. To show that the planters, though in error in respect to the possibility of the limitation of demand, were, from facts within their own knowledge, justified in feeling confidence in being able to supply any possible demand, we will quote from the census of 1850 the acres of improved and unimproved land in farms in the States in which cotton may be profitably cultivated.

	Improved.	Unimproved.
North Carolina	5,453,975	15,543,008
South Carolina	4,072,651	12,145,049
Georgia	6,378,479	16,442,900
Florida	349,049	1,216,240
Tennessee	5,175,173	13,808,849
Arkansas	781,530	1,816,684
Alabama	4,435,614	7,702,068
Mississippi	3,444,358	7,046,061
Louisiana	1,500,025	3,399,018
Texas	643,976	10,852,363
	32,324,830	90,002,240

Thus, in 1850, only 27 per cent. of the farm land in the Cotton States was improved. What an enormous margin does this leave for increased production; particularly when we consider how, during the last ten years, agricultural science has facilitated and cheapened the improvement of land.

According to the census of 1850, there were 113,032,614 acres of improved land, of which 17,247,614 acres were not in actual cultivation. We must, therefore, make

an allowance of about 3 per cent. for the improved land that may be cultivated. Further, in 1850 the number of acres in cotton cultivation was 5,000,000 throughout the United States; so that not quite a sixth part of the cultivated land in the Cotton States was used for the production of cotton. If, then, the demand for cotton renders it expedient—that is, profitable—there is land ready to receive cotton seed, or the South could limit its growth of other agricultural produce, or the unimproved lands could be brought into cotton cultivation.

But we have not yet disposed of the question of area. The acres of farm land in the ten cotton-growing States are 122,327,110; but the total area of those States is equal to 452,000,000 acres; and persons acquainted with the country, and having a knowledge of the kind and climatic position of land necessary for cotton cultivation, estimate that half this immense territory may be used as cotton fields. It is surely needless to further press the point of there being sufficient available land in the Southern States to grow as much cotton as can be consumed. As a proof that an increasing area has been sown with cotton, we may observe that the total product in 1850 was 2,796,706 bales, and in 1860, 4,300,000 bales, and that this increase was not the result of improved farming; but that, whereas in 1850 only 5,000,000 acres were in cotton cultivation, in 1860 there were not less than 8,000,000. With such immense resources in the way of land, it is not surprising that the planters should have directed their attention more to the improvement of quality rather than the quantity to be obtained per acre.

Besides the suitable land, and the demand for the produce, capital and labour are needed. Will the productiveness of the Southern States be limited for lack of these indispensable agents? With regard to capital, assuredly not. We always find abundance of money forthcoming to foster enterprise that has a prospect of returning a profit. The West Indian proprietors refuse to find the means for growing cotton on their estates, but they find the capital for the cultivation of sugar. As an instance of the anxiety of capitalists to find a promising investment, we may recall a fact revealed by the crash of 1847—that London houses had advanced on sugar crops to be grown three or four years after the date of the advance. In British India capital for cotton growing cannot be procured, but there is a superabundance of capital for public works, indigo and opium cultivation, and all other pursuits that yield a profit. It is amusing to hear gentlemen, who ought to know better, advocate the Government guaranteeing a return on cotton culture, because such a proposition is in itself an admission that, in the opinion of all mercantile and monied men, cotton growing in India is a bad speculation. Capital, the servant of profit, is easily beguiled by fair promises, except, as in the case of Indian cotton culture, these promises have been demonstrated false by experience. The competition for capital is not greater than the competition for investment.

If, then, it became necessary, we are confident that European capital would be furnished to the Southern planters; but, probably, such a necessity will not arise. Hitherto the increased crops have been brought to market without any unusual assistance. The capital of the Northern States increased with the increase of the cotton cultivation, and the advances made to planters were profits arising from the cotton trade. However, without considering special circumstances, the question of capital is disposed of by the canon—that where there is suitable land, suitable labour, and a profitable demand, capital will be willingly attracted. Having satisfied ourselves as to the land and the demand, it remains for us to inquire whether the Southern States will be able to find the increased labour necessary for the increased supply. That they have hitherto done so we know. What are their prospects of so doing in the future?

We give a return of the labour population in the cotton-growing States for four decades.

	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
North Carolina	205,017	215,601	245,817	288,548
South Carolina	258,475	313,401	327,038	384,984
Georgia	149,656	217,531	280,944	381,682
Florida	—	15,501	23,717	39,310
Alabama	47,439	117,949	253,532	342,844
Mississippi	32,814	65,659	195,211	309,873
Louisiana	69,064	109,588	168,452	244,809
Arkansas	1,617	4,576	19,935	47,100
Tennessee	80,107	141,603	183,059	239,459
Texas	—	—	—	53,161
	844,189	1,233,009	1,699,705	2,336,775

From 1820 to 1830 the growth of the black population was 50 per cent.; from 1830 to 1840, 25 per cent.; and from 1840 to 1860, 40 per cent. From this we gather that the labouring population of the South is increasing with a rapidity that will be equal to the additional demand for labour. And this is so conclusive that we

need not dwell upon the improvements of agriculture that will necessarily economize the production of cotton.

We have, then, an increasing demand for cotton, an almost indefinite extent of land in the Southern States fit for the profitable growth of cotton; there is no lack of capital, and the supply of labour is abundant, and constantly becoming larger. We have merely to record facts that need no comment. In seventy years, from producing only a few bags, America has become the cotton grower for the world, and has created that industry which is so marvellously developed in England. We have seen how the whole growth of the cotton trade, from the close of the last century until now, is due to the Southern States, and that the Southern States, so far from being exhausted, are in a position to yield more and more cotton, according to the exigencies of mankind. England ought especially to rejoice in the prospect of the continual development of her cotton manufactures, for it is through her agency that India, China, and Africa are to be clothed. But in reference to cotton, England suffers from a peculiar determination to try, or rather to wish to try, to gather abundance where it has pleased Providence not to bestow abundance. A great deal is said about breaking up the American monopoly. What monopoly does the South enjoy? She must sell and the world must buy. The strength of the South consists in the special fecundity of her soil; and such a patent of monopoly can neither be bestowed nor destroyed by man. America was the last to enter the cotton field, and at a single bound she outstrips all her competitors. The American cotton crop in 1790 was 1,500,000 lbs.; in 1860 it was 2,250,000,000 lbs. As in the past, so in the future the Southern States will be the main source of cotton supply, and when from war or any other catastrophe that supply is cut off, the commerce in cotton must dwindle.

But those who imagine that the cultivation of cotton in the Southern States demands no ingenuity or care labour under a considerable error. Even the prolific South does not yield her increase without assiduous toil. Cotton planting requires as much, perhaps more, assiduity and skill than any other agricultural pursuit. We will give some of the items of outlay of a cotton plantation, which will, we think, demolish the idea of the easy simplicity of cotton cultivation.

Let us take an estate of 4000 acres, of which little more than 50 per cent. is in cultivation; this would be worth \$70,000
250 slaves 90,000
Mules, mares, herd of cattle, and hogs ... 7,000
Carts, wagons, implements, &c. ... 2,500

Capital invested ... 169,500

Money in the South is worth 7 per cent., and we have put down the invested capital at a low figure. The interest on the capital invested is equal to \$11,000

Bagging and rope	800
Taxes on servants and land	250
Wages for overseers	800
Medical attendance (average)	309
Clothing for slaves	1,500
Repairs, iron, gins, &c.	300
Freights and commission on cotton	2,000

Expenses ... 16,959

This is not a perfect statement. It does not include the cost of feeding the hands, or make any allowance for loss of hands by epidemic; or any allowance for re-fitting mules, &c. But imperfect as it is, it will be sufficient to show that a cotton crop in the Southern States is not all profit.

In conclusion, we will make one or two brief suggestions in reference to the efforts now being made to induce the Government or the Manchester capitalists to invest money in the cultivation of cotton in India. The persons who busy themselves with this scheme talk about "introducing" the culture of cotton into India. Why, before the footfall of a European was heard on the continent of America, ages before the dawn of Christianity, India was a cotton-growing country; not only grew it, but knew its value, for the native Indians were singularly skilful in the manufacture of cotton fabric. Besides, the most persistent efforts have been made to improve the growth of Indian cotton and to adapt it to modern requirements. In 1788, before American cotton was known, the Directors of the East India Company were struck with the small quantity of cotton exported from India to Europe into England compared with the exports from other places, and they instructed their representatives to spare no pains in increasing the growth of cotton. In 1790 reports were received from the Indian Government giving a glowing account of the distribution of seed throughout the Indian Peninsula. But notwithstanding the patronage of the Government, the support of the

wealthiest corporation in the world, the rising demand for the article, and the absence of any serious competition, no profitable results were obtained. In 1799 plantations were formed on the Malabar coast, and at other likely positions. Upon the failure of the plantations, it was thought the seed was not favourable, and American, West Indian, and Persian seeds were tried. When the cotton-gin was discovered, it was supposed that as India would be able to clean cotton she would at length yield an abundant and acceptable harvest. But neither the new seeds nor the gin enabled her to supply the European markets. In 1818 four model cotton farms were established, regardless of cost, at Jimnevelley, and three other places; and the only effect of these farms was to teach Indian farmers that they had better eschew the cultivation of cotton for Europe. In 1823 a cotton farm was established at Barrackpore, by Lady Hastings. Lord Ellenborough was extremely zealous in striving to make the cultivation of cotton general and profitable. Between 1830 and 1840 continued experiments were made, in which large sums of money were sunk. The East India Company sent an officer to America to collect information, and seed, and to engage experienced cultivators. The information, the seed, the American planters, were obtained; but, for all that, India has not been able to afford a substitute for the American supply. We are not in the least surprised at the non-success of these schemes, because if demand will not bring a supply, no other power on earth can do so; but it is rather curious that, with such an experience, Manchester capitalists should be asked to pay for new experiments, or that Government aid should again be sought. It is not in the power of any Government, however strong, to alter the fundamental laws that regulate commerce, or to contravene the plans of the Creator. So long as the Southern States produce cotton in abundance only limited by the demand, and cheaper either in respect to quality or price, so long the Southern States will command the market, despite legislative enactments; and so long as India can grow produce for export more profitable than cotton, so long her produce of cotton for export will be limited to the quantity that can be raised with the surplus labour not used in more profitable pursuits. If the American supply was cut off for ever, India would not replace it, for she could only do so at a sacrifice of other pursuits that would enhance the price of cotton and limit the consumption.

THE CONSTITUTION AND SPIRIT OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—The Confederate victories with which Europe is now ringing, gladden but do not astonish those who have believed and maintained that the South, in fighting for freedom, was sure to triumph over the North in its struggle for the "Union." Every impartial spectator has long ago come to the conclusion that the result of the great battle which has been impending would be a decisive victory for the Confederacy. It could not be otherwise. Since the Federals first conceived the unhallowed design of conquering the South in order to reconstruct the "Union," their armies have been defeated in every encounter in the open field. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that the Federal generals cannot manoeuvre, and that the heterogeneous and mercenary Northern hosts are remarkable for unprecedented alacrity in running away. In one thing only have the Northern officers achieved an exceptional and extraordinary success; they have shown themselves unrivalled in manufacturing lying despatches, and in inventing euphuistic phrases for the conveyance of unwelcome news. Not even a Chinese mandarin ever went the length of asserting that when an army was routed, it only "receded," and, under an imaginary "strategic movement," veiling a crushing defeat. President Lincoln, by offering incredibly large bounties to the offscourings of Europe, may raise regiment after regiment, and call the combined mass an army. He may manufacture paper by the ton, and call it money, and exult in the thought that, having an unlimited supply of men and money at his command, he must, sooner or later, vanquish the rebellious South. He lacks some things, however, without which his thousands of soldiers and millions of notes are worse than useless. The object for which he is striving is ignoble, and the men through whose instrumentality he hopes to attain it are utterly incompetent. Moreover, there are numbers of influential Northerners interested in the purposeless waste of money and the indefinite prolongation of the war. The Confederate President occupies a different and far more enviable position. His material resources are not a tithe of those at the command of his adversary; he cannot entice needy foreigners to his standard by the offer of large bounties and the prospect

of high pay; he cannot bribe trading politicians with lucrative official appointments, and thereby compel them to sound his praises and commend his skill. In all of these things President Jefferson Davis is no match for his opponent; but in other and more important matters the Confederate President stands on a vantage ground which the Federal President cannot reach. He is the chosen chief of a free and United people. That people has risen as one man, in order to defend its territory, and to maintain its indisputable rights. The Confederate army is composed of volunteers, who ask for no other reward than to be led against the enemy. Himself a man of proved military talents, President Jefferson Davis has under him some of the bravest and ablest generals who ever organized and marshalled armies. But he is strongest of all in this, that, while the cause for which his opponents die in swamps and on the battle-field is the subjugation of a free people, while their victory would be succeeded by the exercise of remorseless tyranny, the cause for which he contends is the cause of liberty, and the result of its triumph would be the addition of a powerful and independent State to the fraternity of nations.

"R."

DIFFERENTIAL TARIFFS.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

July 15, 1862.

SIR,—I thank you for permitting my letter on the subject of "Differential Tariffs" to appear in THE INDEX. It must seem, and indeed I feel, that it really is presumptuous in one who occupies no standing place in Southern affairs, to obtrude his opinions on Southern policy; but the deep and heartfelt interest which I entertain for the South will, I venture to hope, be accepted as my apology.

But I am very anxious that it should not be supposed that I meant to cast any peculiar blame—much less reproach—on the South for its proceedings in 1816. It did nothing more at that time than follow the miserable example of England and the rest of Europe, in adopting the protective system. But it did not the less, on that account, make a sad mistake, and, in its peculiar condition, as being the sole producer of a raw material of incalculable value to the whole world, a mistake fatal, alas! to all its subsequent welfare and happiness. It certainly does appear to me to be of paramount importance at this moment, that the Southern public should become fully aware of this fact, when it has to reconstruct all its external relations.

In the beginning of a new national consolidation people are all warm, in every direction, with fraternal sympathy—shaking hands with each other, as it were—backing each other up—prone to assent to almost any proposals springing from motives evidently sincere and patriotic, without much scrutiny into the remoter effects on public welfare likely to arise from them. In this happy state of the public mind any well-meaning zealot who may cry out, "Let us depend upon ourselves for everything and encourage one another—let us tan our own national leather—grow, dye, and weave our own national wool—make our own national knives, forks, spoons—use parched corn and shoe-leaves instead of foreign coffee and tea, &c., &c.," is sure to find some audience in patriotic ears; but when a general policy of this character is adopted, how is a nation to make friends and allies with other nations, and exchange what may be its own peculiar products against theirs?

The frightful consequences of such a policy are strikingly visible in the actual condition of the South. Suppose it had refused, in 1816, to assent to a protective tariff in favour of Yankee ships, where now would be that maritime power which the North is now wailing to its destruction? No such thing would, or could, have existed. The maritime power of the North has been built entirely upon the carrying trade of the South—and this amounted last year to the enormous amount of £80,000,000 in value! No wonder that the North is fighting with all the malignant energy of despair to secure this vast element of profit and power; for the entire loss of it—certain to ensue if the South establishes its independence—will at once reduce the North to a nullity as an offensive Power, and make to the South friends and allies of every nation which shall send its ships to take off its cotton and tobacco.

The native nautical population of the North is very scanty indeed—scarcely exceeding a few thousands; and in 1839, when I was in the States, there were more than 40,000 English sailors in Yankee employ, independent of Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians, &c., &c. That number is now considerably greater, and it is these men who are now manning the war ships of the North, and blockading and shelling Southern cities. These men will readily man the future Southern navy, and the larger portions of what has hitherto been the Northern maritime power

will be transferred to the South, provided the South itself shall not artificially check the transference by madly resorting to "discriminating duties," differential tariffs, and that delusive system of protection which is so attractive to the blind and narrow selfishness of the human heart. Its own coasting trade must necessarily fall to the South; its own merchants will purchase ships where they can find them best and cheapest, and if events hereafter should evince that they can profitably appropriate a portion of the carrying trade with Europe, as will most probably prove to be the case, the South will come into possession of it naturally, and will hold it permanently by a secure tenure. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia will have nothing to carry but the corn and provisions of the West, and of these articles one-half will speedily be transferred to Canada. The Confederate Government cannot do better, in constructing its future marine than follow the examples of Russia, Spain, &c. &c., and build its war ships in England, New Brunswick, and elsewhere, and I believe that in less than one generation the South will become the wonder and glory of America.

It is the prospect of this which terrifies the North; by the Secession of the South which they have so long, owing to its sad mistake in 1816, held in wretched vassalage, they see the inevitable loss of all their commercial and political power; and so certain is this to ensue, that they will persevere in this brutal war to their last man and last dollar, in the vain and desperate hope of retaining their nefarious dominion. They fight to fix the Morrill Tariff on the South, and for nothing else whatever. I say this emphatically; I call attention to this in the strongest manner, because it is a fact which is in no wise understood in Europe. It is, however, the "great governing fact" in this terrific struggle, and they who look to an intervention or mediation of France or Russia as a means of peace, are the dupes of their own honest feelings and erroneous judgment. The North will never consent to any peace or compromise which should deprive it of the commercial and maritime dominion of the South; and this the Southerners will never consent to yield in any shape or in any degree.

JOHN W. COWELL.

41, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park.

OPPOSITION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY TAX BILL.

(From the Standard.)

The news brought from New York by the *China* is, without exception, the most grave and threatening that ever reached these shores from the same quarter. Passing over the Federal defeat at Charleston, the suppression of the news from Virginia by Mr. Stanton, the precarious position of the Federal General Curtis in Arkansas, the appearance of Confederate cavalry on the line of the railway between Memphis and Corinth, the refusal of the Nashville clergy to take the oath of allegiance, and the cry raised in New York to stop the exportation of gold to Europe, we have only to direct the attention of the public to two circumstances to create a most painful feeling. General Butler, the Haynau of the present war, has, we are informed, issued an amended oath to be taken by the foreigners in New Orleans, and the *New Orleans Delta*, of which General Butler is the reputed editor, has "assumed an offensive tone of ridicule to the foreign Consuls, but more especially to the British Consul." This is one of the two circumstances; and its gravity lies in this, that it is incompetent for General Butler to require foreigners in New Orleans to take oaths. Foreigners, the subjects of Powers at peace with the Federal Government, residing in New Orleans, stand in precisely the same relation to the Federal Government as foreigners living in London to the British Government, the war notwithstanding. It would be an outrage on the subjects of Powers with which this country is at peace, for the British Government to prescribe oaths to be taken by such subjects; and as there was no such attempt during the Russian war, even to subjects of Russia, the practice is without precedent and at variance with the common law of nations. The conduct of General Butler must, therefore, be disavowed by his Government, or Europe will have to choose between supporting its protest by force of arms, and allowing the usages of war to be strained at the pleasure of a belligerent powerless to gain his object in the usual way, and by the usual means. "Offensive ridicule" to the foreign Consuls in New Orleans, and more especially to the British Consul, is a kind of barbarism to be expected from the Indians of the Hudson Bay territory, and must, of course, be the immediate subject of apology by the Federal Government.

The other circumstance to which we have to direct attention bears more immediately on the Americans than on ourselves. We are, on the one hand, told that President Lincoln, in answer to an address signed by the governors of eighteen States, has issued a proclamation calling for 300,000 additional troops for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and, on the other hand, we are told that an enthusiastic public meeting has been held at the Cooper Institute, in New York, in favour of peace. We are further told that the Conservative members of Congress have held a meeting in Washington, no doubt for the same purpose. This antagonism of sentiment and intention is primarily the concern of the Northern States. Remotely, however, Europe is seriously concerned in this new complication. Simultaneous meetings in New York and Washington for a purpose hostile to a Government with the keys of Port Lafayette and Fort Warren in its hands, are suggestive of ripe organized resistance to the course which the Federal Government is pursuing. The Peace Party appears to be at length feeling itself strong enough to enforce peace; and that, we need hardly say, means nothing less than the overthrow of the Government and party of which President Lincoln is the chief. A counter-revolution of this sort—which, by the way, has been long foreseen—would at once bring the Northern States down to the level of distracted Mexico, and that to Europe would be a great and trying evil. What may have been supposed

to have given consistency and courage to the Peace Party is the Tax Bill, now become law, but not yet in force. The principle of that measure, we grieve to say, is the total subversion of state law and state government. The Tax Bill remorselessly sweeps away all the great landmarks which the Constitution of the United States recognized, and erects the Federal Government into a despotism pure and simple. This we might show by quotations from the bill, and quotations from the constitutions and laws of the various States, wherein, in the latter, it is specially provided that in the case of homesteads to the value of £200, implements of husbandry, farm stock, tools of trade, household furnishings, and every necessary for the proper maintenance of a family, there shall be no levy and sale on execution, or distraint for rent or taxes; while in the former, the bill provides in various sections, but in the nineteenth particularly, "That it shall be lawful for such collector or his deputies to proceed to collect the said duties or taxes, with 10 per cent. additional thereto, as aforesaid, by distraint and sale of chattels or effects of the persons delinquent as aforesaid." Then again, the Tax Bill sets aside the law of "mechanics' lien" in so far that the tax-gatherer must be paid before the labourer and mechanic, who hitherto, in all the States, have had the first claim in respect of their labour on all the work on which they have been employed. Hence the revolutionary character of the Tax Bill. The States' rights and the States' sovereignty, corner-stones of the Republic, are both overthrown, and the presumption, therefore, is that if the party of Fernando Wood and his brother is to try its strength against the Federal Government, the support of the labouring classes and of the small proprietors is counted on in the struggle.

For armed resistance to the Federal Government the Western States may be soon prepared. Let it once be fairly understood that the Western homestead, the shanty, the farmyard, and the workshop, in violation of state constitutions and state laws, are to be invaded by the Federal tax-gatherer, and despoiled, and Western love for the Union will be more severely tried than Southern loyalty before the war. The Western States are the great refuge of the financially distressed of Europe. There, also, European socialism has taken root and flourished under laws which are congenial, because framed and passed in the State Legislatures through the influence, if not by the votes, of Parliamentary members of the socialistic body. Such men need little preparation to preserve intact the privileges and immunities they now enjoy; and the Union to them is a mere abstraction, desirable, no doubt, at some time or other, but not worth the sacrifices which Congress and the President now exact. Union at the price of a tariff which is prohibitive, implies almost all that is disadvantageous to the West; but at the price of the subversion of the Western rights of property, or rather of the Western rights of debtors, it is equivalent to confiscation and utter ruin. The West, we may rest assured, will be the next to fight or the first to second counter-revolution in New York. Whether the process of Republican disintegration is to proceed further, with bloodshed, woman whipping, and rapine, Parliament may as well decide before the session closes. Lord Russell no doubt believes the thing impossible. So he thought about the present war, and he was wrong.

THE BATTLE NEAR HARLESTON.

From the *Charleston Mercury*, of the 18th June, we copy the following account of the fight at Secessionville:—

Secessionville is a small village, the summer retreat of a few of the James Island planters. It is on the eastern side of the island, on a high plat of land lying on a bold creek, which winds through the marshes between James' and Morris' (or Folly) Island, and empties into the Stono River near its mouth. This creek runs immediately up to Secessionville. On the west of the village a short, shallow creek makes its way towards the waters of Charleston bay. Thus a tongue of land is formed between the two creeks. It is connected with the body of the island by a narrow neck of thirty yards width, some 400 or 500 yards south of Secessionville. Here Lamar's battery is located, across the high land, and flanked on each side by marsh and the creeks. It is a simple earthwork, heavily constructed, having a plain face, with an obtuse angle at each side. It faces south, in the direction of Battery Island, Legare's, Rivers', and Grimald's plantations, on the Stono River, which is about two miles off.

From this point the cleared high land stretches out towards the Stono River, like the top of a funnel, for the distance of near a mile, interrupted only by the division lines between fields, hedges, and ditches. These fields are covered with weeds three feet high. The edges of high land and marsh are skirted with brushwood and sea myrtles. In the background are patches of wood between these fields and the Stono. On the borders of these woods, three batteries of the enemy are located; and, besides these land batteries, the gunboats, approaching by way of the Secessionville creek, can open fire as they please. For the last fortnight, a fight at long law has been going on at intervals between the Secessionville battery and the guns of the enemy, and our artillerymen have been much fagged by their watching and exertions. They have done much to keep the foe in check.

On Sunday night, two companies, consisting of the Charleston Light Infantry, from the Charleston Battalion, under Captain T. Simons, and Company A., Captain Smart, from Smith's Battalion, were thrown out half a mile in front of the work. The rest of the men of these two battalions of infantry, stationed at Secessionville to support the battery, were laboriously occupied during the night. The two companies of Lamar's South Carolina Volunteer Artillery—Reid's and Kiett's—were also engaged in labour until a half-hour of dawn, when they were ordered by Colonel Lamar to take a nap. At break of day the pickets came running in just before the advancing foe. When Colonel Lamar was notified, and looked out from the work he was to defend, the enemy had approached to within 400 yards. But twenty-five of the garrison were awake. It was a complete surprise, and nothing but the nerve, promptitude, and energy of the officers, especially the commanding officer, saved the battery from easy capture. The first round was fired when the column was within thirty paces of the guns. It was well directed by Colonel Lamar himself. The shot burst through the closed ranks with great havoc, and the foe soon retired.

The *weary men*, startled by the sound, or aroused by shakes and bayonet punches from their officers, sprang to their guns. The two infantry battalions rushed to their quarters for their weapons, formed under their officers, and came to the assistance of the gunners. Three land batteries, two sections of field artillery, and three gunboats, began to open upon the work. The second charge of the enemy was made and repulsed with slaughter. And again the third. The accurate fire of our riflemen, co-operating with the deadly charges of grape and canister, swept the field in front and cut down the skirmishers, who, deploying on the left flank under cover of some bushes, had

come up to the very work at that angle. In these successful efforts, which occurred by five o'clock in the morning, Colonel Lamar fell from the effect of a Minie ball striking him through the lower part of the ear, and running round his neck under the skin.

To his cool courage and energy, in the early part of the action, is due the preservation of the position, under circumstances of great peril, from the surprise. His brave example and personal efforts greatly inspired his command.

After Colonel Lamar was wounded he was unable to stand, from his great loss of blood, and was carried off as soon as practicable. His place in the battery was filled by that able, accomplished, and indefatigable officer of the regular artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Wagner—being the next officer in rank present. As Colonel Gaillard had been stationed at the post with his battalion for some time, and had done good service, Colonel Wagner, who was only temporarily there, requested him to assume command, adding that he would aid him and take charge of the battery. This he did until the conclusion of the fight, between eight and nine o'clock, sustaining a terrible flank fire, and directing the gunnery with great coolness and precision.

Upon failing to storm the work or to flank it on the left or eastward side, the enemy drew off and came up on the right flank, on the other side of the small creek and north to the marsh. Here, at the short distance of about 150 yards, three regiments deploying in line of battle, and partially covered by a small growth of underbrush, poured upon the gunners of the work, and upon the two batteries of infantry drawn up facing them across the marsh, a continuous and deadly fire. The gun-carriages were perforated and torn by many balls. Many of our men fell at the guns and along the line formed to the rearward of the battery on its right flank. The contest was very unequal and trying. It raged for some time; but at this critical juncture the Louisiana battalion came up gallantly, at the double-quick, under its skilful officer, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Henry. By the guidance of Major Hudson, of Smith's battalion, it formed on the right of that corps, facing the marsh. This reinforcement and its gallant fire disheartened the foe. Captain Boyce, with one gun of light artillery, began to play on his rear. He began to fall back, fairly beaten off.

While the struggle was progressing immediately on the rear right flank of the battery against these three regiments, a formidable force of the foe attempted, by passing further out to the west, to gain the rear of our position. But in skirting a wood they came upon the advancing lines of the Eutaw Regiment, Colonel Simonton, who had come two miles. Declaring they were friends—not to shoot—they got close up and fired into our men, killing many. But the response they got was cutting. The wood edge was strewn with the dying and the dead. Thirty or forty bodies were picked up here. The movement was foiled. Nothing was left but retreat from every portion of the field.

It was a bloody fight, fought against odds, by exhausted men, without preparation. It was a signal victory of Southern patriots over the murderous invaders of their soil. The five regiments attacking are said to be the 79th New York Highlanders, the 8th Michigan, one from Massachusetts, a New Hampshire, and a Connecticut regiment. But for the distance of our other troops, and the brief time occupied in the action, together with obstructions in the road preventing the passage of light artillery to the enemy's rear, their whole force may, perhaps, have been taken or cut up. From the account of prisoners, who assert that there were nine United States' regiments out that morning, it is probable that four regiments were held in reserve to support the five engaged, and to protect their retreat.

The following is the congratulatory order of General Pemberton:—

"The Major-General commanding the Department tenders his heartfelt thanks to every officer and soldier of this command whose happy fortune it was to participate in the glorious work of Monday, the 16th of June inst.

"To the gallant and indefatigable Colonel T. G. Lamar, and to the brave men who so steadfastly supported him, especial thanks are due; and to the noble dead a debt of deep and lasting gratitude."

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR NEWS IN NEW YORK.—The *Times* correspondent, writing on the 2nd July, says:—All day on Sunday there was a vague feeling, not traceable to any direct source, that the Federal armies had suffered a signal defeat before Richmond. Late in the evening a statement was made that there had been a battle, that it was not a decisive one; but that it was unmistakably a victory. Yesterday morning it was announced in all the papers that there had been fighting; that General McClellan had made a successful movement; but that the Government imperatively forbade the publication of the particulars. This did not look like victory; and the people, who are not so easily hoodwinked as the official mind imagines construed the prohibition to mean that McClellan had been defeated. The whole city was in a state of the most intense excitement. The sultry air was sultrier with rumours of disaster. Wall-street was almost demoralized with alarm, and every kind of stock went down. The Illinois Central Railway Shares tumbled 2 per cent.; Eries, $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; New York Centrals, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and Government stocks found no purchasers at a decline of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The friends of the South, who, in ordinary circumstances, say but little, were jubilant with delight, while the enemies of McClellan, who deny his generalship, because he has no sympathies with the negro, and cares nothing for the abolition of slavery, were equally pleased at the idea of his discomfiture which seemed to be but the accomplishment of their own prophecies. The crowds before the newspaper offices were so dense as to render the street impassable for hours, and amid all the buzz and hum of the conflicting rumours that every moment brought forth, changing and shifting from disaster to victory, and from victory to disaster, was to be heard one deep, unvarying growl of discontent against the Secretary of War, who would not let the truth be known, whatever might be its character. At length came authentic details, published in an extra of one of the morning papers, from which it appeared that there had been three days' hard fighting; that the struggle virtually commenced on Wednesday, and was renewed on Thursday and Friday; and that the results were fearful slaughter on both sides, the abandonment by McClellan of his position on the Pamunkey River and the White House, and his occupation of a new line of battle and a new base of operations between the Chickahominy and the James. To-day the best face is put upon the matter by Wall-street and the press. It is loudly maintained that the fight was a victory, but those who are fain to believe that it was so, are compelled to admit that the circumstances are woefully like a defeat.

GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON.

A Martinsburg correspondent relates several interesting incidents of General Thomas Jefferson Jackson, but generally known as "Stonewall" Jackson. We copy the following:—

His family, though by no means wealthy, was one of extensive and influential ramifications; socially and politically their status has always been high, even in aristocratic Virginia; and it was this advantage, perhaps, which saved our hero from neglect when he was turned upon the world a very poor young orphan; for it was by family influence, exerted in behalf of intellectual and moral promise, that he was made a West Point cadet at the age of seventeen. It was his own cousin, Judge Jackson, of the United States Court, who spoke from Winchester last month on the approach of Thomas Jefferson, recently petrified into "Stonewall." His pertinacity in procuring his cadetship shows the man. Being then a resident of Clarksburg, in Western Virginia, he walked from that place to Washington, bearing with him letters of recommendation to the Congressional representative of his district, urging the claims of Jackson to a cadetship at West Point Academy. After some delay at the capital, his application was successful; and, with his commission in his pocket, he travelled on foot all the way from the capital to West Point, there to receive the rudiments of the science of Stonewall.

He was graduated with high honours in the same class with McClellan, just as the Mexican war broke out, immediately entered service with General Scott as a brevet-lieutenant, and was made full lieutenant for gallant conduct in the memorable campaign from Vera Cruz to Mexico.

As for his outer man, he looks at least seven years older than he is—his height 5 feet 10 inches; his figure thick-set, square shouldered, and decidedly clumsy; his gait very awkward, stooping, and with long strides. He often walks with his head somewhat on one side, and his eyes fixed upon the ground, imparting to his whole appearance that abstracted quality which young ladies describe as "absent-minded." A lady who has known him long and well, has told me that she never saw him on horseback without laughing—short stirrups, knees cramped up, heels stuck out behind, and chie on his breast—a most unmilitary phenomenon. In society he is quiet, but cheerful; not loquacious, but intelligent and shrewd; in religion the bluest kind of a Presbyterian, and extremely strict in his church observances. In Winchester he took a very active part in revivals, and habitually led the Union Prayer Meetings.

To illustrate the popularity of the man:—For some reason which has never been made public, the expediency of removing him from his command was at one time freely discussed in the Confederate Cabinet, and all but two members favoured the motion. These two, arguing that a man of such exemplary modesty, and yet of such intense religious enthusiasm and indomitable firmness, must possess those moral elements which, combined with his military education and experience, should constitute a great general. Their opposition served to postpone a decision, and the motion was held under a consideration. Meantime the people of the Valley got wind of the affair, and with a great cry of indignation and threats, so assailed the powers at Richmond, that the question was dropped "like a hot potato." It was about this time that Jackson sent to Richmond his rebel-famous despatch:—"send me more men and no orders, or more orders and no men."

Such is the Confederate Napoleon, for whom his people venture to claim that in four weeks he has marched 350 miles, and won four victories—that he has crippled or dispersed the forces of Milroy and Schenck at McDowell, Banks at Front Royal and Winchester, Fremont at Cross Keys, and Shields at Port Republic—that he holds McDowell in check to take care of Washington and Maryland, and monopolizes, for the amusement of the world, the attention of six distinguished generals.

When lately he fell back to Winchester from pursuing Banks, he said to the people there: "When we left you last March, we promised to return—and here we are. Now, with much more confidence, we promise to return again, and soon. Only be prudent and patient."

And to the women: "When the Union troops come in again, as they will, do not forget yourselves."

Just as I am closing this I get a fresh and interesting anecdote of this fighting elder:—

The surgeon of one of the Indian regiments and two of his brother officers were captured by a party of Ashby's Cavalry and taken before Jackson. Immediately on hearing their names, he said: "It was you, gentlemen, who lately saved the property of a dear friend of mine in the valley from the fury of your own men. I thank you. Have you any means of transportation back to your regiment?"

"We have not, General."

He then gave them horses, an escort, and \$100, and then courteously dismissed them on their parole.

This is authentic. I have it from one of the captured officers, whose name I am not at liberty to mention.

GENERAL BUTLER AND THE FOREIGN CONSULS.

We reprint the following from the New Orleans *Picayune*, which is at present under the supervision of the Federal Press Censors appointed by General Butler. The first two letters refer to the non-recognition of the British Acting Consul:—

British Consulate, New Orleans, La., June 14, 1862.

Sir,—I beg to inform you that great doubt exists in the minds of British subjects who, under the provisions of your Order No. 41, are called upon to subscribe the oath therein set forth, as to the consequence of compliance with the behests of that order.

I would therefore respectfully request that you will inform me whether the oath prescribed in the first instance is intended, or in your understanding can be construed, to affect the natural allegiance they owe to the Government of their nativity.

Objections have also been very generally urged against the oath prescribed to duly registered aliens, on the ground that it imposes on them (in words at least) the office of spy, and forces

them to acts inconsistent with the ordinary obligations of probity, honour, and neutrality.

Hoping that I may receive such explanations as may obviate the difficulties suggested,

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,
GEORGE COPPELL, Her British Majesty's Acting Consul.
Major-General B. F. Butler, U. S. A.,
Commanding Department of the Gulf, &c., New Orleans.

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, June 14, 1862.

Sir,—I am directed by the Major-General Commanding, to inform you that no answer is to be given to the note of George Coppel, Esq., of this date, until his credentials and pretensions are recognized by his own Government and the Government of the United States. All attempts at official action on Mr. Coppel's part must cease. His credentials have been sought for, but not exhibited.

I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,
P. HAGGERTY, Capt. and A. A. Gen.
George Coppel, Esq., Acting Consul of Her Britannic Majesty, New Orleans.

The rest of the correspondence needs no introduction, but explains itself. The last paragraphs of General Butler's letter are truly remarkable:—

New Orleans, June 11, 1862.

Sir,—It has been represented to the undersigned by Mr. Covas, of the commercial firm of Covas and Negroponte, carrying on business in this city, that certain sugars bought by that firm conjointly with Messrs. Ralli, Benachi, and Co., also carrying on business here, are not allowed to be sold or taken from the place in which said sugars are stored, without further orders from you.

We beg here to state that Mr. Covas represents to the undersigned that the sugars in question (3205 hogsheads) have been bought for, and are the property of, British, French, and Greek subjects, and with which fact you are already acquainted.

The purchases of these sugars were effected at various times, ranging from January to March last, paid for at the time of purchase in the usual manner in which such business is carried on here by foreign commercial houses when purchasing for account of distant parties, i.e., by the proceeds of bills of exchange, drawn by the purchaser here upon the *bona fide* owner of the produce.

These transactions were strictly mercantile, and feeling assured by the proclamation issued by you under date of May 1—had they had any fears before—that this, the property of foreigners, was safe, and would be accorded that protection, as stated in the proclamation, which had been granted heretofore to such property, under the United States' laws, the purchasers of these sugars were anxious to ship them at a time when other such shipments were being made; but by your order, as stated above, were prevented, thereby entailing upon the foreign owners great loss. But as the undersigned are disposed to waive all past proceedings, they beg that the order not permitting the removal of the produce in question be rescinded, and that the sugars be at the disposal of the purchasers, to do with them as they may seem fit; or that the undersigned, if compatible, in consideration of the interests concerned, be placed in possession of the facts which caused such order to be issued; the enforcing and existence of which materially retards and stops the legitimate business of our countrymen.

We beg to remain, sir, your obedient servants,
(Signed)
GEORGE COPPELL, H. B. M.'s Acting Consul.
C. H. MEJAN, French Consul.
M. W. BENACHI, Greek Consul.
To Major-General Benj. F. Butler,
Commanding Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, La.

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, June 12, 1862.

Gentlemen,—In the matter of the sugars in possession of Mr. Covas, who is the only party known to the United States' authorities, I have examined with care the statement you have sent me. I had information, the sources of which you will not expect me to disclose, that Mr. Covas had been engaged in buying Confederate notes, giving for them sterling exchange, thus transferring abroad the credit of the States in the rebellion, and enabling these bills of credit to be converted into bullion, to be used there, as it has been, for the purpose of purchasing arms and munitions of war; that Mr. Covas was one of the agent of an association or company of Greek merchants residing here, in London, and in Havannah, who had set apart a large fund for this enterprize; that these Confederate notes so purchased by Mr. Covas had been used in the purchase of sugars and cotton, of which the sugars in question, in value almost \$200,000, are a part.

I directed Mr. Covas to hold these sugars until this matter could be investigated.

I am satisfied of the substantial truth of this information. Mr. Covas's own books will show the important facts that he sold sterling exchange for Confederate Treasury notes, and then bought these sugars with the notes.

Now, this is claimed to be "strictly mercantile."
It will not be denied that the sugars were intended for a foreign market.

But the Government of the United States had said that with the port of New Orleans there should be no "strictly mercantile" transactions.

It would not be contended for a moment that the exchanging of specie for Confederate Treasury notes, and sending the specie to Europe, to enable the rebels to buy arms and munitions of war there were not a breach of the blockade, as well as a violation of the neutrality laws, and the proclamation of their Majesties, the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of France. What distinguishes the two cases, save that drawing the sterling bills is a more safe and convenient way of eluding the laws, than sending bullion in specie, and thus assist the rebellion in the point of its utmost need?

It will be claimed that to assist the rebellion was not the motive.

Granted "*causa argumendi*!"

It was done from the desire of gain, as doubtless all the violations of neutrality have been done by aliens during this war—a motive which is not sanctifying to acts by a foreigner, which, if done by a subject, would be treason or a high misdemeanour.

My proclamation of May 1, assured respect to all persons and property that were respectable. It was not an amnesty to murderers, thieves, and criminals of deeper dye, or less heinousness, nor a mantle to cover the property of those aiders of the rebellion, whether citizens or aliens, whom I might find here. If numbers of the foreign residents here have been engaged in aid-

ing the rebellion, either directly or indirectly, from a spirit of gain, and they now find themselves objects of watchful supervision by the authorities of the United States, they will console themselves with the reflection that they are only getting the "bitter with the sweet." Nay, more, if honest and quiet foreign citizens find themselves the objects of suspicion to, and even their honest acts subjects of investigation by, the authorities of the United States, to their inconvenience, they will, upon reflection, blame only the over-rapacious and greedy of their fellow-citizens, who have, by their aid to rebellion, brought distrust and suspicion over all. Wishing to treat you, gentlemen, with every respect, I have set forth at length some of the reasons which have prompted my action. There is one phrase in your letter which I do not understand, and cannot permit to pass without calling attention to it. You say, "the undersigned are disposed to waive all past proceedings," &c.

What "proceedings" have you, or either of you, to "waive" if you do feel disposed so to do? What right have you in the matter? What authority is vested in you by the laws of nations, or of this country, which gives you the power to use such language to the representative of the United States, in a quasi official communication?

Commercial agents merely of a subordinate class, Consuls have no power to waive or condone any proceedings, past or present, of the Government under whose protection they are permitted to reside, so long as they behave well. If I have committed any wrong to Mr. Covas, you have no power to "waive," or pardon the penalty or prevent his having redress. If he has committed any wrong to the United States, you have still less power to shield him from punishment.

I take leave to suggest, as a possible explanation of this sentence, that you have been so long dealing with a rebel Confederation, which has been supplicating you to make such representations to the Governments, whose subjects you are, as would induce your sovereigns to aid it in its traitorous designs, that you have become rusty in the language proper to be used in representing the claims of your fellow-citizens to the consideration of a great and powerful government, entitled to equal respect with your own.

In order to prevent all misconception, and that for the future you gentlemen may know exactly the position upon which I act, in regard to foreigners resident here, permit me to explain to you, that I think a foreigner resident here has not one right more than an American citizen, but, at least, one right less, i.e., that of meddling or interfering, by discussion, vote, or otherwise, with the affairs of the Government.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
Your obedient servant,
B. F. BUTLER,
Major-General Commanding.
Messrs. George Coppel, claiming to be H. B. M. Acting Consul, A. Meján; French Consul; M. W. Benachi, Greek Consul.

FEDERAL RETRIBUTION ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—The commanding officer of the United States' steamer *Wiconia*, Lieutenant F. T. Nichols, lately addressed a letter to the authorities of Rodney, Mississippi, from which the following is an extract:—"You are doubtless aware that the town of Grand Gulf was fired upon, a short time since, by some of the vessels of the United States' Government, as a punishment for permitting a battery to fire upon some of our transport steamers while passing down. I deem it my duty to inform you that should any battery of artillery fire upon any of our vessels while passing up or down, from or near the town of Rodney, the punishment for the offence will be visited on the town. We are not here to war upon unarmed or peaceable persons, and we would deprecate any event compelling us to fire upon the property of inoffensive people." This letter was replied to by Major-General Lovell, as follows:—"When two nations are at war, it has become customary among civilized people to 'punish the offence' or an attack by the armed force of one upon those of the other by a combat with the attacking party. If such attack be made from a town, the assaulting party is not entitled to, and so far as our troops are concerned, does not claim any immunity by reason of the presence of women and children. What we do claim, however, and insist upon, is, that whenever your vessels or transports are fired upon by our troops, they shall not hasten to the nearest collection of 'unarmed and peaceable' women and children, and wreak their vengeance upon them, as was done lately at Grand Gulf by United States' vessels, in retaliation for an attack with which the town had no more to do than had the city of St. Louis. My batteries are located at such points upon the river as are deemed best suited for the desired purposes, and without reference to or connection with the people of the towns. Should the site happen to fall within a village, you, of course, are at liberty to return the fire. Should it be in the vicinity of one, however, the usages of civilized warfare do not justify its destruction unless demanded by the necessities of attack or defence. I cannot bring myself to believe that the barbarous and cowardly policy indicated in the enclosed letter will meet with the approval of any officer of rank or standing in the United States' navy. I have, therefore, thought proper to transmit it to you under a flag of truce, with the confident expectation that you will direct those under your command to confine their offensive operations as far as possible to our troops, and prevent the wanton destruction of defenceless towns, filled with unoffending non-combatants, unless required by imperative military necessity. The practice of slaying women and children as an act of retaliation has happily fallen into disuse in this country with the disappearance of the Indian tribes, and I trust it will not be revived by the officers of the United States' navy, but that the demolition and plunder of the unoffending little village of Grand Gulf may be permitted to stand alone and without parallel upon the record."

HOW GENERAL BUTLER MAKES MEN CONVICT THEMSELVES.—General Butler heard of a conspiracy between six men, French and Spanish creoles, to take his life. Four of them were arrested and brought before General Butler. They protested their innocence; but they were ordered to be chained together until they should conclude to divulge the secrets of the conspiracy.—*N. O. Picayune*.

THE BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS.—The subjoined account of the affair is from the *Lynchburg Virginian*, received from an officer who participated in the engagement:—"The battle-ground is five miles from Port Republic. General Ewell's division fought this action, and chiefly by Brigadier-General Trimble's brigade on the right, who, by skillful selection of his position, and judicious manoeuvres, with 1705 men, defeated in four several charges two full brigades of the enemy, numbering over 6000 men and two batteries of artillery; killing and wounding of the enemy over 2000, and with a loss in his own brigade of over 124 killed and wounded. Perhaps no action during the war has exhibited such brilliant results, obtained by skill in manoeuvring on the field, as well as hard fighting."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consigners of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Runford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rilled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

THE ONLY PAMPHLET ON THE AMERICAN
QUESTION WITH A MAP.

WHY PENNSYLVANIA
SHOULD BECOME ONE OF THE CON-
FEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. By a Native
of Pennsylvania. With a large Map of the Federal
and Confederate States, distinguished by colours.
London: JOHN WILSON, Bookseller and Publisher,
53, Great Russell-street. Five doors west of the
British Museum.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States, Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: Houghton, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published the
following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books, Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
terial Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of effecting this alliance, the Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be sustained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Larpier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

GENTLEMEN requiring an excel-
lent Tailor are recommended to the establish-
ments of A. M. GAUTIER, 220, Regent-street,
London (above Verrey's Restaurant), and 20, Rue de
la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bolin.
Nina Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 690,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 865,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1855.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Pont.
C. Hould.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Stocomb.
B. F. Voorhier.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,870 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 55
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 1st September, 1861.

Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PATTERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Does not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Ship Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquasfortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
any person who shall send by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum
Stamped. Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—July 17, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I.—No. 13.] LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 24, 1862. [PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	193
OBITUARY	194
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	194
Manchester Letter	195
THE TOBACCO MARKET	195
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
The Battles of the 27th and 28th June	195
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	196
Berlin	196
Paris	196
Washington	197
MR. LINDSAY'S MOTION	198
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	199
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	199
LEADERS—	
The Features of the War	200
The Position of Canada in the American War	200
The "Mean Whites" of the South	201
The Debate on the American Question	203
Editorials	204
THE CRUISE OF THE SUMTER—	
A Yankee Skipper	204
Burning Prizes	205
REVIEWS—	
Southern Statistics—	
The Distribution of Property, Schools, and Churches	205
The Presidential Contest of 1860	206
The Church in the Army	207
ADVERTISEMENTS	208

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE report, per Glasgow, which agitated the public on Friday last, of the offer of M'Clellan's army to surrender, is not confirmed, and it has not been substantially contradicted. It did not surrender we may learn from the latest Federal reports, but it does not follow the offer was not made. We are now better informed of the extent of the disaster that befell the army of the Potomac than we were last week. The view we then took that the Federals were routed on June 27, and pursued by the victors until July 2, is fully confirmed by subsequent intelligence. It is true that flight was marked by tremendous battles, for the Federals fought for position after position, but found themselves powerless to resist the relentless onslaught of the foe until they were under the protection of their gunboats. Even then they deemed it necessary, though exhausted by a week's fighting, to throw up entrenchments, and under such circumstances it is not without the range of possibility that there was an offer of conditional surrender; and it certainly is but reasonable that the Confederates, flushed with victory, should have refused any compromise. Even the New York papers are obliged to admit that the army has sustained a severe defeat. The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* thus writes, in reference to the battle of June 27:—

Scores of gallant officers endeavoured to rally and reform the stragglers, but in vain; while many officers forgot the pride of their shoulder straps and the honour of their manhood, and herded with sneaks and cowards.

Another ominous sign is the continued reticence of the Washington Government; and that the publication of war news is still forbidden, unless it has been previously edited and sanctioned by Mr. Stanton.

The loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is variously estimated, and possibly it will not fall short of a total of 40,000 men.

On the 4th, the Federals were reported to be throwing up breastworks at Hampton, two miles from Fortress Monroe, and the Federals are now the besieged instead of being the besiegers.

Though thoroughly beaten and obliged to act on the defensive, General M'Clellan has issued the following congratulatory address to his army. Instead of offering any comment on this unprecedented document, we refer our readers to a leader on the subject which appeared in the *Times* of Monday, and which we publish in another part of our impression:

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, Camp near Harrison's Landing, July 4.

Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac,—Your achievements of the last ten days have illustrated the valour and endurance of the American soldier attacked by superior forces and without hope of reinforcements. You have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement, always regarded as the most hazardous of military expedients. You have saved all your material, all your trains, and all your guns, except a few lost in battle, taking in return guns and colours from the enemy. Upon your march you have been assailed day after day with desperate fury by men of the same race and nation, skilfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of number, and necessarily of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter. Your conduct ranks you among the celebrated armies of history. No one will now question that each of you may always, with pride, say, "I belong to the army of the Potomac." You have reached the new base complete in organization and unimpaired in spirit. The enemy may at any time attack you. We are prepared to meet them. I have personally established your lines. Let them come, and we will convert their repulse into a final defeat. Your Government is strengthening you with the resources of a great people. On this, our nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; that our National Constitution shall prevail, and that the Union, which can alone insure internal peace and external security to each State, "must and shall be preserved," cost what it may in time, treasure, and blood.

GEORGE B. M'CLELLAN.

Some of General M'Clellan's friends intimate that he is not responsible for his despatches, and that they are compiled in Washington; but, we presume, there can be no question as to the authenticity of the above. However, Mr. Lincoln has endorsed the conduct of the General in calling a defeat a victory. The United States' President has paid a visit to the camp of M'Clellan, for the Young Napoleon has not advanced so far from the Federal capital as to render such a visit inconvenient. Mr. Lincoln, according to report, "ascended the ramparts in view of the enemy's pickets." This was foolish, because he might have been shot by mistake, for his appearance is not very familiar to Southerners. After this daring feat, we are told, "the President briefly addressed the soldiers;" and certainly the President of the United States on the "stump" at a camp, if not a very dignified, is a very novel presentment. And what said Mr. Abraham Lincoln, "honest Abe," as he is sometimes called—"old Abraham Lincoln, rugged, simple, indomitable," as Mr. Taylor, M.P., designated him on Friday evening?

He said he had come to see for himself, and that he should go back satisfied. It was said that they had been "whipped," but it was not so, and never would be. He knew the men around him would prove equal to the task before them, and would never give up without going into Richmond. He declared his confidence in the army and its commander.

We are afraid that the morals of Mr. Lincoln, "the honest, simple, &c.," have been corrupted by his associates, or he would not have told a defeated army that they had not been defeated. The, "and never would," was a natural sequence; for if the army of the Potomac was not beaten during the seven days' fight it assuredly never will be beaten. What a comfort it must be for the North to have a President who does not care a cent for Providence; and who, if he cannot understand the present knows all about the future. The going into Richmond is not impossible. Had it not been for the gunboats it is tolerably certain the army of the Potomac would have been in Richmond about the 4th or 5th July.

It is reported that General Burnside has joined General M'Clellan at Harrison's Landing. The force under General Burnside does not exceed 20,000 men. It is also rumoured that General Buell has arrived at Wheeling (Virginia), with 50,000 men from General Halleck's army. The desperate condition of M'Clellan's army is attested by these real or reported reinforcements. If 50,000 men have been taken from Halleck, that illustrious commander must have very few forces left; but that is of no importance, as he can win any number of battles, and capture hosts of prisoners with pen and ink.

The capture of General Magruder is contradicted, and we are inclined to think that the "2000 prisoners" is also a Stanton myth.

The following Northern report is very significant:—

A Federal transport, conveying supplies up the James River, was fired into by the Confederate batteries below Harrison's Landing, on the opposite side of the river. She was obliged to run ashore to escape being sunk. On the same side of the river the Confederates have constructed batteries between Harrison's Landing and the Chickahominy River. The batteries are not heavy.

It is, then, true that the Confederates are in M'Clellan's rear, as well as in his front. What superb strategy on the part of the Young Napoleon to place his army in such a position!

Captain Wilkes, the hero of the Trent affair, has been appointed to the command of the James River flotilla, and he may have more severe work than firing at the unarmed vessel of a neutral Power.

There is an angry dispute going on in Washington and New York, as to whether General M'Clellan or Mr. Stanton was to blame for the late disasters. The friends of the former say he warned the Government of his peril, and "Congress has adopted a resolution asking the Government for all the correspondence with M'Clellan;" but as Congress will shortly adjourn, the aforesaid resolution may not annoy the Government.

Although the public attention is mainly engaged with the affairs in Virginia, the news from other quarters is most cheering to the South, and deserves careful consideration. It is reported that the Confederates have captured Baton Rouge, and taken 1500 Federal prisoners. The proximity of this place to New Orleans renders its capture important.

Further, we are informed that
A large body of Confederates has captured Martinsborough.

near Nashville, and taken one Federal regiment prisoners. It is supposed that they will attack Nashville.

Murfreesborough is about thirty miles from Nashville, and there is railroad communication between the two places. The people of Nashville are staunch patriots, and the Federal occupancy of the city is in immediate jeopardy.

The Confederates are in considerable force near Frankfort. Thus the capitals of Kentucky and Tennessee are likely to fall into the hands of the South. The risings in these States, which we have long foreseen, threaten the rear of Halleck's line; and these movements, together with the retreat of General Curtis from Arkansas, leaves the army of Halleck surrounded by the enemy. It is likely we may see a repetition of the McClellan strategy by the defeat of General Halleck, and his seeking the only retreat that may be open to him—the protection of the gunboats.

At Mobile the Confederates have two gunboats, and a ram in the bay. 10,000 troops are below the city on the Shell Road, and the fortifications are completed.

General Bragg is at Lupello, with 40,000 troops. General Breckinridge, according to the *Granada Appeal* of the 3rd inst., has gone to Vicksburg, with 35,000 men. At the last advices Vicksburg was still safe, and the course of the Mississippi had not been changed. General Van Dorn was in command of the Confederates. His command embraces South Mississippi and East Louisiana.

On the 1st inst., the Federal forces which had evacuated James Island had arrived at Port Royal.

What is the matter with General Halleck? Is his imagination under an eclipse? We suppose it is from the following:—

General Halleck reports that on the 1st Colonel Sheridan, of the 1st Michigan Cavalry, with two regiments of 728 men, was attacked near Booneville by parts of eight Confederate regiments, numbering about 4700 men. He defeated and drove them back, after seven hours' fighting, during which he lost only forty-one men killed, wounded, and missing, while the enemy left sixty-five dead on the field.

A few months ago General Halleck would not have been satisfied with driving back 4700 of the enemy with 728 of his own troops. He would have driven back 40,000, captured 10,000 prisoners, and several parks of artillery. It must have been a curious fight; seven hours it lasted, the enemy were seven to one, yet the Federals only lost forty-one men killed, wounded, and missing. The preciseness of General Halleck is beautiful. An ordinary general would have said the enemy numbered 4000 or 5000 men, but Halleck gives the hundreds, tens, and units.

At Baltimore the Federal flags were taken down from the newspaper offices on the receipt of the news of the strategic movements of General McClellan. In every direction there is a vigorous uprising and resistance to the Federals.

In the midst of all these difficulties Mr. Lincoln finds it difficult to procure the 300,000 men he has called for. The Common Council of Buffalo has apportioned \$80,000 to raise a new regiment, giving \$75 in addition to the Government bounty. The New York press demands a conscription, and perhaps that is the only way of carrying on the war; but we anticipate that it will be a most unpopular measure.

The North evidently thinks foreign intervention near from the way it is protested against. Possibly, the menaces to foreign nations are meant to bring about an intervention. The *New York Times* urges that in case of foreign intervention Southern negro regiments should be raised; but it does not intimate how the disgraceful proposal is to be carried into effect. Happily the people of the South are strong enough to defend the negroes from the threatened and savage brutality of the North.

The Mayor of New York has issued a proclamation, saying "that the country demands the services of all loyal persons, not only to put down the rebellion, but also to repel with becoming spirit the first approach of foreign intervention, obscurely threatened, which cannot be admitted without national disgrace;" and the *New York Herald* is again treating of repudiation. If "America is forcibly broken up by foreign interference, the loss of American bonds,

amounting to \$6,000,000 or \$8,000,000, due to English capitalists, is inevitable." America is broken up without foreign intervention, and therefore, according to this doctrine, the English capitalists have lost their money.

A meeting of the members of Congress for the Border States has been held at Washington to consider President Lincoln's emancipation scheme. The majority were opposed to the scheme, and refuse to accept the proposition.

At Springfield, Massachusetts, on the 4th, a large meeting was held in response to the President's call for troops. One of the resolutions contained a vote of confidence in the President, the other was as follows:—

That the recent manifestations in high quarters, both in France and in Great Britain, of a purpose still further to give continuance and encouragement to the rebellion, but too openly reveal a hatred of our Republican institutions, as well as jealousy and fear of the marvellous strength in which they have grown in the prosperity of a united nation; and that we concur in what we are certain is the unanimous sentiment of the loyal people of this country, that "foreign intervention in our affairs is not to be tolerated, and that the cheerful alacrity with which our armies have rallied to suppress a domestic insurrection will be at once and far surpassed upon the first hostile demonstration."

What a delusion to suppose that England or France cares for the Republican institutions of the United States, or envies the prosperity of a bankrupt nation!

Commercial affairs are gloomy in New York. Gold has reached 17 per cent. premium, silver was 8 per cent. premium, and copper cents 2 to 3 per cent. premium. As a slight relief it is proposed to use postage stamps for small currency.

On Friday last, in the House of Lords, there was a debate on "Colonial Fortifications," in the course of which the Earl of Ellenborough spoke as follows:—

I must express my entire concurrence with the noble duke in his expressions of extreme regret at the conduct of the Canadian Parliament in not passing the Militia Bill. I cannot understand what spirit of infatuation can have possessed that Parliament to induce them to act in such a manner. Is it possible that they cannot see, what every other man must see—that in whatever manner the present civil war in America terminates, whether in the success of the North or in the separation of the South, the immediate result will be an irruption into Canada? If the people of the North fail, they will attack Canada as a compensation for their loss. If they succeed, they will attack Canada in the drunkenness of victory. They will then have an army which will be difficult to control—an army very differently constituted from any which America has ever possessed before. It is idle for us to talk of opposing to the American army, as it is now constituted, the troops which in former times were considered sufficient for the defence of Canada. The circumstances have entirely altered, and yet I can recollect a few years ago the despatch of a Governor-General, who said that 50,000 British troops were absolutely necessary to enable Canada to defend herself against the United States, weak as they then were, having, I believe, not above 13,000 regular troops dispersed over the whole country, and a militia without discipline, the achievements of which, if achievements they can be called, were such as to cover the military profession with ridicule. We have now sent to Canada all the men we can spare for her defence, and the Canadians must not look to us for further support. Occasions may, indeed, arise when it might be extremely difficult for us to part even with the 12,000 troops we have now sent to the colony. Yet it is idle to suppose that Canada can be defended without disciplined troops. If Canada is to be protected from successful invasion, the whole population must come forward, as the people of the Southern States have come forward, in defence of their soil. To suppose that any country in the world can be defended against a regular army by coming forward in a state of enthusiasm—which Sir Charles Napier said ran away (a laugh)—to suppose that the Canadians when invaded are to come forward in a state of unarmed and undisciplined enthusiasm against the well-armed and the disciplined army of the United States, is something utterly impracticable, and every reasonable man in the country must know it to be so. If the Canadians persist in the course which they have recently taken, I shall see with very deep pain and apprehension that which, under the circumstances, would be but a handful of British troops left alone in Canada, and dispersed over the country, to fight a desperate battle in which they might lose their lives and might imperil the honour of their country. My lords, I think it is a little too much for the Canadians to take our troops and not to take our goods. It is a little too much for them to expect, under these circumstances, that we shall continue to incur the sacrifices and to run the risks we now run, when they thus requite the friendship which we desire always to entertain for them. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Wodehouse thought our position in Canada was unsatisfactory, and if an attack was not inevitable, no man could help feeling that such an attack

was far from improbable. Earl Grey expressed his opinion that in the present state of North America we were not justified in leaving British troops in Canada without adequate support. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe said:—

With regard to Canada, it must have struck every noble lord that the position in which our small army was placed, regard being had to the war in America, was one of great danger. The debate which had just taken place had in no way diminished that feeling as far as he was concerned. Bearing in mind the difficulties of the season which was fast approaching, and the near proximity to the end of the Session, the Government ought to take into serious consideration measures which would secure our interests and the honour of our troops.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, there was an important debate on Mr. Lindsay's motion, of which we elsewhere give a summary.

OBITUARY.

We are pained to record the death of the Honourable Robert Blair Campbell, late Consul for the United States of America at the Port of London, which melancholy event took place at Ealing on the 13th instant. General Campbell was a native of South Carolina, and belonged to a family of influence and wealth in that State. He was a highly educated and refined gentleman, and a most useful member of society, adorning every circle he frequented by his superior intelligence and good example. In politics, he was a strong State Rights Democrat, and a warm supporter of Mr. Calhoun. He held many posts of honour and trust confided to him by his countrymen, among which he received a military commission during the war of 1812-15; he subsequently was elected to the Legislature of his own Commonwealth, and afterwards to the Federal Congress, and was a member of that body from the years 1822 to 1828. In February, 1825, when the great struggle took place in the House of Representatives for President, the States having failed to make an election, he cast the vote of South Carolina in favour of General Jackson. After remaining in private life for a number of years, he was appointed Consul-General of Havana by President Polk, from which office he was transferred by President Pierce to a similar position at London, where he remained until removed by Mr. Lincoln. He may truly be said to have been the last consul of the United States at the port of London. During his sojourn in Europe he made many friends, who mourn his loss; and although unable from feeble health to return to his native country, his heart was ever there, the distressing events of the last year, no doubt, tending in a great measure to undermine a once vigorous constitution. General Campbell was in his seventieth year; he has, therefore, lived the days allotted to man, and we may safely say, has not left an enemy behind him. Firm, resolute, and unyielding in the cause of right, truth, and justice, he has departed in peace and honour. He leaves a large family to lament his loss; several of his sons and grandsons are now serving in the Confederate army; his younger children, with their afflicted mother, are still in England, but propose to return to America at an early date, whither his remains will be sent as soon as hostilities cease.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 23.

Our market continues to be exceedingly sensitive to the advances from America, and almost every day during the past week a visible change in its tone has been apparent. Our last report left with an upward bias, Middling Orleans worth 18d., and Fair Dholerah 13½d. to 3d. On Thursday the demand continued active, and American and long-stapled cotton was rather dearer; but on Friday the market was stunned by the circulation of strange rumours alleged to have come by the Glasgow, via Queenstown. The first report was that McClellan's army had surrendered, but afterwards it was softened down to the milder statement that the Federal generals were discussing the propriety of capitulating conditionally, and that the Confederates would accept nothing short of unconditional surrender. This news was generally discredited, but it served to paralyse the market, and the sales fell off to 4000 bales at 3½d. decline for Surats, and 3½d. in other sorts. On Saturday the Arabia's news was before us, giving no confirmation of the absurd reports of the day before, but announcing McClellan's army tolerably safe under shelter of the gunboats. To this was added the important intelligence that the premium on gold had suddenly started from 10 to 16 per cent., while exchange had risen to 129. The latter news somewhat neutralised the other, as it indicated increased financial weakness in the North, and consequently greater difficulty in carrying on the war. The debates in Parliament the previous evening on the American question were decidedly in favour of the market. Lord Palmerston stated emphatically that the time had not come for recognising the Southern Confederacy, and that there was no opportunity at present for offering mediation. Our market in consequence opened briskly in the morning, but the demand became slack as the day went on, and the sales only reached 5000 bales at full prices for American, but little improvement in Surats.

On Monday the full details by the Arabia were to hand, and the market was damped by the very unfavourable comments on the Federal situation expressed in the *Times*. The general tenor of its leaders and correspondence went to prove that the North could not afford to carry on the struggle much longer. Though this view is not accepted in the best-informed quarters, it has had for several days a powerful influence on the market, and on Monday the sales in consequence fell to 2500 bales, of which only 500 to the trade. Surats were greatly depressed, and sold at a further decline of 3½d. to 3d., but American, owing to its extreme scarcity, was not notably lower.

Yesterday the dullness continued unabated, sales 3000 bales. The Anglo-Saxon's news failed to alter the tone—attention was still directed to the progress of the Confederate arms; throughout Tennessee they were recovering lost ground, and there seemed a strong probability that, before long, much of the results of the spring campaign in the West would be lost to the Federals. In Manchester business was completely checked by this news, and a fresh impulse given to the rapid reduction of consumption. Our market this morning opened flatter than ever, and some very low sales were made in Surats, in a few cases at a decline of 1d. from Friday, and 1½ from the highest

point—say on the basis of 12½d. for Fair Dhollerah. But these low sales brought on a speculative demand, and the cheapest lots have been picked up, and the market closes stronger for Surats on the basis of 15d. for Fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttu. In American there has been much less discussion, but sales have been made, in some instances, at a full ½d. decline from the top. The proper basis of quotations, however, may still be given as 17½d. for Middling Orleans, 17½d. for Mohile, and 17½d. for Bowdels. In Surats, “to arrive,” there has been great irregularity, and Dhollerahs have been sold as low as 12d. for May shipment; but at that price they can hardly be bought this afternoon. Broach of May shipment is worth nominally 12½d. per lb.

The Bombay mail of June 27 is to hand to-day, and reports the small shipment of 28,000 bales for England in the last fortnight, setting at rest the ridiculous rumour that 115,000 bales had cleared in a single week. It is evident now that the available stock at Bombay is nearly exhausted, and little more may be expected till after the monsoon—say till October or November.

Most of the buying brokers have now become sellers, and this cause may continue to be a source of weakness for some time. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the American news afford slender hopes of a speedy settlement of the disastrous war.

MANCHESTER JULY 23.

The past week has been a very quiet one in our yarn and cloth market. Manufacturers still continue making resales of their yarns from one to another, and underselling spinners by 1d. to 2d. per lb., but as their stocks are very light this cannot continue long, and the inevitable consequence is, that there will be a more general closing of their establishments.

The continental shippers have bought very little of anything, and as far as regards Water Twist, they find it more easy to deal with speculators, who hold a considerable quantity of this class of yarn, which they are disposed to sell at prices from 1l. to 2l. per lb. below spinners pretensions.

On Friday all business was totally suspended, in consequence of a rumour to the effect that a telegram was posted up at Lloyd's, stating that General McClellan had surrendered to the Confederate commander, and the excitement was immense on the arrival of our mid-day report from Liverpool, which stated that business was suspended there, and no idea could be given as to the probable amount of sales.

The correctness of the above intelligence was very much doubted, and holders of both cloth and yarn were determined to await the arrival of news by the Arabia, which might be expected the next day, before entering into any transactions.

On Saturday and Monday business still continued very dull, owing to the depressed feeling in the Liverpool cotton market, and to the idea that the struggle in America will not be of very long duration.

To-day the market has been again very quiet, although the news by the Anglo-Saxon has imparted a degree of firmness not hitherto shown since this day week. There has been a few transactions entered into by continental shippers for 32s., 40s., and 42s. for mule twist in bundle, upon a basis of 20d. per lb. for No. 40s.

Cloth remains as firm as ever, holders feeling assured that the next few telegrams from India will materially enhance the value of this staple.

6 lbs. shirting are worth to-day 9s. 6d. 7 lbs. ditto 10s. 6d., and 8½ lbs. ditto, 12s. 7½d.

TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, July 24.

The contraction of stock begin to convince manufacturers and others that the position of holders is most secure—a desire on the part of all to increase their holding is perceptible, and considerably more business than has actually been transacted could have been done, had holders been desirous to realize.

Sales this week have been to a fair extent at rates in favour of the seller.

Western strips and leaf have enjoyed the greatest demand. The stock of Virginia tobacco is almost exhausted—a fair business done in Maryland. In Cavendish the business has been large. Of Twist, the stock is small, and business necessarily limited.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

AN English gentleman, who left Richmond on the 25th ult., on the eve of the series of great battles, states positively that General Beauregard was not, at that time, in that city, nor expected there. A serene confidence of success prevailed among the citizens. The usual avocations were quietly pursued, nor had the women and children been required to leave the city.

THE Savannah papers announce the arrival in that city of Messrs. A. P. Witro and H. Von Rooke, having run the blockade into Charleston.

THE BATTLES OF THE 27th AND 28th OF JUNE.

(From the Richmond Papers of June 28.)

The greatest battle ever fought on this continent has been raging near this city since four o'clock Thursday afternoon, and at the time of writing these lines (Friday afternoon) is progressing with great fury. We shall not attempt to go into details at this time, simply because it is impossible to speak with anything like accuracy. The lines between the city and the camps are rigidly guarded to keep away a damaging crowd of spectators, in consequence of which we are forced to avail ourselves of casual arrivals from beyond the lines as almost our only means of information. Such sources are necessarily imperfect, and it is only the facts in which they corroborate each other that are to be received with any confidence.

One great fact is certain, and is proved by the ears of every man in Richmond; that whereas the fight began at Meadow Bridge, across the Chickahominy—a point almost due north of the city—it progressed the same evening to Mechanicsville, several miles to the east, where it became very furious, and then rested for the night. The explanation is, that our forces first drove the enemy from Meadow Bridge to Mechanicsville, and then drove them out of their strongly entrenched position at Mechanicsville, which at nine o'clock we took possession of.

Another fact is certain, and on the same evidence. About

four o'clock, yesterday morning, a tremendously heavy fire commenced a few miles east of Mechanicsville, at Ellyson's Mills, and lasted until about seven. There was then a suspension of fire until nearly twelve o'clock, when it opened with great fury still farther to the east, and apparently in the direction of New Bridge, which is about north-east from the city. About mid-afternoon yesterday we heard the heavy roll of artillery still resounding in the same quarter.

The engagement of the early morning near Mechanicsville was an attack by our troops on another strong fortification of the enemy, ending in the subjection of the latter, and their retreat, and our pursuit to New Bridge—a point probably eight or nine miles from the place where the battle commenced on Thursday evening. Thus far had our forces driven the enemy's right wing, or that portion of McClellan's army which lay on the north side of the Chickahominy, and between that river and the Pamunkey.

The information received from the battle-field is that we have been successful in every attack, and are steadily and surely driving McClellan before us. The supposed plan of the battle was to destroy or rout the right wing of the enemy, and at the same time throw a column behind them to cut off McClellan's supplies and deprive him at the same time of the means of retreat. To this latter service it is said that Jackson's army was specially appropriated; and that his path was the track marked out by General Stuart in his late eavalry expedition.

At a late hour yesterday we had not learned that any engagement had commenced between our right wing and the enemy's left. There is reason to think that on Thursday night McClellan drew a large force from his left to reinforce his right, already so badly worsted; it is certain that great cheering was heard in the enemy's camps on his left wing; which indicated either that the troops had received marching orders, or that McClellan had sent a despatch telling of his “great victory” at Mechanicsville. The heavy and protracted fighting at New Bridge yesterday afternoon would seem to indicate that McClellan had gathered his strength there, and that we were meeting it with ours.

The impression founded on many assertions rather than on very certain information, is that Jackson has accomplished his purpose, and is between Lincoln and his gunboats. If so, it would seem that we have got him and his army between the upper and the nether millstone; we trust they will be ground to powder!

At the time of writing this, we do not think it probable that the battle will end with Friday's sun. It will probably rage along our right to-morrow. There are reports, and some of respectable parentage, that the enemy on yesterday fell back in that quarter, or perhaps retreated across the Chickahominy. If true it will not avail them much, for Jackson will head them and our right wing will follow. We are satisfied, however, that it is not true, unless perhaps in part; for a gentleman who was near, assures us that there was a sharp engagement near Seven Pines yesterday afternoon, commencing about three o'clock, and still in progress when he left.

In short, the appearances and the belief, at the time of writing this, are that God is about to favour our cause with one of the greatest victories ever won on the field of arms. For which, if indeed it shall be consummated, as at present we cannot doubt, from every heart in the Confederacy will ascend the incense of gratitude and joy for so inestimable a mercy!

We will add to this that we have just been made acquainted with the contents of a letter from an officer belonging to our right wing, written from the camp to a friend in this city, as late as half-past two p.m. yesterday. It stated that Longstreet, Jackson, and A. P. Hill were then engaging the enemy in the rear, with a force of 60,000 men. A vigorous attack, it said, was to be made from our front, to co-operate with the rear attack; and the most gratifying results were expected. The messenger who brought the letter stated that, among the spoils captured was a large number of beaver collected for the Federal army.

Such further tidings or probable reports as may reach us, will be found in another column.

RENEWAL OF THE ENGAGEMENT BEFORE RICHMOND ON YESTERDAY.

Our forces having driven the enemy from his rifle pits and batteries on the right of his position, about Mechanicsville, on Thursday, pursued their success with redoubled vigour and gallantry on yesterday. Fire was opened at the earliest hour of dawn, and the enemy, now almost driven back to the base of his lines, commenced to retreat slowly about eight o'clock. The troops engaged on the Confederate side, consisted of the divisions of Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and H. Hill. The pursuit was conducted with skill and impetuosity, and the enemy suffered severely on all sides. His direction was down from the right of the Mechanicsville Turnpike, towards the rear position of his centre, about four miles north of the Chickahominy, and six miles from the Turnpike. All the enemy's dead and wounded on the previous day, with few exceptions, had been carried off, and they managed to remove also a large number from the field of this running engagement. As they retired, they set fire to immense quantities of their commissary stores, spiked their cannon, destroyed tents, and smashed up all of the waggon wheels they could not run off. Our forces captured several fine batteries, consisting in all of eighteen fine rifled cannon, and several minor pieces of artillery. A portion of them were spiked, and reached the city in the afternoon, to undergo repair and restoration. About ten o'clock the pursuit ceased for the time, and the battle raged until late in the evening. The enemy had now fallen back upon his strongest position, and fought with desperation. When night came on the firing on both sides was discontinued, and the burial of the dead and the care of the wounded occupied the attention of our victorious army.

The retreat of the Federal army inspired our men with strength and encouragement. Not a man faltered, and while scenes occurred which would spread dismay under other circumstances, or in another cause, all pressed on, fired with the determination to render the battle-field one sea of blood, rather than suffer defeat to hover for a moment above their heads.

The regiments which seemed to have suffered the most, in the three days' engagements, were the 14th and 44th North Carolina, the 4th and 19th Georgia, and the 1st Louisiana. The Virginia troops suffered severely. The Purcell battery of this city, which went into the engagement with about seventy-five men, came out with thirty-seven wounded and three killed. The Maryland battery sustained a loss of forty wounded and none killed. About 500 wounded from various regiments reached the city on yesterday, and nearly as many more from the battle of yesterday alone, which will conclude the list up to last night, will be brought in to-day. Our killed numbers about 300; the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is estimated at between 3000 and 4000 men, besides about \$1,000,000 of stores destroyed and several batteries lost.

An interesting incident occurred in the Pamunkey on Thursday. A raft battery, protected with iron sides, was annoying our

troops in that direction, when a regiment of sharpshooters was detailed to capture it. They proceeded to the brow of a hill immediately commanding the battery, and opened fire down into it. About a dozen Yankees were killed and wounded by the volley, a shock which took them so much by surprise that they concluded to give up; so, hoisting a shirt out upon a pole, the survivors sang out, “We surrender!” Our sharpshooters immediately went down, took possession, and sent the craft to the bottom of the river.

The fleetness of the Yankee army in its retreat prevented the capture of many prisoners; in fact, the capture of prisoners was not particularly cared about by the pursuing army.

The advantage to us, so far, is materially unimportant, but the prestige which it adds to the lustre of our arms, is most cheering. The men are inspired with an elation which has impressed them with a sentiment of invincibility. They look upon the issue of the fight with that presentiment of success which only a heart nerved by the consciousness of a noble purpose can feel. To day will probably draw the issue nearer, and perhaps complete it. The general engagement has yet to be fought.

VERY LATEST.

At twelve o'clock last night we conversed with an Aid to one of our Generals, who informed us that we have driven the Yankees from all their strong positions, taken a large number of prisoners, a great many cannon, &c.

At one time during the day the Yankees gained an advantageous position, and were compelling the falling back of our forces, when General Longstreet's division was ordered up. The gallant men of this division went in with a yell, and drove the Yankees into the Chickahominy at the point of the bayonet, without firing a shot.

McClellan is now represented as holding an awkward position, being almost completely hemmed in. His telegraphic wires have all been cut, and the railroad doubtless torn up before this. In answer to an inquiry, “if there was no way of McClellan getting to his gunboats,” our informant replied “none under Heaven, that he could see, except with his balloon.” In short, the fight of yesterday was a glorious victory.

The engagement in the afternoon is said to have been a general one, extending along the entire line. The fight will doubtless recommence this morning at an early hour.

THE CRENSHAW BATTERY.

This battery, commanded by Captain Crenshaw, and composed of young men from this city, was in the engagement of yesterday, and behaved with much gallantry. We hear of the following casualties:—Killed:—Shields; wounded:—Corporal Wm. B. Allen and Private George Young, both slightly.

Several other members of this battery were wounded, but we could not learn their names.

The telegraph, which has remained silent for several days past, at last brings us some interesting news.

Porter's mortar fleet had been repulsed at Grand Gulf by light batteries. On Saturday the enemy opened on Vicksburg for one hour.

The Cincinnati papers report that Count Mercier had engaged passage to sail in the next steamer to that carrying out Lord Lyons. The report excited considerable sensation in Yankeeedom.

Butler, the beast, has again gotten himself into trouble, by the seizure of some sugar belonging to foreign residents of New Orleans. A sharp correspondence ensued between Pleytane and the British, French, and Greek Consuls, in which Butler is said to have used the coarsest and most pointed language.

Our selections from Northern papers, bearing date as late as the 25th inst., will be found interesting. We particularly call the attention of our readers to the European news in another column. It will be seen that the beast, Butler, is handled without gloves.

JACKSON'S DEFEAT OF FREMONT AND SHIELDS.

(From the Richmond Enquirer.)

We have the pleasure of presenting the following description of the late brilliant victories near Fort Republic, from the pen of one of the clearest and most dispassionate minds in the Commonwealth. The writer visited the battle-fields, and conversed with many who took part in them, and from his power of deducing the connected truth from fragmentary and various statements, we have no hesitation in commending his narrative as historically reliable:—

THE BATTLES NEAR PORT REPUBLIC.

When General Jackson retreated from Winchester, after routing Banks, he managed with great address, boldness, and energy, to carry off his prisoners and spoils, and to bring off his army between the converging columns of Fremont, who approached his rear from the West, with eight brigades, and Shields who approached from the east, with four brigades. If these brigades averaged 2500 men, the force of Fremont was 20,000 and that of Shields 10,000 men. At Harrisonburg Jackson left the main turnpike road of the valley and marched towards Port Republic, the distance between these two places being about twelve miles. Port Republic is situated at the junction of South River flowing north, and North River flowing east. Jackson could retire no further without crossing North River, which was swollen, and there was then no bridge over it except at Port Republic. The two rivers uniting at that village form the Shenandoah, which flows north, and which could not then be crossed by an army. On the east side of the stream was the army of Shields, and on the west side were the armies of Fremont and Jackson. The latter halted near North River without crossing it, and, while in that position, his rear was approached and attacked by Fremont's whole army, and on the morning of Sunday, the 8th instant, and, at the same time, Shields' force appeared on the east side of the Shenandoah, near Port Republic.

That part of Jackson's army which engaged Fremont on Sunday was commanded by General Ewell, while the rest of the army under General Jackson held Shields in check with artillery firing across the Shenandoah, near Port Republic. The battle of Sunday took place about five miles from that village in the direction of Harrisonburg.

It began early in the morning, and lasted all day, with occasional intervals. It was mainly an artillery fight, but now and then, here and there, the infantry became hotly engaged. The force under Fremont was much larger than that under Ewell, but the latter was strongly posted on eminences which favoured the effectiveness of artillery and sheltered the infantry, while the enemy could only approach through open fields. Ewell's command was handled with remarkable skill, while Fremont's generalship was indifferent. Ewell's artillery was served with admirable precision and effect, and his infantry, whenever engaged, displayed great steadiness and gallantry. The result was

that, when night put an end to the contest, Fremont had been driven back between one or two miles with a loss, in killed and wounded, not less than 2000, and probably much larger, while our loss did not exceed 300, and probably not 200. The judicious selection of a position in which to receive the enemy favoured this result, but it was largely due to the superior fighting qualities of our men.

Soon after nightfall, General Jackson began to withdraw his men from this battle-field, and pass them over North River by the bridge at Port Republic, with a view to attack Shields the next morning. He left in front of Fremont a small force to amuse and detain him, and, after retiring before him to Port Republic, to burn the bridge behind them, and thus to prevent Fremont from rendering any aid to Shields. All this was accomplished.

On Monday morning, Jackson passed the greater part of his army across the South River (the smallest of the streams) by means of a bridge made of planks laid on waggons placed in the river. Early in the morning a sufficient number had crossed to commence the battle, and they were led to the field between one and two miles distant, on the east bank of the Shenandoah. The enemy's force was found drawn up awaiting the attack.

The enemy's line extended from the river about half a mile across a flat bottom, free from timber, and covered with wheat, grass, &c. His left rested on the point of a low ridge coming out from the woods which skirt the bottom. On a slight elevation there, and in some small knolls in the bottom, he had his artillery, commanding the road and the wide uncovered level plains, over which Jackson's army was obliged to advance. The level and exposed ground offered scarcely any suitable positions for planting our artillery. The advantage of position belonged altogether to the enemy. The capital fault of his disposition for battle was that the battery on his extreme left was posted near the woods without any infantry in the woods to defend it. By availing himself of this circumstance, and by a brilliant manoeuvre and charge, Jackson turned the fortunes of the day at a critical moment.

For some two hours the battle raged with great fury. Our infantry, at first but few, advanced with marvellous intrepidity in the face of a withering fire of artillery and musketry. At one moment the enemy advanced a section of a battery several hundred yards so as to enfilade our left wing, which already suffered terribly from the fire in front. It seemed that nothing could withstand the fury of the enemy's fire of all arms. His artillery was very fine and was served with great effect by regulars. But other troops, coming at double quick from Port Republic, came on the field, and, at the same time the Louisiana Brigade, under Taylor, emerged from the woods on the enemy's left. They had been sent by a considerable circuit through the woods which extend all along the battle-field between the cleared ground and the neighbouring mountain. By a slight error of direction they came out of the woods a little too soon and found themselves almost in front of the battery, which instantly began to shower grape upon them. But, immediately rectifying their direction, they charged the battery with irresistible impetuosity, and carried it. The contest then was speedily ended. The enemy's whole line gave way, and was presently retreating in disorder, pursued by our cavalry. The pursuit was kept up about ten or twelve miles, but the flight continued all that day and the next. About 500 prisoners were taken that day, and others have been brought in daily ever since. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was heavy, and so was our own. Six splendid cannon were captured on the field, another was taken in the pursuit, and still another had been captured on Sunday. The force of the enemy engaged was about 6000 or 7000, and ours a little larger. Shields was not present, but his troops were commanded by General Tyler.

After the rout of the enemy had commenced, the last of our troops crossed over the bridge at Port Republic, and burnt it. Fremont, cautiously following, appeared some time afterwards, and drew up his army in line of battle on the heights along the west bank of the Shenandoah, from which he overlooked the field of battle. While he stood there in impotent idleness, Jackson's army, having finally disposed of Shields, moved at leisure to Brown's Gap, and there encamped, to rest for a few days from the fatigues of a month's campaign more arduous and more successful than any month's operations of the war. The exhaustion of our men and the interposition of a river, no longer bridged, secured Fremont from a second battle or a hasty flight. The next day he commenced his retreat down the Valley. He and Shields had set out to catch Jackson, and they caught him. It is hoped that the judicious reader, from the circumstances which we have gathered into a connected form from various sources, will be able to discover the masterly strategy of our general, as well as the dauntless valour of our men and the favour of a benignant Providence.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 4, 1862.

SIR,—The rules of political economy are beginning to prove true, the bubble is bursting, Wall-street is in fear and trepidation. Exchange in London has advanced, and gold commands a higher premium than ever known. All classes of stocks have fallen, the markets, closing very heavy. This stampede, as it is called, has been suddenly brought about by the disasters to McClellan's army, but it was due anyhow, and most old-fashioned people have expected it to come long since. The delay is quite capable of explanation. It is owing to the great credit system upon which the chief branch of internal trade, the dry goods business, is carried on. The usual transactions took place in the spring of 1861, prior to the war, the bills for which did not mature until the early part of the present year, and no paper having been made to fill up the vacuum created by their retirement, Mr. Chase's bills, as well as the quarter-masters' vouchers, certificates of indebtedness, &c., merely filled into the place formerly occupied by promissory notes of mercantile houses. The amount of Government unfunded debt having now become greater than that of the commercial bills usually floated, the period of depreciation has of course arrived. The demand notes, too,

merely drove the bank circulation out of existence; but they are now in excess of the wants of the community; hence "paper money" is quoted "easy." Every obligation of the Federal authorities adds to the weight. Government paper, unlike business paper, has no maturity: the former goes on augmenting from day to day, the latter merely repeats itself.

Although the day for putting into force the direct tax bill is so close at hand, no one seems to think seriously of accelerating it. The President seeing the difficulty, will probably defer executing the law, or Congress may yet extend the time in the hopes that something may turn up. The tariff bill is a source of great annoyance to the importers; the increase in the duties and the rise in exchange, will make foreign goods very costly to the consumers. Cotton at forty cents per pound causes domestic manufactures to be expensive also. So the people are going to feel the pains of war in many ways.

To all these troubles may be added, the clouds in the political world, which are thickening, and likely to soon "lower upon the heads" of the powers that be. Many strange things have happened since the breaking out of this war; many stranger things are yet to occur. Do not be at all astonished if some early Cunard steamer announces the arrival of Messrs. Lincoln, Seward, Stanton, Chase, and others, who may suddenly take passage in order to fly from the vengeance of the very mob they created. The masses are indignant at the falsehoods and corruption of the officials at Washington, and begin to discover that they are a deceived people.

BERLIN, July 21, 1862.

There are only a few Southerners in this city at present, but they remember with unfeigned joy that to-day is the anniversary of the Battle of Bull Run. With what different emotions the Northerners residing here must think of the fortunes of that day! It was the shameful rout of the Federal forces one year ago that first caused the Germans to doubt whether in reality the secession of the Southern States was the "rebellion of a few wicked men, dissatisfied with a benignant Government." How wonderful are the changes in public opinion within a short time! One year ago the Southerners had not probably a sympathizer in all Germany. Slow as the Germans are in general, they have learned to appreciate the merits of the American war astonishingly well for their opportunities within a short twelvemonth. If Mr. Stanton has succeeded admirably in sending only news of great victories to Europe, the press of Germany has ably co-operated with him in giving him the benefit of their colourings and suppressions. Nevertheless, the truth has found its way to the people, though clouded with much uncertainty. A few journals in Germany have commenced to advocate the Southern cause, one of the most conspicuous of which is the Conservative organ of Berlin, the *Kreuz-Zeitung*. The sympathy of the better classes in Prussia, and of the Government, seem now to be well enlisted in favour of the South. Military men of the present day, and veterans of the war of 1812, alike ridicule the war-bulletins of Mr. Stanton. They urge that the gross misrepresentations are so palpable that any officer can detect the deceptions at a glance. The system which pervades every branch of the Prussian Government is what is needed in Washington to secure any plausibility whatever for the correctness of war-despatches. Had the North a well-organized general staff attached to the army, all contradictions at least might be avoided in despatches, and only such details published as would not bear their denial on their face. Any one who now reads the German journals cannot fail to perceive how completely the North has succeeded, by its system of mendacity, in destroying all confidence with the Germans. No American news is now accepted until substantially confirmed by subsequent information, unless it be favourable to the South. The announcement of a Federal victory is now taken to mean a complete Federal defeat. For this state of public opinion the Yankees have to thank none others than themselves.

Every one knows that the Prussians do not like the English Government, and, unfortunately, the history of the past only too well justifies this feeling. So deeply seated in the Prussians is the conviction, that the English Government, especially when it is a *Liberal* one, is not to be depended upon for action in anything, where the force of circumstances does not absolutely compel it to move, that when the English flag was violated on the Trent, no one expected to see the English Ministry proceed to extreme measures in order to obtain satisfaction. The Germans still persist in saying that had France, Austria, and Russia not sustained England in its demands in that case, the demands would not only have been less peremptory, but perhaps have met with no compliance on the part of the United States' Government, which

seems to appreciate the virtues of Lord Palmerston's Government.

What the Germans cannot comprehend is the persistency with which the English Government refuses to recognize the South. It has been a source of perplexity to understand why England has so often refused the co-operation of France in recognizing the Confederate States, seeing that the material interests of England all conspired to dictate such a course. In general, it is thought that the English Government is actuated by only two principal incentives; the first, by non-interference, and non-recognition, to give time to the North and the South so to weaken each other, that for a long time to come, if not for ever, England shall lose her most dangerous and most powerful rival on the seas. The other reason is, that the Government, by remaining entirely passive, hope to give such an impetus to the cultivation of cotton in their Indian possessions, that English manufacturers shall not be dependent on American supplies for the future. Were this result certain, it could readily be conceived that England might well decide to endure her present sufferings, in order to become the producer and manufacturer of cotton; in other words, to monopolize the cotton trade of the world. Fortunately, this is impossible. The English Government will not dare to give direct aid to India sufficient to realize this project, and a differential duty on American cotton, besides producing general dissatisfaction among all English manufacturers, would fail of its object; for then France and Germany would take the American cotton, which is demanded less for its quantity than for its quality, and thus exclude English manufacturers from the markets of the world. It is evident that England could no longer compete with Germany and France, if the English manufacturer had to pay a differential duty of 6d. per lb. on the American article. But apart from this consideration, it is well known that the uncertainty of the Indian supply of cotton is too great, by reason of insurrections, and the system of labour there used for its cultivation, ever to allow the importation of Indian cotton to become successful in this sense. The Germans may, then, well inquire what motives do really influence the English Government not to recognize the South. Most persons here consider the secret to be a positive fear of the United States. How far this is correct the world must judge.

The Persian Embassy has just left Berlin to be replaced by the Japanese. Of course, these, as their Oriental colleagues that have just left, are objects of unbounded curiosity and admiration.

In consequence of the recognition of the Kingdom of Italy, Prince Carini, the Minister of His Majesty the King of Naples at this Court will soon take his departure from Berlin. The Prince is highly esteemed personally, and before his departure, a banquet will be tendered him by his friends of the Diplomatic Body.

PARIS, July 23.

General Forey has received from the Emperor himself his last instructions previous to his departure for Mexico. Within a very few days this future Marshal of France will sail for the land where he has to carry on his master's designs, and the importance of his mission and the responsibilities resting on him are certainly well worth the reward which he may eventually expect. It is confidently asserted that the force under him will not be less than 30,000 men, of choice troops, and these equipped, organized, and provisioned in a manner befitting an army of this great military nation.

The Emperor will prolong his stay at Vichy for a couple of weeks. It is a positive fact that his Majesty is engaged in correcting the last proofs of the first volume of his great work on Caesar, and spares no pains to perfect this book, which will have an historical interest of the highest importance. He paid a visit to Gergovie with the view of modifying one chapter, and remained over three hours on the mountain, bearing the heat of a summer's day, studying the aspects of the spot, and reading, in the vestiges which have been preserved the story of the past.

It was on the 19th that M. Thouvenel returned here from Vichy, and it was the next morning that appeared in the *Constitutionnel*, with all the well-known appearance of a semi-official communication, M. P. Limayrac's remarkable article, which all of your readers must have undoubtedly noticed.

Both in official quarters, and in diplomatic circles, this article is held up as a warning, and, if need be, as a threat, to the Washington Government. As for the fact that negotiations have been and are still actively followed up between London and Paris for the purpose of a collective mediation in America, no one can be found to deny it. Many people have construed the English Premier's very words on Friday last in the House as an acknowledgment of these negotiations, with which it was impolitic to interfere. The debate, however, has been

read with deep interest. The people are getting every day to understand better the American question, and the newspapers persisting in calling the cause of the South the cause of the "esclavagists" are making perfect fools of themselves, but no more of their readers.

The *Independence Bølge*, which ought to be ashamed of its partial and dishonest course on the subject of American affairs, and which recently was representing as a victorious strategy McClellan's retreat, had the following, "from the most reliable source," in one of its last "Paris Letters":—

"France and England are not alone in wishing to interpose their good offices between the belligerent parties in America. The Emperor of Russia has proposed to make, as a preliminary to any concerted action, a personal appeal to President Lincoln, in order to induce him to accept in principle the negotiation of a compromise between the North and the South. If this negotiation were accepted, it would have the effect of suspending any mediating action whatever, and intervention or mediation would only be undertaken in case the North should positively refuse to come to an understanding directly with the South.

"The proposition of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg was communicated to the Foreign Office by M. Brunnow during the stay which our Minister of Foreign Affairs made in London. It is announced that it has been accepted, but also that it has been decided that after the month of respite which it would give, England would no longer hesitate to bring about a collective mediation, in case the Cabinet of the President of the American Union should reject the individual good offices of Russia. It is in these terms that M. Thouvenel was charged to transmit to Vichy the decision which I intimated three days ago had been arrived at by the British Government."

There is a large amount of political gossip going on, and the Bourse is rather weak. The recognition of the Kingdom of Italy by Russia and Prussia, the rumoured matrimonial alliance between the Czar's relative and Victor Emmanuel's son and heir, the proposed meeting of the Emperors Napoleon III. and Alexander II. and King William of Prussia, the war in Montenegro and the troubles in Servia, Garibaldi's stump speeches, even the fighting in China, not to speak of the Roman question, of the Mexican expedition, and last, not least, of the American war,—are certainly enough to engross public attention.

All those attached to the Imperial dynasty were highly gratified by the birth of Prince Napoleon's son on the 18th. The King of Italy and the Empress Eugenie are to be his godfather and godmother, and it is said that the ceremonies of the baptism will be most brilliant. He will be christened Napoleon Victor Jerome Frederic.

The first stone of the exterior of the new opera-house was laid in great state by His Excellency Monsieur le Ministre d'Etat.

The prospect of the crops in France are tolerable up to this time, and farmers rely on an average crop of wheat. I hope that the prospect of your corn crops in England is good; for we hear, with consternation, of the frightful misery in your manufacturing districts.

Your great English "Thunderer" has had recently some masterly leaders on America. It will do more honour to the *Times* than its former *pendulum*-like articles, and even more than its recent astounding announcement that Prussia had at last been induced to enter the Zollverein. The *Times* was extremely severe on the Northern commander for lying despatches, and every honest man says "served him right."

McClellan's Order of the Day has been read with great disgust by the French people. They compare it to the dignified address of Jefferson Davis after the reverses of the Southern armies. They remember also that the Southern people have borne defeat without a murmur against their leaders, without a dispute among themselves, without an insult to their enemies; and they compare that dignified patriotism to the mad vituperations of the Northerners against their generals, against one another, against the nation who dares to resist being crushed. They see on the one side a man whose mercenaries preferred, on the field, to be shot down by their own officers than to face the Southern soldiers; they see that man who declares, on the morrow, that he shall enter Richmond, "whatever may be the cost in time, treasure, and blood," and they have, on the other side, the spectacle of a people fighting for its independence—fighting only to repulse invasion, fighting only for peace. The French, I can tell you, have their eyes open to the true merits of the American question, and whenever their Emperor wishes to make the voice of France heard to put a stop to that sanguinary struggle his people will follow him. The Northern lies have had a good time of it; but—"Magna est veritas et prevalebit."

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1862.

The public attention begins to turn very anxiously now to your side, as the impression is palpably gaining ground that there is an evidence of prospective intervention, if not of immediate interference. Whether these opinions have a good foundation or not, the anxiety is very apparent. I have always stated that I should look for important movements in Europe during the Midsummer, provided our war was prolonged and offered no indications of settlement.

We have had an exciting time since my last letter to you. On Saturday and Sunday the town was filled with rumours of every description relative to army affairs before Richmond, and the excitement culminated on Sunday night, when a despatch was received from Baltimore that the agent of the *Associated Press* had reached there with news of the events that were transpiring in Virginia, and would soon send over the particulars; but an hour later came a despatch that the Secretary of War had suppressed the news. This was the information communicated to the public yesterday morning, and the rumours thereupon of every description were multiplied. Later in the day, however, the newspapers, notwithstanding the veto of Stanton, began to publish the accounts that had been received, and they came out by instalments during the course of the day. I have read over very carefully all that has appeared, and have obtained some information not published, and after comparing notes, I think I can give a pretty correct idea of what has occurred.

On Wednesday, June 25, the lines of the Federal army commenced on the right at a place called Michawinle, about eight miles north of Richmond, and near the line of the Virginia central road. The line then proceeded in a south-easterly direction for about five miles, when it crossed the Richmond and York River Railroad, which is the road running from Richmond to the White House on the Pamunkey River. This White House has been the depot of supplies for the army, everything being landed there, and conveyed by the railroad to the camp. The line of this road was, of course, in possession of the Federal troops, and was guarded out to White House—say about eighteen miles. The main body of the Federal army, however, continued their lines after crossing this railroad in a southerly direction, having at this point crossed the Chickahominy River, and being south of it. The larger portion of the forces was massed at this point, whilst the outer lines were stretched southward towards James River.

On Thursday the Confederates, having crossed over the railroad bridge, commenced an attack on the right wing of the Federal army. This attack is supposed to have been made by Jackson, the great and brilliant leader of the Confederates. The position was strongly contested, with great loss on both sides. The fighting continued throughout the afternoon and evening. Next morning the contest was renewed with great fierceness. The Confederates had been reinforced in the night, but McClellan had also brought up reinforcements, and had at least 45,000 men on the ground. The battle was maintained all day on Friday, and towards afternoon McClellan was compelled to withdraw his forces, and cross the Chickahominy, having retreated about seven miles. This threw open the entire line of the Richmond and York Railroad, and the advancing columns of Jackson immediately moved forward to the White House. They did not get there until Saturday. Returning to the battle of Friday, it was evidently a severe and bloody affair. The newspapers speak of the loss on the Federal side as 1200. I have never been mistaken in any of my estimates of the losses, generally under estimating them, and from all the facts I have gathered I am satisfied that the Federal loss will be fully equal to the Battle of Fair Oaks (or Seven Pines). The Federals have also lost a large number of guns. Not only the battle-field, but the whole country north of the Chickahominy and east of it is now in the possession of the Confederates, and the truth is just this: that at the last dates McClellan's army was hemmed in a space of about six miles square—with the Chickahominy in his rear, the James River on his left flank, and the Confederate armies in his front, on his right, and in his rear across the Chickahominy. He must now either capture Richmond and drive away the Confederate armies, or he is in most imminent danger of being surrounded. He has but one outlet, and but one source of supply, which is the James River. If the Confederates can march down upon his left flank, and cut off his communication with the river, he is ruined. It all turns upon this, so far as an immediate issue is concerned. It is stated that at eleven p.m. on Friday night a council was held, to take into consideration the propriety of abandoning the siege and retreating. Its results are not known, but at the last advices the fighting had again commenced on

Saturday. The newspapers keep these impressions from the public, and have heralded the news of the battle as a grand strategic movement. After what I have written, you can understand precisely its strategy. The plain fact is, that McClellan's right wing has been driven in upon his centre, and that a successful attack by the Confederates upon his left wing will cut him off from his only source of support, the James River. Such is the state of affairs now that the fighting must go forward. I do not believe that the Confederates will pause in the midst of their success, and McClellan has no hope unless he can signally defeat them, and hold on to the James River base until he can get assistance or succeed in taking Richmond. Of this, at present, the prospects are certainly not favorable. The telegraphic communications are suspended, as the lines are now in possession of the Confederates. We may, therefore, have to wait some days for further news, but in the meantime the fighting will continue. There is exciting news, no doubt, close at hand.

That portion of the public who permit the editors to do their thinking see no disaster in this position of things, but all those who think for themselves, after reading the accounts, which have been prepared as far as possible to give the most flattering and charming aspect that their nature will admit, are fully impressed with the adverse results to the Federal side; and I think that the movements in financial and stock operations to-day will show it. I am writing this early in the morning. I could now write you at length, with many speculative ideas and views growing out of the aspect of matters at this moment, but as at any minute they may be changed, I will not do so. I can only say to you, that you must be prepared for very momentous news by this or any succeeding steamer.

In addition to the exciting character of the Richmond events, we have accounts that the Federal army in Arkansas is in danger of being surrounded, and that it is retreating. The attack was about to be made on Vicksburg. Faragut's squadron having gone up with the mortar boats.

Great expectations are induged as to the results that are to flow from the appointment of Pope to the command of the army in the valley of the Shenandoah. This is the general who reported the capture of such innumerable prisoners after the evacuation of Corinth. Beauregard, upon reading the report, published a letter, stating that it was all a falsehood, and that his army had not lost 200 men in his withdrawal from Corinth. It is very well known that if Pope did capture these men, that they have never been heard from. It is now stated that both Beauregard and Price are in Richmond, and that Beauregard was in the battle of Friday.

Immense numbers of sick and wounded continue to arrive at the Northern cities from the Virginian army. I do not think that the entire force of the Federal armies is over 300,000 men to-day, such has been the havoc from sickness, death, and other casualties. I doubt whether McClellan has over 80,000 effective men in front of Richmond, and it is said that the Confederates have 200,000. This cannot possibly be true. I estimate the Confederate army at about 120,000 at that point, and possibly not so many.

This news has affected sterling and gold, which declined about 1 per cent. on Saturday, but has now gone back to former rates. Still I look for considerable falling off in rates during this week, as large amounts of gold will undoubtedly come upon the market.

Cotton remains about the same in New York, say 38 to 39 for middling uplands, and no probability of any receipts.

Money is getting to be more in demand, and rates on call are placed at 5 to 6 per cent. If this continues, a considerable amount now deposited with the Sub-Treasurer will be called for, and I do not know where he is to obtain it.

The weather is getting very warm, and we have now the summer full upon us.

From the tenor of the latest accounts from James Island, I think the Federals are going to abandon all their positions on this island, and postpone their operations against Charleston until next fall.

THE DEFENCE OF RICHMOND.—The *Richmond Whig* of the 27th of June gives an account of the formation, by permission of President Davis, of a patriotic company of official employees:—"Yesterday the first organization to this patriotic end was formed in the General Post-office Department. At an early hour of the day a meeting of all the officers connected with that Department was convened by the direction of the Acting Postmaster-General, Hon. H. St. George Offut, and was organized by calling that officer to the chair. After eloquently explaining the object of the meeting, and communicating the wishes of the President, a company was at once formed, to which no name has yet been given, though we are informed it will probably be the Reagan Rifles. The following are the officers elected:—Captain, John L. Harrell, Alabama; First Lieutenant, B. Fuller N. C.; Second do., J. Frank Boone, Md.; Third do., T. D. Atticus Bibb, Alabama."

MR. LINDSAY'S MOTION.

The following is a summary of the debate that took place on Friday night on the American war. We shall next week present our readers with a full and corrected report, so that our friends in the South may be able to appreciate the views and sympathies of the English people.

On the order for going into a Committee of Supply, Mr. LINDSAY moved the following resolution:—"That, in the opinion of this House, the States which have seceded from the Union of the Republic of the United States have so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and have given such proof of their determination and ability to support their independence, that the propriety of offering mediation, with the view of terminating hostilities between the contending parties, is worthy of the serious and immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government." Adverting to the spirit shown by the press of the Northern States towards this country, he expressed his hope that that press did not reflect the real feelings of the people, and his conviction that the opinion of the British House of Commons could not fail to have a salutary effect. In considering the origin of the present struggle, he showed that the dissatisfaction of the Southern States with the Federal Union was not of recent date; that for a quarter of a century they had had grievances, and complained of the oppressive taxation of the North. He dwelt upon the offensive manner in which the appeals for justice and the prayers for relief of five millions and a-half of people had been received by the Government of Washington, which had precipitated the war. He denied that slavery had anything to do with its causes; the main cause was that the Southern States had been slowly losing their influence in the Lower House of Representatives, and their people, whose interests were bound up with free trade, found that practically they had no voice in taxation, and that the tariffs were framed in the interest of the Northern States, which pursued a policy of protection. The Southern States had, therefore, a double ground of complaint; the taxation was not levied upon the principles of the Constitution; practically, it was taxation without representation; and the taxes were levied for the benefit of particular States of the Union. The end of the war, he believed, must be separation; that re-union was hopeless; and, if so, it behoved England to offer her mediation, and to ask the Northern States to consider the great distress which the people of this country were enduring through this unhappy war. He read letters from Unionists in America acknowledging the hopelessness of the contest, and pleading for the mediation of England.

Mr. TAYLOR, who had given notice of an amendment to Mr. Lindsay's motion, to leave out all the words after the word "House," in order to insert the words "it is desirable that this country should continue to maintain the strictest neutrality in the civil war unhappily existing in the Republic of the United States," said he thought Mr. Lindsay had not acted prudently in disregarding the suggestion of Mr. Clay, to forbear to move his resolution, which would, he believed, add to the bitterness of the feeling in America. He complained that a portion of the press of this country had not acted fairly towards the Northern States. The resolution meant the recognition of the Southern States and intervention by force, which was another war for war with America. He had never heard, he said, such tremendous issues so raised. The reasons which Mr. Lindsay had assigned for the war were fallacious. It was no casual strife; it had been inevitable for years; it was the Nemesis of that system of slavery which condemned to chattelism millions of human beings. The Northern States had endeavoured to postpone this crisis by discreditable compromises; but there was at length a sacrifice they could not make. He implored the House not to adopt the resolution.

Lord A. V. TEMPEST, who had given notice of a resolution, "That it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour, either by itself or in combination with other European Powers, by mediation or otherwise, to bring to a termination the existing contest in America," said he thought the House should not separate without expressing an opinion upon the subject of this war. He justified the interference of this country on the grounds of humanity, and of its responsibilities and duties. Laying out of view the hostility and insult evinced by the North towards England, and putting aside the motive of interest, and even moral responsibility he thought the people of the South, who had courageously maintained their independence for sixteen months, claimed the sympathy of this country and of Europe. Mediation, however, he thought would be worthless unless backed by ulterior measures.

Mr. W. FORSTER, after replying to some remarks of Lord V. Tempest, said, in his opinion, the motion of Mr. Lindsay and the manner in which it had been supported by the last speaker were not calculated to terminate the war, but were more likely to aggravate and prolong it, and even to drag us into it. He advocated the principle and policy of non-intervention. Was the object of this resolution, he asked, mediation or forcible interference? If the former, the less that was publicly said about it there the better, and the mediator should be considered a friend by both parties; whereas Mr. Lindsay had avowed his partiality to the South. Then, if the mediation was to be accompanied by a threat, it would be justly regarded as an insult, and would aggravate the evil. If the North were let alone, it was not improbable it would find out that the subjugation of the South was too hard a task. Forcible interference and a war would not only be wicked and unjust, but foolish. He insisted that this civil strife was a great revolution; that tariffs had nothing to do with it, that slavery was the real cause of the war, and that it would be the end of slavery.

Mr. WHITESIDE observed, that although this question was difficult and delicate, that was no reason why the House of Commons should not express an opinion upon it; to shrink from doing it would be a cowardly proceeding on our part, and he thought Mr. Lindsay had deserved well of the country in giving the Government an opportunity of making their sentiments known. Considering the distinctions between the Southern and Northern States, the fact of Secession was not surprising. The assertion that slavery was the true cause of the war was contradicted by the denunciation in the North of those who made this assertion. If there was an opposition of interests between the Northern and Southern States, why should they not be recommended to separate quietly? If the quarrel was, as had been stated, deep-rooted, the mutual hatred malignant, when would they be reconciled? When would other States be entitled to interfere? It was not proposed to interfere, as Mr. Forster supposed, by force, but in the spirit of the resolution. If it was possible to check the waste of human life, it was criminal calmly to stand by. The interference proposed by the resolution, he argued, was perfectly compatible with neutrality. Recognition was a mere acknowledgment of a *de facto* Government, nothing more; and no ground of war, as he showed on the authority of Sir James Mackintosh and by reference to analogous cases. In

all these cases the question, he observed, was one of time and of events, and in his opinion the time had come when, upon the principles of international law, the Southern States, which had so long maintained their independence, might be recognized, without giving just ground of war or umbrage to the North.

Mr. GREGORY contended that though the war was, as Lord Russell had said, for independence on one side, it was not for empire but for revenge on the other, in pursuit of which object every other consideration had been lost sight of by the North, and he insisted that we had a perfect right to endeavour to put a stop to such a state of things. Recognition he considered to be clearly involved in the resolution of Mr. Lindsay, and he added other instances to those cited by Mr. Whiteside to prove that it was the policy of this country, and the practice of the United States to recognize *de facto* Governments. He enumerated the titles which the Confederate States had established to recognition—in the long maintenance of their independence, in the power to carry on their Government, as well as in their commercial policy, and the stringent provisions they had enacted against the slave trade, the real encouragers of which traffic, he maintained, had been in the North. Those who hated slavery in their hearts must be mad, he said, to suppose that the reconstruction of the Union would be favourable to their views. The slavery pretext was a gross imposture attempted to be palmed upon public credulity. The question had been asked,—If the House adopted the resolution, and mediation was offered and refused, what should next be done? He did not think it would be refused; but if it were, should we recognize the Southern States, it would most probably produce war; but he believed if we acted in conjunction with other States we should hear nothing of war, and meanwhile the impulse would arise from within.

Mr. S. FITZGERALD moved the adjournment of the debate.

Lord PALMERSTON.—I should hope, after the length to which the debate has gone, that the House will be disposed to come to a division to-night (cheers) on the motion of the hon. member for Sunderland. The subject which we have been debating is one of the highest importance, and one also of the most delicate character (hear, hear), and I cannot think that the postponement of the conclusion of this debate till next week can be attended with any beneficial result, either one way or other. (Cheers.)

I confess I regret very much that my hon. friend has thought it his duty to bring this subject under discussion in this House in the present state of things. (Cheers.) There can be but one wish on the part of every man in the country with respect to this war in America, and that is that it should end. (Hear.) I might doubt whether any end which can be satisfactory, or which could lead to an amicable settlement between the two parties, is likely to be accelerated by angry debates in this House. (Cheers.) We have had to-night the American war waged here, in words, by champions on both sides. It is quite true that many things have been said which must be gratifying to the feelings of both parties now fighting in America; but, on the other hand, things have been said in the warmth of debate which must tend to irritate and wound the feelings of both sides, and it is in human nature to think more of things that are offensive, than of things which are gratifying and friendly. I confess, therefore, that I regret that the debate has been brought on, and I should earnestly hope that the House would not agree to the motion of my hon. friend, but would leave it in the hands of the Government, to deal with the future, content as I believe the country is with the manner in which the past has been conducted by them. (Cheers.) I don't ask this upon the ground of confidence in the Government of the day, because I think that whatever party might have the rule in this country—whether might sit on these benches—it would be wise and expedient in the House to leave a matter of such difficulty, of such delicacy, and of such immense importance in the hands of the responsible Government of the day (hear, hear), to deal with it according to the varying circumstances of the moment, and not by a resolution to dictate and point out a specific course, and to tie up their hands, thus taking upon the House of Commons the responsibility which ought properly to belong to the Government. (Cheers.) The motion of my hon. friend points to two courses—mediation and acknowledgment. We have heard a very learned and well-argued speech from the right hon. gentleman opposite on the question of acknowledgment. I am not going to dispute that if this country thought it right to take that course we should be perfectly justified in acknowledging the independence of the Southern States, provided only that that independence had been—in the words which he used—"firmly and permanently established." (Hear, hear.) Moreover, I quite concur with him that our acknowledgment of that independence, if we thought right to make it, would be no just cause of war, no just cause of offence on the part of the United States against this country. But the cases which the right hon. gentleman cited—more especially the cases of the South American republics—were totally different from that which is now presented to our consideration. (Hear, hear.) The South American republics were not acknowledged till a great many years after they had practically achieved and obtained their independence. That was a war between them and Spain—separated by the wide Atlantic from her revolted subjects—and unable with any degree of power to re-establish her authority over them; and, I believe, it was nearly fifteen years—certainly a great many years—before their independence was acknowledged. But what was the state of affairs in this case until the uncertain rumours we have received this day? A fortnight ago it was doubtful whether the Confederates or the Federals would be in possession of Richmond. It was but a few days ago that we imagined that the whole course of the Mississippi was in the hands of the Federals—we knew that New Orleans, and possibly Charleston, were in their hands, and, I contend, that up to the present moment, whatever may be the opinion which anybody may entertain of the resolution of this great determined nation of the South to fight to the last for the maintenance of its independence, practically the contest has not yet assumed the character which would justify this country in assuming that that independence was permanently and fully established. (Cheers.) But, then, many people who talk of acknowledgment seem to imply that that acknowledgment, if made, would establish some different relations between this country and the Southern States. But that is not the case. Acknowledgment would not establish a nation unless it were followed by some direct active interference. (Hear, hear.) Neutrality, as was well observed by the right hon. gentleman opposite, is perfectly compatible with acknowledgment. You may be neutral in a war between two countries whose independence you never called in question. Two long-established countries go to war; you acknowledge the independence of both, but you are not on that account bound to take part in the contest. (Hear.) The right hon. gentleman argued that we had taken a step towards acknowledgment by admitting that the South had belligerent rights, but Vattel and all the best authorities on the law of nations hold that when a civil war breaks out in a country, and is firmly established there,

other nations have a right to deal with those two parties as belligerents, without acknowledging the independence of the revolted portion of the country. (Hear, hear.) Admitting that the war has been established on such a footing that each party is entitled to be regarded by other countries as belligerents, the mere fact of our having acknowledged that those two parties are belligerents in the international sense of the word does not imply a step towards acknowledging one or other of them as an independent nation. Nobody can be insensible for a moment of the vast importance to this country of a speedy termination of that war. (Hear, hear.) We all know the privations and sufferings which a great portion of our population are enduring in consequence of that unfortunate war; but, on the other hand, it has been well put by an hon. gentleman who spoke in this debate that any attempt to put an end to it by active interference would only produce greater evils, greater sufferings, and greater privations to those who interfered. (Hear, hear.) There is no instance, I believe, in the history of the world, of a contest such as that which is now going on in America—a contest of such magnitude between two different sections of the same people. The Thirty Years' War in Germany was a joke to it in point of amount and magnitude. It was but the other day that I saw a map sent by the Quartermaster-General of the Federal forces, on which were marked out the positions of 720,000 Federal troops. We now hear that 300,000 more men are to be called into the field—making 1,000,000 of men on one side and probably there is something not much less on the other. Irritation and exasperation on both sides are admitted by all who have taken part in the debate, and is that the moment when it can be thought that a successful offer of mediation could be made to the two parties? (Hear.) My hon. friend said "I don't care for that; we had better offer mediation and let it be refused, and if that were followed by acknowledgment, that acknowledgment would ultimately lead to a satisfactory settlement between the two parties." I wish to guard myself against anything in regard to the future. The events of this war have been so contrary to all anticipations, from time to time, that he would be a bold man indeed who should attempt to prophesy from month to month what character the war would assume. (Hear.) I believe the country and this House are of opinion that the Government has up to the present time pursued a wise and prudent course. (Cheers.) We should be too happy if any opportunity should present itself which would afford us a fair and reasonable prospect that any effort on our part might be conducive to establish peace between these two parties who are carrying on a desolating and afflicting contest, but I think that the House had better leave it to the discretion of the Government to judge of the occasions which may arise, and of the opportunities which may present themselves. (Hear, hear.) It is upon that ground that, without going into any investigation of the rights on either side as to which may be right and which wrong, without expressing any judgment—because I think it is the duty of the Government of this country to abstain from expressing any judgment upon the two parties—I ask the House not to sanction this resolution. If at any time we should be able by friendly offices to contribute to the establishment of peace, it can be only by presenting ourselves in the shape of impartial persons not tied by opinions either one way or the other, anxious only to promote that settlement between the two which may be consistent with the feelings and interests of both. It is only in that way that we can render any service, and, in order to remain in that position, to enjoy that character, it is necessary that we should avoid pronouncing any judgment or opinion. I therefore do not follow the example of those who have expressed opinions upon the merits of the two parties. I only entreat the House not to adopt the resolution of my hon. friend (hear, hear), but to leave to the responsible Government the task of judging what can be done, when it can be done, and how it can be done. (Cheers.)

Mr. SEYMOUR FITZGERALD said Mr. Lindsay proposed that Her Majesty's Government should attempt mediation, upon the ground that the Confederate States had long preserved a separate Government, and shown a determination to maintain their independence; and he must say that until he heard the speech of the noble lord, he should have thought it difficult for any one to disagree with the terms of the resolution. The Confederate States had maintained not only a separate Government, but an established Government, with a recognized Constitution, a President, a Senate, and House of Representatives duly elected, constitutions who exercised an independent choice, and elections freely conducted. They had not only a large army in the field, but for upwards of a year had maintained and paid a body of troops numbering not less than 300,000. He thought that we should be wanting in our duty to our own population, as well as to humanity in general, if we did not step forward and, by peaceful mediation, try to put an end to this odious contest. He did not know what course the Government might hereafter take, but he felt assured that if they were only prepared to accept the responsibility of being the first to initiate in Europe the policy of inviting—in conjunction with the Powers of the Continent—the contending States of America to come to a settlement of their differences, they would have the satisfaction of knowing that they had taken a step which might have the effect of restoring peace to one hemisphere, and contentment and prosperity to the suffering people of another.

Mr. HOWARD, in whose name a notice stood on the paper to the effect that it was his intention to move "that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to use every means consistent with the maintenance of peace, either in concert with the Great Powers of Europe or otherwise, as they may think it expedient, to endeavour to terminate the civil war now raging in America," said he did not feel disposed to take the course suggested for the adoption of the hon. member for Sunderland, and withdraw his motion. Very little had been said in the course of the discussion with respect to the distressed operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire, of whom 197,000 were working short time, while 58,990 were altogether without employment. He implored the Government, in the name of justice and charity, as well as in the interests of humanity, to take some steps to put an end to the misery which the unhappy struggle in America was creating, not only in that country, but our own.

Mr. LINDSAY then asked the permission of the House to withdraw his motion, observing that he would rest satisfied with the statement of the noble lord at the head of the Government, and the hope which it held out that he would take the earliest opportunity to bring about the termination of the war.

The motion was then withdrawn.

DISAPPOINTED HOPES.—On June 30 the *New York World* said:—"There are several obvious theories to account for the suppression of the news. The first and most probable is that the final result was not officially known, and that General McClellan, if he was following up the enemy to Richmond, had not time to compose official despatches to the War Department. We incline to the belief that a victory has been won, and that General McClellan is now in or near Richmond."

THE BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND, AND THE
FEDERAL REPORTS.(From *The Times* of Monday.)

For some days past the tidings of the battles before Richmond have vibrated with every hour. Telegrams and mails have succeeded each other with discordant rapidity. The pendulum has swung from the point of Federal victory to that of Federal destruction. No one could tell what had really happened, because no one could believe the Government assurances, and it was not safe to give credence to the panic fears which in the general ignorance arose in the popular imagination. Everything which lay between a successful strategic movement and the utter destruction of the army of the Potomac was possible, and every possible contingency had its advocates.

At length, however, the truth begins to become apparent, and there really is very little difference between the facts as they are now told in sober phrase and the worst version which was blurted to the world in startling telegrams. If it be not true that McClellan is a fugitive, and the whole of his army pressed to the necessity of capitulation, it appears that there was a moment when this appeared so natural a result of the position that they who asserted those facts might fairly have believed that they were justified by what was happening around them. A series of six days of battle and six days of defeat is now described in the letters received at New York. Routes wherein officers often led the way of flight, and in which they never succeeded in staying the headlong scamper of their men, a general "stampede" to the cry of "The Rebels are coming," a run from post to post, the enemies ever pursuing, and the dead and wounded left in the hands of the pursuers,—these are the events which are now detailed in horrible minuteness by those who have survived them. Six days and seventeen miles of flight and slaughter are the real facts which have been sickened over by pale, ghastly boasts of strategic success. The dead had no more to fear, but the wounded were left in the swamps where they fell, necessarily deserted by their flying friends, passed over by their enemies, and without hope of seeing other faces in this world than those of men and women who had a right to detest them as mercenary plunderers and invaders. Such a scene arouses every sense of horror and pity; but these feelings are turned half into contempt when we find that the leader of this panic-stricken host, having left all his siege batteries and his stores behind, having fled to his ships, and being momentarily safe under the protection of their guns, complacently in a General Order the ragged remnants of his army upon their achievements and their valour, and volunteers the conspicuous falsehood that "they have saved all their material and all their guns, except a few lost in battle."

Such a dreadful carnage as that which has just taken place in America is unknown in modern times. As the horrors of the French Revolution crept out of peaceful-looking votes of general fraternity and the abolition of capital punishment, so the bloodless sieges and battles which gave the commencement of this civil war an air of pastime have deepened into a furious struggle. In which populations seem to join with no other idea than that of mutual extermination. With a great army completely beaten and demoralized, it is painful to find the defeated general fabricating portentous estimates of the amount of men his conquerors must have lost in beating him. It is sadly ludicrous to see him making a pretence of stealing back towards the city he lately beleaguered, feeling his way along the banks of his protecting river with cautious leisure, and venturing only where his gunboats can accompany him, and can shell the woods in his front to make sure there is no Confederate force that can harm him. While his flags of truce are refused, and while he is unable to count his own dead or gather his own wounded, it is pitiable to hear him talk of the Confederate loss. Perhaps we might pardon him, under the circumstances, for stating in his despatches to Washington that at "one o'clock on July 4—the great Day of Independence—the bands were playing, the national salutes being fired, and things looking bright;" but it is not pardonable in a general so utterly beaten and so nearly destroyed to reassert in that same despatch that "our forces were not beaten in any conflict, nor could they be driven from the field by the uttermost efforts of the enemy." Neither is it pardonable in a general addressing an army yet panting from a seventeen miles' run, to parody the language of Napoleon, and tell his wretched followers that they may always say with pride, "I belonged to the army of the Potomac." We understand the fortitude and determination of a brave man under defeat, but these qualities never lack the dignity of truth, and are never seen draped in tawdry falsehood.

But we shall probably be asked what it is to us that General McClellan should talk this trash to his army and to his Government. We answer, first, that official documents are the materials of history, and that it is the business of every man to expose those who falsify them. Veracity in men who hold conspicuous positions is also a quality which it is the interest of all mankind to insist upon on pain of infamy. But principally it is in the interest of humanity that we desire to cry down this newly-adapted custom of systematic falsehood. While the American Press is gagged; while private opinion in the Northern States is under the suppression of a terrorism; while the Government prints what it pleases, and points to its public despatches as the only proof of current facts, it is important that every free voice should cry a warning against the deception which is being practised upon the people of America. These falsehoods, which are so ridiculous here, where we can compare them with the accounts of eye-witnesses transmitted from the spot, may have the effect of hardening the North to the further prosecution of this hopeless and sanguinary invasion.

We believe that, if the history of those six days' fighting could be fairly told all over the Northern States, the effect would be to put an end to the war. Not that the North would be daunted by the carnage, or think itself unable to continue the contest, but that the object would be seen to be too difficult to be further pursued, and not worth the sacrifice demanded. It is very different to give up the desire to possess another man's house, and to surrender the determination of defending your own. You may easily come to find the first to be an imprudent adventure; you can never come to find the last an object to be abandoned. This difference is forgotten by the few shallow reasoners in this country who are constantly telling us that 20,000,000 must in the end beat 8,000,000. So they would, no doubt, if the two populations would meet in some great prairie and fight it out at once. But, as the 20,000,000 can only send a part of their numbers against the 8,000,000, and must maintain these numbers at a distance from home, the figures are by no means conclusive. In practice the 20,000,000 dwindle down to that fraction of them who choose to go out and fight, whereas the 8,000,000, being attacked in their own homes, are compelled to muster their whole fighting force. The practical refutation of this silly fallacy, as it is to be read in every page of former history, is now also to be seen in every fact of our contemporary experience. A population of 20,000,000 ought to give about

4,000,000 of fighting men, but so far from any such number being ready to become invaders of the South, there seems to be no probability of even the new levy of 300,000 men being obtained. The more the truth is known, the smaller will be the probability of volunteers coming forward to feed this waste of human life. If real accounts were allowed to circulate in the Federal States of the hardships which are endured, the slaughter which is suffered as well as inflicted, and the fevers and agues which destroy the hostile hosts, small chance would there be of any bounty drawing even the necessitous and ill-used Irish emigrant to such a death as that offered by the White Oak Swamp. These false despatches and these bombastic General Orders are, then, something more than mere breaches of veracity; they are bolts to catch mere food for powder and more prey for pestilence. McClellan's real position is along the bank of the James River, sheltering under the guns of his gunboats, which protect him from his enemy. So long as he stays where he is he must lose largely every night by fever; if he moves, he must move over a swamp into the clutches of a victorious enemy.

THE SECESSION OF THE WEST.

To the Editor of THE INDEX.

SIR,—Happily for the Confederate cause, it has become superfluous to heap up arguments for the purpose of proving, not only that Secession is an undeniable fact, but that it is an indisputable right. Those to whom such arguments were originally addressed trusted to refute them with the sword. The Federals would not listen to reason, because they fancied themselves omnipotent in the battle-field. They believed that cannon-balls had more cogency than syllogisms, and that thousands of sharp bayonets were the best logical weapons for vindicating the correctness of their opinions, and triumphantly refuting the reasonings of the Confederates. In so thinking they resembled those persecutors of a bygone age, of whom Addison neatly remarked that they "convicted their adversaries with a *sortes*, commonly called a pile of faggots." Moreover, in setting up an abstraction called the "Union" as a worthy object for which to do battle, they acted like Don Quixote when he sallied forth to maintain against all comers the peerless charms of the imaginary Dulcinea of Toboso. The victories about which the Federals have boasted so much have been as unreal and fruitless as those which the Knight of La Mancha fancied he had achieved, while the title with which the latter dubbed himself may be appropriately bestowed on the great Federal commander. There may be great doubts as to the kind of honours which General McClellan has earned by his victories on paper and his wonderful strategy in the field. At this moment, he may be truly styled the "Knight of the Rueful Countenance."

For the present it is unnecessary to enlarge on the wickedness of the North and the weakness of General McClellan. Let me rather endeavour to show the folly of the conduct recently pursued by the Federals, and the consequences which will follow from it. Never, perhaps, did the leaders of a powerful nation display greater imprudence and perversity than President Lincoln and his ministers have done in wilfully prolonging this lamentable contest. President Lincoln is not personally responsible for the secession of the Southern States. The "Union" was dissolved before he entered upon the duties of his office. Disbelieving the evidence of his senses, he denied that the "Union" was at an end; overrating the measure of his power, he declared that it should be maintained by force of arms. It may be that he honestly believed in the existence of a desire for reunion among the people of the Southern Confederacy; if so, he should not be too severely blamed for acting in accordance with that belief. But this delusion was soon dispelled. The Confederates testified by their deeds the unanimity of their sentiments. They have since shown not only that they are unanimous in asserting their rights, but that they are capable of defending them. Thus the circumstances under which President Lincoln originally acted having altered, his policy should have been changed also. Having found that certain States had definitely seceded, he ought to have acted so as to bind together the remaining ones by the ties of interest, if not of affection. A wise ruler would have done this; but unfortunately for the North it is ruled by a man to whom his eulogists cannot ascribe any virtue, save honesty. To call a man honest, is equivalent to saying of a woman that she is plain; it is merely the polite way of stating that the man is an unmitigated fool, and the woman is deplorably ugly. Now, honest President Lincoln had it in his power to end the war, and thereby prevent the speedy secession of the Western States. He may still conclude peace with the South; but he has made it impossible for the Western States to continue members of the "Union." Like the Confederate States, they have agricultural products to exchange for manufactured goods. Hence, it is essential that whatever they import must be low-priced. For some years back the Western farmers have got barely remunerative prices for their grain. If those prices should remain stationary, while those of manufactured goods should be doubled or trebled, it will be impossible for them to continue tilling their fields at

a profit. When that time arrives, the prosperity of the Western States will be at an end, and the inhabitants of the now flourishing territories will be reduced to beggary. If, in addition, they are compelled to pay heavy taxes, their condition will be most wretched. These results will necessarily follow the virtual prohibition of the importation of low-priced European manufactures into the Federal States by the imposition of high protective duties, as well as the levying the crushing war taxes for the purpose of carrying on the war against the South. The dwellers in the West will then perceive that nothing but Secession can save them from utter ruin. They will then discover, not only that Secession is a sacred right, but an imperative duty. They have never loved the Yankees, and they will hate them as fervently as the Confederates now do when they find out, by bitter experience, that the chief objects for which the war is being waged are that the manufacturers of Pennsylvania and the contractors of New England may fatten on the spoils afforded by protective tariffs and remunerative war contracts. When the inhabitants of the Western States associate Secession with free trade and riches they will become stubborn Secessionists to a man; the "Union" will be again broken up, and the mighty Confederacy of the West founded on its ruins.

The gigantic levies which President Lincoln has decreed, the tax bill and protectionist tariff sanctioned by Congress, are hastening that consummation. Already have associations been formed, with a view to resist the payment of war taxes. Not only are the Federals sowing the seeds of war with the West, but they are running the risk of losing several of the States and cities which they now occupy. General McClellan has declared that the Southern capital must fall; at this moment Washington is more liable to capture than Richmond. His army is now encamped in Virginia: it may not be long before Maryland is in the possession of the Confederates. The Federals have boasted that, should the South refuse to return to the "Union," the Southern States will be subjugated, and Southern property confiscated. The Confederates have confined themselves to fighting instead of boasting; to winning victories instead of fabricating idle prophecies. But they may yet teach the Federals that subjugation is a game which two can play at. Hitherto they have battled to maintain their independence, and to defend their property and their lives from the grasp of a ruthless foe. Unless the Federals speedily abandon their hopeless and infamous enterprise, the Confederates may be forced to carry the war into the North, and may there humiliate as well as vanquish their opponents, by dictating terms of peace upon Northern soil.

R.

COLONEL STEWART'S CAVALRY EXPLOIT.

The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* thus criticises this brilliant enterprise:—

"The Confederate Government knows not how to honour merit, nor encourage enterprise, if it does not make a Brigadier-General out of the Colonel who led the 160 dragoons in the amazingly impudent and amazingly successful raid of Friday night. The officer is said to be Stewart. He had resided at the Tyler Mansion, near the Baltimore Cross Roads, and consequently was familiar with the country. But the enterprise was bold, shrewd, and soldierly, thorough and thorough. The account of it in the Richmond papers ought to be good reading—for Richmond people. There has been no laughter over it in this army. Nor has there been much open criticism of the military condition which permitted a squadron of cavalry, in a moonlight night, to go through and through our lines, fire upon a train bearing sick soldiers to a hospital, and crowded with employees in the transportation service, kill, wound, and capture numbers of them, then break up the railroad, to gallop off away and pillage and burn two valuable vessels under charter to the Quartermaster's Department—then pounce upon a forage and goods train of a hundred waggon, and make the surprised drivers hitch Uncle Samuel's mules, over three hundred in number, to the poles, and start off amid roars of laughter to Richmond—scatter terror to the very wharves of the White House Landing, and cause a general and hasty arming of every driver, soldier, and stevedore that could be gathered up, and made to hold a Secesh or Union musket, whichever was nearest at hand, and cause the hasty shipment of the wounded and women, and the raising of steam and the slipping of cables by every vessel in this crowded harbour, and, to crown its marvellous industry, allowed this handful of men to summon forth the surgeon of a large hospital, and to demand of him a parade of every soldier and civilian in the Tyler Mansion fit for duty, and when this muster and parade were made, by the light of the moon, permitted it to march them off to Richmond as prisoners of war—all of them, save a few courteously left with the surgeon, on his representation that they were indispensable to the hospital as assistants. Courteously left, I said. Generously I should have said—for of courtesy, the camp story is, there was not much, but of derision a good deal. 'Tis said of the Colonel, that when the surgeon's request for his regular assistants was reported to him, he laughingly replied, 'Let him have them. It won't do to break the concern up, for we shall want to make an occasional run on it.'"

RELIABILITY OF NORTHERN REPORTS.—The following, printed in large type, appeared in General Butler's paper, the *New Orleans Delta*, on June 12:—"On May 31, Richmond was evacuated, and General McClellan took possession of the city. General Banks had, with reinforcements, driven Stonewall Jackson headlong towards the foot of General McDowell, who has probably, before this, kicked him over the border. So ends the drama for the Mother of Statesmen. The home of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and all the numerous fathers of liberty, is cleansed from corruption. It is enough."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names, or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through Henry Forze, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 28s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1862.

New Features of the War.

If the last Northern reports of the progress of the war are true, and since they are unfavourable to the Federal cause, we may reasonably conclude that if they do not reveal the whole truth, they are reliable as far as they confess to Confederate triumphs and to Federal disasters, accomplished or threatened, the area of warlike operations has rapidly extended, instead of being contracted and reduced to narrow limits, according to the Washington programme. Whilst Mr. Lincoln is calling for more men to recruit the army in Virginia, and meets with such a languid response, in spite of the urgency of the situation, the offer of a liberal bounty, and a payment in advance, that a conscription is imminent, the South is cheerfully arming in every direction to do battle with the invader; so that the Federal armies are not only in a hostile country, but are surrounded by hostile camps. We do not intend by these remarks to paraphrase the Federal boasting of crushing the enemy in thirty or ninety days; for though the difficulties of the North, and the successes that have lately been vouchsafed to the Confederate arms, may reasonably be regarded as indications of the approaching termination of the struggle, it is possible that the war of independence is yet in its infancy; but, at all events, the extension of the war will make it necessary for the North to bring larger armies into the field than heretofore, and to increase the already ruinous expenditure; and, further, the new features of the war must convince even the partisans of the North that the conquest of the South, if ever effected, must be preceded by the extermination of the Southern people, and by the prostration and desolation of the North.

The Confederates, under the command of General Van Dorn, have captured Baton Rouge, near to New Orleans, and taken 1500 Federal prisoners. The proximity of the enemy must be unpleasant to General Butler, and, but for the gunboats, would be dangerous; as it is, this movement cannot fail to inspire the people of New Orleans with the hope of relief from the despotic rule under which they now suffer.

The operations in Tennessee are very menacing to the Federals. The Confederates, in considerable force, have captured Murfreesborough, a place about thirty miles from Nashville, with which capital it is connected by a railroad, and it is supposed that Nashville will shortly be attacked; and we may be sure that the people of that city, whose patriotism was lately manifested by the clergy preferring imprisonment to taking the oath of fealty to the United States, will do all in their power to aid the good cause.

Near Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, the Confederates, we are told, are in great force, which means that the Kentuckians have risen to throw off the Federal yoke; and that the rising is general, we infer from the report that "considerable excitement exists at Louisville." Thus the capitals of Tennessee and Kentucky are menaced, and will probably pass into the hands of the Confederates. More than ever has the Washington Government cause to be anxious for the safety of General Halleck's army. The Confederates near Nashville and in Kentucky are in its rear. General Curtis, as we announced in our last issue, has been obliged to withdraw from Arkansas, which leaves General Halleck exposed to

attack from the Southern forces in that State. If, as reported, 50,000 men have left the Federal army in Tennessee to join McClellan in Virginia, and if, as stated by Mr. Lane in the United States' Senate, Halleck lost 50,000 men in the marshes before Corinth, the Federal hold upon Tennessee is very weak, and General Halleck can only carry on the war with his marvellous pen. If, however, he has still a considerable force, and the capture of an express train between Memphis and Corinth was due to negligence, and not to weakness, his power of aggression and means of defence must be crippled, if not paralyzed by being thus encircled by the enemy, who may close upon him and compel him to follow the example of General McClellan, and execute the brilliant strategic movement of a disastrous retreat to the cover and protection of the Federal gunboats. Thus dark and forboding is the Federal position, according to Federal accounts; that the actual position is much worse we may readily conceive.

The Confederate triumphs have not been compensated by Northern successes. The operations against Charleston have been abandoned by the withdrawal of the Federal forces from James Island to Port Royal. Mobile is strongly fortified, is defended by a large army under the command of a resolute and able general, and we learn that in the bay are two Confederate gunboats and a ram. The preparedness of Mobile has, we suppose, cooled the ardour of the North, for we do not now hear even a whisper of an intention to make any immediate attack upon that city. By the latest advices we are informed that Vicksburg, though assailed, was still holding out, and further, that reinforcements under General Breckinridge were *en route* for that place. The uncertainty as to the movements of General Beauregard, who has not gone to Richmond as reported, for we are enabled to state positively that he was not in the Confederate capital on the 25th of June, is very harassing to the Federals. Altogether we cannot imagine a more gloomy state of affairs for the invader.

Let us now turn to Virginia, which still mainly engrosses public attention on either side of the Atlantic. The memorable seven days' fight is more than a nine days' wonder, and some time must elapse before we can thoroughly appreciate the momentous consequences and the fearful character of that bloody struggle, which, by the consummate generalship and stern resolution of the Confederates, resulted in the overthrow of one of the largest, if not the largest, and best equipped armies that has ever been sent forth to battle. The details of the slaughter are sickening. In that retreat the wounded were left by their comrades to perish from lack of assistance, and the dying and dead were mingled together. The exact losses are still uncertain, but the lowest estimate reveals an unparalleled carnage. Perhaps we may get some idea of the extent of the losses by considering that the Federals already admit that four generals and forty-three colonels of regiments were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: that the 55th Regiment had only left fifty men fit for service; that the 4th New Jersey Regiment lost 559 men out of 640; that the 22nd Massachusetts lost 560 men out of 780; that the Mozart Regiment lost 780 men out of 1100; and that the 12th New York Regiment is literally annihilated. With such facts before us, we are almost driven to conclude that when the entire loss is stated at between 30,000 and 40,000 it is not an exaggeration.

And what position does the bleeding, decimated army now occupy? It is encamped on ground whereague and fever are supreme during the present and two succeeding months. In front of it is the enemy, numerically superior and flushed with victory. In its rear, too, on the opposite side of the river, the enemy is erecting batteries, firing into the Federal transports, and threatening to cut off the supplies of the army, or, at all events, to make those supplies wretchedly uncertain. No wonder that an uneasy feeling prevails at New York; no wonder that the Government dreads to let the truth be known, and seeks to conceal it by a rigid censorship of the press, and by the dissemination of false reports as to the safety of the army and the rein-

forcements that are about to join it; no wonder that in Congress there should be a cry of indignation, and we are scarcely surprised that, in the hour of bitter disappointment and justifiable panic, Mr. Chandler, the Senatorial representative of Michigan, should call for vengeance on the President, or on the Commander-in-chief, and say, "the criminal, in his judgment, should not only be deprived of office, but suffer the extreme penalty of the law;" no wonder the people of the North, engaged in a war of aggression, should, as Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, told the Senate, "dread being employed in swampy, unhealthy places," and that he should have proposed that the poor negro should be impressed into the Federal service to perform the deadly work from which the white people shrink. But it is a wonder that at such a time the Federal President and the Federal Commander should dare to call defeat victory; a proceeding that cannot be too strongly denounced.

Does General McClellan think that, by boasting of victory he can blind his soldiers to the fearful chasms in their ranks, and make them forget the comrades whom they left dead and dying on their retreat? Does he think that by his address he can drown the remembrance of officers leading the flight of their troops, and that, at the cry of the "rebels are coming," order and discipline were at an end? Does he think that, though with the 200,000 men he led from Washington, he could not get into Richmond, yet that he may do so by arrogant assurance with the remnant of that powerful army?

Mr. Lincoln told the troops "they had not been whipped and never would be," and that he knew they "would never give up without going into Richmond." Surely this was a ghastly mockery, and no good can come from endeavouring to raise the spirits of a defeated army by such flagrant falsehoods and such wild predictions. The soldiers who listen to this address of the Chief Magistrate of the United States may have applauded it, but in their hearts they knew it was completely untrue. Perhaps Mr. Lincoln may again bid the people return thanks to Heaven for a pretended victory, or it is possible Mr. Lincoln regards himself, or would have others regard him, as the Supreme Arbiter, else how is it he unfalteringly proclaims that the army never will be beaten. If this is madness there is much method in it. If the army of the Potomac has not been defeated, then, truly, it never will be defeated, for there is no such thing as defeat. And if the future efforts of the South should, through the blessing of Providence, be crowned with triumphs commensurate with those that have lately rewarded her endurance and devotion, and the army of the Potomac should have to surrender to the victorious foe, and be taken to Richmond, as 12,000 of its number have already been taken there, as prisoners of war, then Mr. Lincoln may say he foretold that the men would "never give up without going into Richmond."

Yet, in the midst of these military disasters, at the moment when the prospect is everywhere clouded, with national bankruptcy inevitable, with political dissensions in the North, with the threat of the West not to contribute to pay the taxes levied by Congress, with the certainty of being obliged to resort to conscription, the people and press still clamour for war with England or France, and do what they can to threaten and insult those nations. It seems as though the United States was to illustrate the truth of the well-worn saying, "that whom the gods destroy they first make mad."

The Position of Canada in the American War.

At the same time that the debate on Mr. Lindsay's motion was progressing in the Commons, on Friday night, the Lords were engaged with a subject which, though indirectly, had scarcely a less important bearing upon American policy. On the subject of colonial fortifications, and relative to the refusal of the Canadian Parliament to pass a Militia Bill, Lord Ellenborough pronounced the following pregnant sentences:—

Every man must see that in whatever manner the present civil war in America terminates, whether in the success of the North or in the separation of the South, the immediate result will be an irruption into Canada. If the people of the North fail, they will attack Canada as a compensation for their loss. If they succeed, they will attack Canada in the drunkenness of victory.

If Lord Ellenborough is right—and the Peers seemed to have so far agreed with his opinion as not to deny the extreme probability of Canada being endangered by the pacification of America—the inference will be drawn by many that the termination of the war is not a proper object of British policy, and the heartless remark ascribed to Mr. Carlyle, “that the war is the burning out of a very dirty chimney, which the neighbours may witness with composure, and even self-congratulation,” becomes, in a measure, justified. We venture, however, for reasons which to us appear conclusive, to differ from the opinions expressed by this high authority, as well as from the inference which may be drawn from that opinion.

First, as to the new and nearer danger which peace on any terms between the present belligerents would bring upon Canada. We have on former occasions stated our conviction that the true defence of that dependency lay in the exposed condition of California, which is practically nearer to our ships of war than to those of the United States, and the value of which, to its possessors, more than compensates the value of Canada to us. Without the Great Pacific Railway, which can alone bridge over the vast gulf placed by an impassable desert between the Atlantic and Pacific States, without an adequate naval force on that remote coast, which they can only reach by the circumnavigation of a continent, and without available defences of its scanty harbours, the Americans will not care to attempt the execution of their boastful threats. We have also pointed out the danger which, in a war with us, would threaten the United States from the somewhat questionable loyalty of the people of Maine in such an event. But there are stronger reasons still. Exhausted of men and means, as the United States must be whenever this war ends, whence shall they muster the energies for another as great and, perhaps, even more dangerous. What has sustained them thus far, almost as much as the feverish frenzy which actuates them, has been their uninterrupted communication with the world, while their opponents were almost wholly excluded from such communication. In a war with Great Britain they would be in the same position to which their naval superiority has reduced the South. Their ports would be virtually blockaded, the military stores of Europe would fail them, and their chief supplies of recruits be hopelessly cut off. With a currency already depreciated to an extent which the South did not reach until after six months of blockade, how shall the armies now existing be paid and supported when the streams of gold from California are dried up, and a foreign enemy holds unchecked sway of the seas? Let it be borne in mind that the conquest of Canada affords no such stimulants to popular passions as the conquest of the South. The South has heretofore furnished two-thirds of the exports of the Union; the monopoly of her trade has built up the great cities of the Northern Atlantic seaboard; its recovery would not, perhaps, be too dearly purchased even at the enormous price it has already cost. Canada is not, at best, a wealthy country; it produces none of the great staples of the world's commerce, and it would be difficult to show that its incorporation would add one pound to the net revenue of the Union. The same motives of cupidity—of retaining spoils which long possession had caused to be considered as lawful property—of recovering outlays, which otherwise would be ruinous, by further desperate efforts—do not, therefore, exist in the two cases. Besides, the conquest of Canada would be a foreign war, and as such could not have the same hold upon the minds of an entire people as a war professedly waged in support of their own Government, and in defence of the integrity of their own territory. The conquest of the South, though differing neither in theory nor in fact from any other foreign

conquest, has this pretence, and the North can hardly be blamed for clinging to it, so long as foreign statesmen, by publicly declaring the war “a civil war,” and foreign Governments, by an exceptional disregard to the claims of nationality of one of the belligerents recognize the validity of that pretence. The war upon the South has been actually undertaken; it has been attended with just sufficient success to give delusive hopes of greater successes; too much has been staked on it to make it easy to abandon the stake. The war upon Canada has yet to be begun. Important practical distinctions these, when we judge of the aggressive powers of the North in the one case by those it displays in the other. We cannot help thinking that a disposition has recently been manifested in our public counsels to grossly exaggerate the substantial strength of America. A phenomenon, startling indeed, but yet traceable to causes which never existed before, and can never occur again, is mistaken for a normal fact, and it is forgotten that both the North and the South are now displaying a strength of which, under any other circumstances than those in which they are actually placed, they would be utterly incapable.

But admitting to the fullest extent, for the sake of argument, Lord Ellenborough's statement of the danger, the conclusion by no means follows that the prolongation of the war is an object of British policy. The war, it is a mere truism to say, cannot last for ever. The danger, then, admitted to exist, must be met at some time or other, and the question simply is at what time it would be best to meet it. The war must end in one or the other manner to which the noble Earl refers, and here the question is to decide which of the two possible terminations brings the preponderance of danger. In other words, whether the North would be more formidable in the “drunkenness of victory,” or in the search of “compensation for its loss.” Nations, like men, are wiser in the hour of adversity than in that of prosperous fortune, and to nations as to men the intoxication of the passions lends transitory powers which cool calculation never gives. Without entering into a detailed examination, it must be apparent that the relative and absolute ability of the North to inflict injury upon England is greater if, by the reconquest of the South, it can bring commercial as well as military weapons to bear upon her, than if helplessly thrown upon its own exhausted resources. The possession of the South would give the enemy of England the monopoly of cotton and tobacco, as well as that of grain, and these might prove in that enemy's hands more formidable engines of war than huge muster rolls of foreign hirelings, or old merchant ships improvised into a navy. Great Britain's interest, therefore, were there no other consideration than that of Canada, would obviously point to a separation which removes such dangerous weapons from such threatening hands. Further, it would be her manifest interest to endeavour to use these very weapons against the enemy who lately wielded them.

This leads us to another inference from Lord Ellenborough's statement, namely, that we cannot prudently remain passive spectators of the contest until it shall have ended by the triumph of either of the parties to it. If one of these parties is so dangerous a foe as Lord Ellenborough represents, it behoves us to seek an ally in the other. This we can scarcely hope to achieve by a cold indifference to the party whose alliance we desire, and even less by a persistent disregard of just claims upon us. With the South as the warm friend of England, the invasion of Canada means the invasion of the North by a military Power whose frontiers extend to within a few miles of Washington, and it would only be according to human nature if the Southerners, who now claim only justice, did not regret so tempting an opportunity for revenge. Great Britain cannot send 100,000 men into Canada, but she can, without cost to her in time of peace, keep 300,000 men ever ready for its defence. We are answered, that Great Britain needs incur no present risks to ensure these future advantages, which she will obtain under any circumstances from the necessity and self-interest of

the Southerners. The fact that the great object of separation appears now on the eve of being permanently accomplished by the efforts of the South alone, gives to this argument a weight which it did not have while the uncertainty of the issue still involved momentous British interests. It is true that the South is impelled by every motive of policy and self-interests into the most intimate alliance with this country, and that on this account we might expect to obtain from necessity what we could not expect from gratitude. But we have too many lamentable proofs before us that nations are not always—nay, are seldom—swayed by an enlightened view of their true interests. On the other hand, we know that the aggregates, like the individuals that compose them, are the prey of passions and prejudices, of hates and loves. It is in great crises like that through which the South is now passing that these national passions are contracted, for it is in them that the national character is formed. In ordinary times the quarrels of great societies of men, however angry, are soon forgotten, because they make but a superficial impression; but in the infancy of nations, and during that baptism of blood to which all nations worthy of the name have at some period of their existence been compelled to submit, the national mind is like a red-hot fusible mass on which impressions are indelibly stamped. We may rest assured of a liberal commercial policy of the South in every event, but its love or its hatred, its active co-operation and sympathy, or its passive indifference, we are now acquiring, according as we now shape our policy towards it, unalterably for long generations to come.

So far, then, from affording a strong argument, as we have heard it stated, against any action whatever of the British Government and people during the continuance of this war, Lord Ellenborough has, in our opinion, adduced the most powerful reasons why we should extend to the young nation now struggling for its existence in the Western Hemisphere the most generous sympathies and the most friendly offices which are consistent with justice, international usages, and international obligations.

The “*Mean Whites*” of the South.

If the Southern States of the late American Union were a newly-discovered country, now for the first time brought to the notice of wondering mankind, inhabited by tribes of strange natures and customs and of a different species from ourselves, it would be impossible to invent more extravagant travellers' stories than are now told and very generally believed of a country which for fifty years has furnished two of the greatest staples of commerce, and which is peopled by men of our own lineage and tongue. We read about the Southern States; we travel in them; friends and relatives go there to reside; there should, then, be no lack of accurate and authentic information. But so long has Europe been accustomed to view these States through a distorting medium that even the friendly disposed find it difficult to see them in their proper light. Travellers who, like the Honourable Miss Murray and Miss Frederika Bremer, instead of the expected horrors, report having found hospitable homes, and men and women like those they are wont to meet at home, are excused for their amiable credulity and their want of opportunity for observation. Englishmen who take up their abode among this barbarous people, as a rule, soon adapt themselves to its manners and customs, and are quick to unlearn the prejudices with which they came; but they, of course, are not impartial witnesses. What everybody believes must be true, and one sensation story, well told is worth more than all the biased statements of the friends of the South. Those who write to be read flatter the prevailing prejudice, and thus it happens that to this day a portion of the English people still look upon the Southern planters as a something between the Turk of tradition and the Arab of the desert, resembling the former in the sensuous luxury of his pleasures, and the latter in the cruel savagery of his manners. There are well-informed, well-read, travelled persons

who picture to themselves the man of Alabama or of South Carolina, with straw hat, striped cotton jacket, lash in hand, driving before him his embruted human cattle, just as he was represented in certain tracts in our childhood, and who still believe that the revolver and bowie-knife are used in the Southern country with scarcely less frequency, and quite as much unconcern, as in happier regions the domestic knife and fork. We smile at the grotesque sketches of English manners which, in this year of grace and of the Exhibition, are given for the instruction of a sister capital not a day's journey from us, but we are daily committing the same folly in regard to a people whose manners, whose laws, whose language, whose mode of thought, are essentially our own.

The most stupendous blunder, which is almost universally made in treating of the Southern States, is that of speaking of their population as divided into two great classes, one of which is supposed to revel in Cæsan wealth, and the other, and by far the more numerous, to be sunk in the deepest depths of destitution and degradation. It has become usual of late years to designate this latter class as the "white trash" or "the mean whites" of the South, terms which, we believe, were first invented by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, but which are sought in vain either in the books of the South or in the language of its society. A member of the British Parliament, in a recent debate, even improved upon the use of these words, and spoke of "mean whitisun" as though it were a familiar and well-defined noun in the English vocabulary. A writer who styles himself a political economist has classified and enumerated by name the different varieties of the genus "mean whites." We can imagine the mingled feeling of grief and puzzled wonderment with which Southerners read such things. The same writer has also favoured us with statistics on this subject, and fixes the number of "mean whites" at five millions, out of a population of eight millions, and these five-eighths of the population of the most productive country in the world lead, we are told, "a life alternating between listless vagrancy and the excitement of marauding expeditions."

Southerners, when interrogated on this subject, point to the steady increase in the population—white and black—of their country, and the truly astonishing increase of its productiveness, as the best proof that the people of that country cannot be the thriftless, wretched vagabonds which their revilers represent them. They point to the number and extent of railways they have constructed, and which, within the last eleven years of peace, actually exceed the similar progress of any other country, as a corroboration of this proof. They also point to the general prosperity and solvency of all corporate enterprises within this supposed thriftless region. They do not pretend that the South is an earthly Elysium; they admit, regretfully, the imperfections of its social and political institutions; they recognize the existence of much of that lawless passion which is the characteristic of sparsely and newly-settled countries, and they are not blind to the vast tasks of material and moral improvements which lie before them; but, on the other hand, they refer with pride to the universal absence of pauperism in their country, to the fact that no human being, whether white or black, need ever beg for bread, and to the sanctity with which everywhere the laws of property are invested. "Did you ever hear," said a highly intelligent Southern gentleman to us, "of a mail-coach or a traveller being robbed throughout the vast and often almost waste expanse of the Southern States, or of bands of banditti prowling through the country, as is the deplorable case in our sister Republic of Mexico? Did you ever notice the small number of punishments for theft, as compared with the annals of crime in other countries? Life," he added, "is often wantonly taken in the cities on the banks of the Mississippi, where the lust of gain attracts a large mongrel migratory population, and where the municipal organization is often sadly defective; but even this is grossly exaggerated, and if we are the savages some of your writers describe us to be, at least you must

give us credit for those savage virtues which raise us above the viler crimes." Wealth, the defenders of the South say, is not very unequally distributed; but poverty exists, as it does everywhere, although pauperism does not. But the existence of a distinct class, designated by a specific name of opprobrium, all Southerners emphatically deny. Thoughtless and narrow-minded persons there are in all countries, who apply contemptuous epithets to the poor, and the sleek and well-fed negro, with the instinct of servility, is peculiarly prone to this, but no white man who respects himself or the good opinion of others, would apply the terms of "mean white," or "white trash," to his poorer neighbours. Primitive customs, modes of life not adapted to the fastidious tastes of the dweller in cities, do obtain in the more remote agricultural districts, and there also ignorance, sometimes ludicrous, and sometimes lamentable, is to be met. This is the case mainly in districts where the sterility of the soil or the climate of mountain ranges, repel the wealthy settler, and where slave labour is unknown and unprofitable. These districts find their precise counterpart in portions of the Northern and of the Western States, and in newly-settled countries on both hemispheres. The backwoodsman, with his rude cabin home, his semi-wild cattle and his trusty rifle for his support, is not peculiar to the South. We find him in the Western wilds of North America, in the bush in Australia, and everywhere he is the pioneer of an advancing civilization. The native poor of the South, in whatever circumstances they are found, have the pride of a dominant race. They are quick to resent an insult, they are jealous of the chastity of their women; and whatever may be their faults, they cannot be said to be a morally debased people. If labour is despised by, and if the aptitude and taste are alike lacking to, the great bulk of the Southern population, how comes it that this population, never much addicted to manufactures, has been able to supply, not only its necessities of daily life, but even those of war, during a blockade, by land and sea, of fifteen months? How could a country, whose population consists of luxurious drones, of lawless vagabonds, and of embruted slaves, in the midst of a great war, build iron-clad frigates and steam-rans, though at the outbreak of that war it had not a rolling-mill within its entire boundaries? If law and order is so repugnant to the Southern mind, and to Southern habits, whence comes that admirable discipline of the Confederate armies, which astonishes the veteran commanders of the Old World, and extorts reluctant admiration even from a vanquished foe?

So argue the Southerners. We shall take neither their assertions nor those of their revilers without proof. We turn, then, to official statistics, which cannot be suspected of partizan bias. On consulting the census of the United States for 1850, we find that during the ten years preceding, the white population of the Southern States increased, with but little help from foreign immigration, from 4,543,000 souls to 6,113,305 souls. This, though not so rapid an increase as that of the slave population, which was from two and a half to upwards of four millions, does not, according to the Malthusian theory, argue any serious physical discomfort or "marauding" habits on the part of the great bulk of the white population. A corresponding increase is known and admitted to have taken place for the period between 1850 and 1860, for which the census statistics are as yet only partially published. Out of this number there were, in 1850, 840,929 white males engaged in agriculture, one-third of the entire white male population. It appears further, that there were nearly 600,000 farms, so that upwards of two-thirds of these agricultural labourers tilled their own lands. What room do these figures leave for the five-eighths of the population who are said to alternate "between idle vagrancy and the excitement of marauding expeditions"? Now, let it be remembered, that the exports of the South are not confined to cotton, tobacco, and cereals; naval stores form no inconsiderable item in these exports, and the felling and shaping of timber, the collection and pre-

paration of resin and turpentine, employ the industry of large sections of the Southern States. These pursuits are not classed as agricultural. The transportation of the rich crops to the various seaports and market-places alone employs a population equal to that engaged in their production, and mainly free. A great variety of other occupations arise from and find scope in the handling and disposal of the crops before they are marketable. It would thence appear, to an impartial observer, that the South not only requires, but actually makes the best use of all its available labour, whether slave or free, and knows how to combine both in such manner as not to bring them into competition and conflict.

We must refer the reader for further details on these instructive statistics to another part of this impression. One interesting fact which they reveal we cannot, however, pass unnoticed, as it has an important bearing upon our subject. The number of families owning slaves in 1850 is given at nearly 350,000, which at the usual rate of computation gives about 1,750,000 persons, or somewhat less than one-third of the whole population as directly interested in the ownership of slaves. The addition of those who do not own but hire slaves, would no doubt materially swell this number. If we consider that the bulk of the slaves are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and that therefore the professional classes, the merchants, the barristers, the physicians, ministers of the Gospel, and teachers, etc., etc., form but a comparatively small portion of the slaveholders, though they are connected by ties of interest and relationship with the planters, we perceive that the class of those who are neither directly nor indirectly interested in the ownership of slaves, must be very small indeed; and that the institution of Slavery enters far more largely into the social fabric of the country than many have supposed on this side of the Atlantic. These figures dispose at a sweep of the often repeated allegation that the South is ruled by a numerically small but all-powerful "slaveholding oligarchy." It is also an unavoidable inference from these figures that the number of large slaveholders must be exceedingly limited; and on this the census leaves us no room for doubt. The number of men who held 1000 slaves in 1850 was but two in the whole South. The number of those holding more than 100 slaves was 1100. On the other hand we find that full one-half of the whole number of slaveowners held not exceeding five slaves. Many interesting speculations might be based upon this fact. We content ourselves with pointing to it as the proof of an even distribution of wealth, which is probably unequalled in any other country. Slaves are accepted in the South as the most reliable standard of property, and, with the land they till, may with sufficient accuracy be estimated at £200 per head. It follows thence that the fortunes of one-half of the slave-holding families of the South are limited within £1000; that not above 600 of these families range between £10,000 and £20,000; that not more than 1100 reach the last-named figure, and that in all the South there are but two men whose wealth in land and slaves exceeds £200,000. Not only then is the wealth of the country distributed with astonishing equality, but its enormous productiveness is the result of the industry, skill, and economy of a people of small landed proprietors. Truly it is as difficult to find in the statistics of the South the traces of a class revelling in oriental luxury, as it is to find those of that degraded class of "idle vagrants," and "lawless marauders." If those who speak and write for the instruction of the public will condescend to ponder over these facts and figures, which will become more eloquent the more they are studied and the deeper the study penetrates, perhaps they might be less reckless in the use of terms which brand whole populations of a friendly country with infamy. The evil and wrong of slavery is sufficiently manifest to the eyes of civilized Europe not to require for its demonstration wholesale fabrications and common slanders like those expressed in the words "white trash" and "mean whites," when applied to the bulk, or even any considerable portion of the Southern people.

The Debate on the American Question.

THE British House of Commons is the best-abused institution in the world, and the most respected; for the Radicals, who are indignant at the strong aristocratic element in the Lower House; the ultra-Tories, who regret the infusion of professing democrats; our Gallic neighbours, who look upon St. Stephens as a comfortable, respectable, but somewhat prosy club; the politicians of the United States, who speak of it as the tool of an effete despotism,—severally evince a very deep and natural anxiety as to the utterances of the oracle they somewhat depreciate or utterly condemn. With all its faults, it is felt that the House of Commons represents the interests of the British Empire, and consequently the opinions of the classes who have a stake in the safety, honour, and welfare of our dominions. A debate that leads to no immediate decision may exercise an important influence by shaping, developing, and strengthening public opinion; and by informing other nations who are concerned in the issue discussed, of our sentiments and of the policy we shall pursue when the time is ripe for taking action. Thus on Friday last, though Mr. Lindsay withdrew his motion, the frank exposition of the unanimous determination of Englishmen not to sanction the perpetuation of a hopeless and ruinous struggle, cannot fail to stimulate and invigorate the policy of our constitutional Government; it will be a strong moral support to the Emperor of the French, who, with that prescience which so distinguishes him, saw from the first the futility of the Northern attempt to conquer the South, and who has all along manifested a patriotic desire to end a state of affairs injurious to the industry and commerce of France, and a generous anxiety to recognize the independence of a people, who have, against great odds, and with unflinching determination, fought for and maintained their national existence. The debate of Friday will tell the United States that England, too magnanimous to avenge the frantic insults of a nation in the throes of anarchy and insolvency, is likewise too powerful to be deterred by arrogant threats from doing an act of simple justice; and finally, the South will learn that, though our movements are slow and cautious, we do not look coldly on the sufferings and privations of a kindred race; that we acknowledge the sacredness of her cause, and that we are ready to welcome her as a new, but not untried, member of the community of nations. The debate, of which we propose to notice the main points, was particularly significant from the complete abnegation of party feeling. The Conservative Party was eloquently and ably represented; but on this occasion the sentiments of the Conservative speakers were coincident with those who spoke from the Liberal benches.

Mr. Lindsay, in introducing his motion, which had been frequently modified and changed, so that the substantial unanimity of the House might not be disturbed by any differences as to the mere form of expression, avowed his determination not to criticise the acts of the Federal Government, either with respect to sinking a stone fleet at Charleston, or the proclamations of Federal generals; and from the beginning to the end of his speech the hon. member appealed to the calm judgment of his audience, and based his arguments upon the indisputable and legal rights of the South. The first part of the motion, "That in the opinion of this House, the States which have seceded from the Union of the Republic of the United States have so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and have given such proofs of their determination and ability to support their independence," is a full and formal recognition of the Confederate States; and the second part, "that the propriety of offering mediation, with the view of terminating hostilities between the contending parties, is worthy of the serious and immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government," does not call for forcible intervention, but simply affirms the propriety and expediency of offering mediation. The terms of the motion

are logical and well considered, for without recognition mediation is impossible. It is proper and lawful to offer mediation between belligerent nations, but international law forbids foreign interference in a civil war. It is important to bear in mind the construction and meaning of the motion which was so favourably received by the House of Commons.

Mr. Lindsay, having reviewed the Federal compact, pointed out that Secession was not a sudden impulse, but had been preparing for a quarter of a century, and that the North and South were, in manners, customs, feelings, and policy, essentially separate nations. He also dilated on the claims of the South to nationality on account of her geographical position, her territorial extent, and her enormous trade. Secession was constitutional, expedient, and inevitable. The hon. member then gave an account of the formation of the Confederate States, dwelling upon the efforts of the South to separate peaceably during the months that Secession was an accomplished fact, and yet not held by the North, as rebellion. With regard to the causes of the war, Mr. Lindsay refuted the assertion that it was for the emancipation of the slaves, quoting Mr. Lincoln's emphatic declaration, and the reiterated protests of the Northern press, that the institution of Slavery was to be maintained; and he indicated the true cause of the disruption—that the agricultural South was anxious for free trade, whilst the non-agricultural North was bent on protection, which gave her a virtual monopoly of the Southern trade, and made the South her tributary; and that the system of representation by numbers had deprived the South of her due political influence, so that she could not oppose the schemes of the North that crippled her trade and placed her wealth at the disposal of the dominant section. Having clearly set forth the right, expediency, and justifiability of Secession; that the South had to choose between Secession and political serfdom, and the fettering of her commerce; and that the Confederate States had since seceding proved their ability to maintain their independence, Mr. Lindsay contended that mediation was not only just, but urgent, in consequence of the distress engendered by the cotton famine, and he expressed his conviction that mediation would be acceptable to the respectable and reasoning classes in the United States.

The Member for Sunderland was followed by Mr. Taylor; and the North may reasonably complain of an advocacy that damaged its cause, but did not harm the South. Mr. Taylor, at the outset of his address, paraded a stale and not very reverent joke, about Providence always fighting on the strongest side. Does the hon. member ever read history? In the war between Spain and the Netherlands, in the contest between the Spanish Armada and the English fleet, in the struggle between England and her revolted American colonies, on which side did Providence fight? Not on the strongest, but on the side of justice. But how can we expect a gentleman to understand the past who so little comprehends the present as to say, "20,000,000 of the North were not likely to be put down by 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of the South, encumbered by 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 slaves." Passing by the misrepresentation of the relative populations, we should like to know when the South ever attempted to put down the North. The hon. member forgot that the North was invading the South; he forgot that the Confederate States only want to be let alone, that they do not seek for an inch of Northern territory, and are merely determined not to resume a connection that has for years been galling, and of which the mere notion has now become hatefully, loathingly distasteful. This gross misstatement is, however, a very fair specimen of the arguments used by the partisans of the North. As for the slaves being an encumbrance, we can assure the hon. member, and he may satisfy himself of the reliability of our assurance if he will read the history of the war, that the slaves have proved themselves true and faithful, and so far from being an encumbrance have been a source of strength by tilling the earth whilst their masters have been engaged in driving back the invading and mercenary hordes. Mr. Taylor thinks that we have

badly used the United States, and that "America had a right to expect that, with our anti-slavery opinions, we should have looked with calmer eyes upon the struggle between the North and South." Yes, we should have endorsed with our approval the efforts of the North to rob the South of her slaves, not to emancipate them, but to grind them down with true Northern greed. Yes, we should have rejoiced at the prospect of the subjugation of 8,000,000 of a kindred race. Yes, we should have applauded the infamous edict and inhuman atrocities of General Butler. Yes, because of our anti-slavery opinions, we should have given our moral support to the proslavery North in its attempt to crush 8,000,000 of white people. We will not follow Mr. Taylor's arguments, or rather ravings, which were consummated by his speaking of the "hell-hounds of the South." "Hell-hounds!" Well, that is a coarse, strong expression. To whom is it applied? To men of our own lineage, who speak our language, who inherit our love of freedom, who are sacrificing their property and offering their lives for the defence of their national honour, and who believe in the same holy religion as we do. "Hell-hounds!" The South has not made war on women, nor blasphemed Heaven by returning thanks for fictitious victories; nor insulted foreign nations; nor does it treat the negro like an accursed leper, and refuse him a home and a country. But the North has done these things. If, then, the term "hell-hounds" is a fitting cognomen for the people of the South, what epithet can we find to fitly designate the people of the North? We will not look for any such epithet. It is not meet that the fair cause of the South should be disgraced by scandalous vituperation. We know that Mr. Taylor has considerable experience in addressing Radical meetings, and this explains the success with which he has studied the American standard of oratory.

Mr. Forster, who thinks it unworthy of a civilized and Christian nation to seek to put an end to a cruel and bloody war, and who recommends us to look on until one side is exterminated and the other desolated, joined with Mr. Taylor in thinking this country will have war with the United States if we offer to mediate. Mr. Forster could not cap the "hell-hounds" of his co-partizan, but he did his best by comparing the present war to the late rebellion in India. We cannot say it is the first time the comparison has been instituted, for men of the highest position in England, and our leading journals, have not hesitated to compare the doings of a Federal General, endorsed as they have been by the Government and people of the United States, to the acts of Nana Sahib; and we think Mr. Forster would have done wisely not to have recalled the analogy. Do these gentlemen mean to tell us that the people of the United States are so savage, so eager for bloodshed, that the mere offer of mediation would stimulate their fury and make them turn upon the proposed peacemakers? Certainly, if these assertions are true, they prove that mediation would be unavailing; but they loudly call for intervention. And this threat of war is ridiculous. Many persons suppose that war between this country and the United States is inevitable. What then? Will it be stayed by our refusal to recognize the South, and by our abstaining from offering mediation? What effect has been produced by our non-interference? Is not the animosity to England bitter and increasing? Are we not daily insulted and reviled by the press and people of the United States? Are we not loudly threatened with war and annihilation? In the hope of impairing our trade, has not the North consented by a protective tariff to ruin its own trade? Non-interference has brought about a hatred that cannot be exceeded, and, therefore, if mediation does not make us better friends it cannot make the United States our more bitter enemies.

The partisans of the North were completely answered by those who advocated the cause of justice and humanity and the interests of this country and of Europe. Lord A. Vane Tempest contended that, independently of the mighty interests involved, and the moral responsibility to put an end to the wicked strife, the South, by her conduct during the last sixteen months had an unanswerable claim not

only for recognition but for the sympathy of Europe. His lordship, though willing to try mediation, thought if that failed stronger measures should be resorted to. Mr. Whiteside, with that brilliant and convincing rhetoric and that legal acumen which has placed him in the foremost rank of forensic and parliamentary orators, demolished the sham plea of slavery, showed the impossibility of reconciliation, and remarked that secession was commendable when Florida left Spain, when Texas seceded to the United States, but was a crime when Texas seceded from the United States. Mr. Whiteside further remarked that the United States was even now inciting Canada to secede from England. The hon. and learned gentleman argued that recognition and mediation were not grounds of offence, and to sustain this view quoted Sir James Mackintosh, an authority that the most ardent Abolitionist must respect.

Mr. Gregory, in a speech remarkable for its close reasoning and statesmanship, reminded the House that at the commencement of the war the North denied any intention of conquest, represented Secession as a conspiracy, and promised in ninety days to overthrow it, but that the North had not found any Union sentiment in the South, and so to further parade that excuse would be a mockery. The hon. member, after referring to the advantages that would ensue to European commerce and industry from the independence of the South, observed that the politicians of the United States had always hurried to recognize *de facto* Governments, that in 1849, an embassy was despatched to recognize Hungary on behalf of the United States, "if the revolutionary Government were stationary for only thirty days in any one place," and, therefore, by the precedent of the United States, we were bound to recognize the South, which had been an established Government for a year and a half. Mr. Gregory expressed his belief that, if mediation were offered in a fair spirit, it would be gladly accepted by thousands in the United States.

Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, in supporting the motion, dwelt upon the peculiar horrors of the war, and the terrible calamity it has brought upon our own people. Mr. Hopwood, also insisted very strongly upon our duty to do all we possibly can to stop an unjust war that is fraught with such affliction to our community.

The leaders of the Peace Party did not address the House. Mr. Bright is ready enough to denounce war as atrociously wicked when it is waged to defend England or vindicate her honour. He is very tender for the lives of bloodstained Sepoys, and for the lives of the Chinamen who brutally torture and murder his fellow-countrymen, but he has no bowels of compassion for the slaughter of the people of the South, and gives a tacit, but not less decided, approval of the continuance of the war. Henceforth, when the Member for Birmingham protests against the wickedness and folly of war, we shall understand that he only objects to it when it is for the honour of England, and that when it is a war of aggression, carried on by a people whose system of government includes universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and demagogism, he no longer regards it as reprehensible. Mr. Bright is not a skulk or a coward, and if he did not approve of the American feast of blood, he would not hesitate to openly and unequivocally condemn it.

Lord Palmerston did not essay to reply to the arguments adduced in favour of Mr. Lindsay's motion, nor did he express disapproval of the terms of that motion. As we understand his lordship's observations, and as Mr. Lindsay explained them, without any contradiction from the noble lord, the Government is only waiting for what in their opinion is an opportune moment for recognition and mediation. Whether the North is to have another ninety days we know not, and we should have been glad if Lord Palmerston had thought it consistent with his official position to have defined what he meant by "any opportunity." But, after the late debate, we presume the Government will feel bound to fairly embrace the opportunity that from the crisis in commerce, the conduct of the North, the sympathy for the gallant people of the South, and the unanimous

public opinion must eventually, and we believe shortly, be presented.

WE direct attention to the following extracts from the debates in Congress, since the defeat of General McClellan's army. From the antecedents of the North we did not expect any display of dignity and calm resolution under defeat, but we were not prepared just yet to hear of a Senator threatening the Federal President with "the extreme penalty of the law." On July 7,—

Mr. Chandler (Rep. Mich.) said the Senator from Pennsylvania wanted to know where the army was, or who placed them there. The army of the Potomac, when it marched on Manassas, numbered 230,000 men, and the enemy less than 30,000. They marched on Manassas, and found thirty-two wooden guns, and 1100 dead horses. That army could have marched to Richmond in thirty days, and not lost 1000 men, and there was no impediment to its marching to Charleston or New Orleans. But the Senator from Pennsylvania wants to know who placed the army where it is. The press, politicians, and traitors of the country declare that E. M. Stanton put them there; but Stanton had nothing to do with putting the army in the marshes of the Chickahominy. This is a matter of criminality—of gross criminality—which should consign the criminal to eternal detestation and condemnation. The country demands sacrifice for this crime, and the press of the country are demanding the sacrifice of the mere clerk Stanton—the mere clerk to obey the orders of the President. He (Chandler) introduced a resolution which, if answered, would show the true criminal. The criminality was reduced so as to be between two persons. The great crime consisted in sacrificing and dividing this great army of the Potomac, and the criminal is either Abraham Lincoln or George B. McClellan. There is no third man at all. The criminal, in his judgment, should not only be deprived of office, but suffer the extreme penalty of the law. He called on the press and traitors of the country to stop denouncing a mere clerk, and to denounce Abraham Lincoln or George B. McClellan. Who led the army into the marshes of the Chickahominy, where they died like sheep, and where the left wing was left to maintain a savage fight, when a reinforcement of 20,000 men from the right or centre would have sent the rebels back into Richmond defeated?

Mr. Lane (Rep., Kansas) thought this was no time for criminality. Some men in the country had asked and prayed that loyal black men might be taken into the service. If it had been done he believed the war might have been closed in ninety days. Fifty thousand men were lost by Halleck in the marshes before Corinth by building fortifications, &c., which might have been saved.

The following observations were made on the question of employing negroes in military service; and in reference to Mr. Sherman's remarks about the necessity of the Federals being "part savages," we would observe that there is an impression in Europe that they have already become so to a considerable extent. From Mr. Rice's criticism on Mr. Davis's speech, we may see that the Federal Congress is anything but "a happy family."

Mr. Sherman said the time had arrived when Federal military officers should be compelled to take into service all loyal men to suppress the rebellion. He favoured giving power to the President to call into service all the slaves of the rebels. Mr. Sherman said he would organize an army of negroes and desolate every Southern State rather than that the Union should be destroyed. He contended that the Federals could not war against savages unless they became in part savages themselves.

Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, was in favour of the bill. He admitted that there was not at present in his own State the readiness to enlist as formerly, and thought that the reason of this was that the people felt that the war must be conducted on different principles than hitherto. The people dreaded being employed in swampy, unhealthy places, and to erecting entrenchments when such work could not be done by negroes. Unless negroes were employed for this men would hesitate to come forward and expose themselves to that kind of life. He strenuously urged the employment of negroes in war as perfectly legitimate and advantageous. He thought the Government made a great error in deceiving people by calling a defeat a great strategic movement, and giving false names to things under the impression that it would not do to let the people know the truth. Tell people the truth, and resort to no artifice. People were intelligent; let them know what was required, and they would respond.

Mr. Rice said the time had come when the Federals must acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, or speedily put down the rebellion, therefore he would not hesitate to use all means.

Mr. Wilson, for Massachusetts, was for fighting the battle to a successful issue, and for drafting if necessary, but said that a rose and water war must cease, and that it was better to tell people the truth, and not to deceive them. It would seem as if an organized system of lying had been established. He thought the censorship of the press had been a great disadvantage.

Mr. Davis, of Kentucky, was in favour of the slaves working in trenches but strongly opposed arming the slaves, and said,

"The Border States would resist to the death the plan to arm the slaves."

Mr. Rice, referring to the remark of Mr. Davis, said that strangers would think Mr. Davis was an emissary defending the rebel government.

WE do not like to be alarmists, but for the sake of the families, widows, and orphans, who are dependent upon incomes derived from investments in the English Funds, we direct attention to the following editorial paragraph copied from the *New York Herald*. It seems, though we poor benighted English know it not, that England is on the eve of a revolution, and that our community is so fascinated with American liberty that there is a near prospect of the present dynasty being overthrown, and that the same fate awaits the French Empire. The United States only is to endure and flourish. Under these circumstances, English Fundholders had better sell out, and buy United States' Government Securities, or change their gold for Federal "green backs," of which, according to the latest advices, they may purchase a large quantity for very little money:—

DANGER OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.—It is the fear of revolution at home that has prevented the Rulers of France and England from long since mingling in our strife. It is not from any respect for the law of nations, nor from any regard for the right of the American Government to suppress a domestic rebellion without foreign intervention, that they have hitherto abstained from interference. It is because the people in those countries regard the American Republic as the hope of humanity—the shield of civil and religious liberty all over the world. Hence the French and English Governments are cautious in their movements. Their plan is to manufacture public opinion in advance against the United States, in order to prepare the public mind for war; for intervention means war. If they did not intend to attack us they would not assail the country with measureless abuse. But if they ever draw the sword in support of intervention they will find that it is two-edged, and that it will wound themselves more deeply than the United States. The democracy of Europe will fraternize with the American Republic and overthrow the dynasties which attempt to subvert it.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

A YANKEE SKIPPER.

SUNDAY, the 24th of November, found the Sumter dashing into the heavy swell of the north-east trades at the rate of nine knots, with the last of the windward islands, Mariagedalante, looming up hazily far astern. Not a few of us on board that vessel believed that the admirable skill and bravery of our commander was specially aided by a kind Providence, which enabled us to escape from our powerful adversary of the night previous. At one time, lying disabled and helpless on the water, the elements came to our aid and wrapt us in friendly obscurity; again, while rushing rapidly on to destruction amid the breakers which line the coast of Dominique, the thick mist which enveloped us cleared away in time for the sharp eyes forward to discover the imminent danger, and for the Sumter to steer clear, though not before the seething and roaring of the surf was painfully audible, while the "white water" was distinctly visible from the deck.

We were now in the great track of outward-bound vessels from Europe to the West Indies, and naturally hoped to secure some rich prizes, this in some degree compensating us for the tedious cruise from Maranham to Martinique; but we were doomed, in a great measure, to disappointment, and were forced to conclude that the proud Yankee boast that, "American duck whitens the Ocean," was now a myth, for nine out of ten vessels were foreigners. This day (the 24th) the cry of "Sail ho!" from the masthead, startled us several times, and caused our hopes to run high, as some tall, heavily laden ship, with stunsails "alow and aloft," would bear down upon us; but as they generally wore the cross of St. George or the French Tricolor, we were forced to dispense with our expected bonfire, and to be content with the latest newspapers.

We were destined to better luck, however, on the 25th, for at about four p.m. we descried a large ship bearing down on us, with all her kites flying to catch

the strong trade wind, and, as we watched the tall and symmetrical spars, the contour of the bows, &c., there was no mistaking that it was a Yankee ship, and sure enough, when close upon us, we saw the "gridiron" floating at her peak. She was soon brought to, and proved to be the *Montmorenci* (Captain Brown), from Liverpool to St. Thomas, with a cargo of coals. A very heavy sea was running at the time, but a boat was finally despatched to the prize, and returned with the Yankee "skipper" and his papers. The "skipper" in question was habited in a close fitting suit of blue, with a large "beaver" that had once been white, and his countenance reminded one more of some jolly Bonifacio than of a Yankee captain's, which we had always heretofore noticed as being rather blue; he had evidently a predilection for good living, and was by no means disconcerted by his sudden and unceremonious transfer to the decks of a pirate; but, on the contrary, seemed rather pleased, and even expressed a desire to have his ship burnt, and to go with us, just for the novelty of the proceeding.

On examination of the ship's papers it was found that her cargo was English property; we were therefore compelled to ransom her, and to forego our anticipated pleasure of a fine fire. We were occupied until near eight p.m. in removing several articles useful to us from the ship; and, amongst other things, Captain Brown's military armament, consisting of several dilapidated muskets and shot-guns, with some large cavalry sabres, and two or three huge and dangerous-looking flint-lock pistols, were transferred to the *Sumter*. The captain eyed these longingly, and at last requested that we should take him also, if we took his arms, giving as a reason for this strange petition, that his crew were negroes, and were wont sometimes to indulge themselves in a mutiny by way of pastime, but were always subdued by the formidable implements of destruction mentioned above. We preferred restoring the arms to depriving the *Montmorenci* of her captain, and, therefore, had them returned. The *Montmorenci* filled away, and soon disappeared in the darkness then settling on us, and no doubt many yarns were spun concerning this strange recontre with a pirate. We enjoyed many a laugh at the expense of the Yankee captain that night, while discussing some of his good things around the mess-table, and wondered at his extraordinary good-humour; the boarding midshipman gravely hinting that he was under the influence of hydraulic pressure, or, in other words, *drunk*.

We saw a letter, some time after, from the "Captaining," detailing his valorous deeds in confronting the white-bearded pirate-chief in his own cabin, and of his having actually asserted his utter ignorance of the existence of such a functionary as Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States of America. We wished him good luck and a fair wind, and stood on our course.

BURNING PRIZES.

At 2.30 p.m., on the 26th inst., we captured the schooner *Arcade* (Captain Smith), of and from Portland, Me., for Guadalupe, with a cargo of staves. She ran right into our clutches, or, to use the words of the captain, "he couldn't have hit us better if he had pined at the *Sumter* from Portland." She was a very valueless prize; and belonging almost entirely to the captain, who said that she was all he had, it was a pity to destroy her, but the usages of war are inexorable; our orders were to burn, sink, destroy, &c., and these must be obeyed if owners were broken. The captain and his crew were removed on board the *Sumter*, together with their personal effects; two boats were sent to obtain what was valuable, and to set fire to the prize. There was a heavy sea running at the time, and one of the boats made a very narrow escape, through some negligence of the crew, while alongside the *Arcade*; she was allowed to take a position directly under the heavy bow-ancher of the vessel; the anchor-stock struck her with great violence as she tossed on the heavy sea, and this, together with the spray which continually dashed over the boat, so alarmed and confused the men, that their destruction seemed inevit-

able for a few minutes. They succeeded finally, however, in shoving clear, and we all felt relieved when we saw her in safety. The only "plunder" obtainable was a few barrels of potatoes for the use of the crew, and nothing remained but to set fire to the vessel. This exceedingly piratical operation was performed generally as follows:—one party is despatched to the cabin, another to the main-hold, while a third is sent forward into the fore-castle; axes are in quest to chip the decks, and render them more susceptible to the flames; papers, old feather beds, and everything that will increase the inflammability of the pile, are collected, while the sails are cut partially adrift in order to burn more readily. When all is ready the piles are lighted simultaneously, and all scamper for the boats; we have hardly time to shove off clear before the smoke is pouring up the hatchway, the flames begin to shoot up from below and to lick the rigging and cordage of the vessel.

The above formula was performed on the *Arcade*, and the *Sumter* filled away. We could see the glare of the burning vessel for hours after illuminating the horizon miles around.

It was amusing to notice the almost natural instinct for plunder which a sailor possesses; one fellow would have a dilapidated beaver, which the owner had long since laid aside as useless; another an odd shoe, or pair of gloves; while all had something of some description. They were generally inspected at the gangway, and made to disgorge themselves of all such articles as were thought by the strict first-lieutenant to be incompatible with the cleanliness, order, and discipline of a man-of-war. The Yankee captain seemed to regret more than anything else the loss of some thirty barrels of potatoes which he had on board for speculation, or, in the vernacular, "on a venture."

We steamed rapidly on until the evening of the 27th, when we let fires go down, uncoupled the propeller, and made sail on the ship, in order to save coal, and to repair our damaged machinery. The weather was fine, and for several days nothing occurred to vary the monotony of sea life; sometimes a sail would startle us all into activity for a few moments, but it generally turned out to be English or French, and we again relapsed. Being thrown entirely upon our own resources for amusement, some would pass away time in reading and in playing games, while others would be content in watching the bright waves rippled under the influence of the gentle trade wind, and the crowds of flying fish as they fled from their pursuers, the dolphin and bonito; perchance they were thinking of the loved ones at home, and of our brothers battling in the valleys of Old Virginia for the rights of the sunny South. We knew that they often remembered the lone cruiser on the ocean, and that many a prayer was offered up for our safety and success.

Reviews.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS.

III.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY, SCHOOLS, AND CHURCHES.

THE enemies of the South have been untiring in their efforts to represent Southern society as semi-barbarous and demoralized, and that, with the exception of the slaveholders, assumed to be few in number, the whole population is mean and degraded, or, in the expressive language of Professor Cairnes, is merely "white trash." We no longer hear so much about the South being enriched by the North, for, since the commencement of the war, our men of business have examined the matter for themselves, and find that the North has been enriched by the South; and those who will be at the trouble of examining the following statistics, taken from the census of 1850, will be equally convinced that the South is as educated and religious as the North, and some of the returns would lead us to infer that the South is even more refined and more religious than the North.

In order that the rest of our figures may be appreciated for the value of statistics is comparative—we abstract a return of the population of the Southern States for 1840 and 1850, and to that we subjoin the population of the rest of the States for the same periods:—

	White Population.		Free Coloured.		Slave.	
	1840.	1850.	1840.	1850.	1840.	1850.
Alabama....	335,185	426,514	2,039	2,365	253,522	342,844
Arkansas ..	77,174	162,189	405	698	19,335	47,100
Florida	27,913	47,293	817	932	25,717	39,310
Georgia	407,695	521,572	2,755	2,931	280,914	386,682
Kentucky ...	590,253	761,413	7,317	10,011	182,258	210,081
Louisiana ..	158,457	255,391	25,292	17,462	105,452	244,809
Mississippi ..	179,074	295,718	1,366	330	135,211	309,878
Missouri	325,388	592,004	1,571	2,618	58,249	87,422
N. Carolina..	484,870	555,028	22,732	27,463	215,817	288,548
S. Carolina..	259,084	274,563	8,276	8,060	327,038	384,384
Tennessee ..	610,427	736,856	5,524	6,122	183,657	239,459
Texas	—	164,034	—	307	—	58,161
Virginia	740,853	894,809	43,852	51,333	449,087	472,528
Maryland ...	318,204	417,013	62,078	74,723	89,737	90,360
	4,513,212	6,115,398	170,335	210,555	3,519,087	5,112,806
Other States of the Union	9,615,534	13,347,780	215,968	223,218		
			1840.	1850.		
Southern States total Population....			7,232,753	9,527,137		

The free-coloured return is worthy of observation. In the South, from 170,000 the number increased in ten years to 210,000, being an increase of 40,000. In the North the increase upon 215,000 was only 7,500. The free-coloured do not find a welcome home in the North.

The chief pursuit of the South is agriculture. In 1850 the total free population was 6,300,000, of which about 3,200,000 were males, and of these not more than 1,700,000 were above twenty years of age, and without making any allowance for those who were unfitted for labour, either by infirmity or age, we may say that 1,700,000 is a very full statement of the number of free males in the South who could labour in 1850. Of these there were employed in agriculture:—

		Brought forward
Virginia.....	108,364	458,545
N. Carolina ..	81,982	25,299
S. Carolina	41,302	28,942
Georgia	83,362	118,979
Florida	5,977	115,017
Alabama.....	68,635	65,561
Mississippi....	50,284	28,588
Louisiana	18,639	
		Total..... 840,929

Carried forward 458,545

Thus 50 per cent. of the free male working population was entirely engaged in agriculture. The number of farms in the Southern States, together with their average acreage and their average value, is thus given:—

	No. of Farms.	Average acres.	Average value \$.
Alabama.....	41,964	289	1655
Arkansas.....	17,756	146	950
Florida	4,304	371	1622
Georgia	51,759	441	1964
Kentucky	74,777	227	2142
Louisiana	13,422	372	6111
Mississippi....	33,960	309	1782
Missouri.....	54,458	179	1234
N. Carolina....	56,963	369	1261
S. Carolina....	29,967	541	2889
Tennessee....	72,735	261	1419
Texas	12,198	942	1533
Virginia	77,013	340	2901
Maryland	211,860	212	1222

563,138

Thus, out of 840,929 free males engaged in agriculture, 563,138 were farming on their own account; and, allowing for family and other partnerships, we perceive that the whole of the free agricultural population of the South consists of farmers, and not of farm servants. "Every man his own master is not the way to make "mean whites," or "white trash."

A very prevalent idea in England is that the slaveholders are few in number; that every slaveholder has at least a score of slaves to attend upon him personally; that slaves are treated as heads of cattle, and that the individuality of the negro is as much lost sight of as the individuality of a sheep in a flock. Let us consult our impartial authority, the census.

In 1850 the number of families, white and free coloured, in the Southern States—and "a family in the census is either one person living separately in a house or part of a house, and providing for him and herself, or several persons living together upon one common means of support," so that every one occupying a separate building is counted as a family—was as follows:—

	White and Free Coloured families in 1850
Alabama.....	73,786
Arkansas.....	28,416
Florida	9,107
Georgia	91,666
Kentucky	132,920
Louisiana	54,112
Maryland	87,384
Mississippi....	52,107
	529,498
	Brought forward 529,498
Missouri.....	100,890
North Carolina	105,451
South Carolina	52,937
Tennessee....	130,004
Texas	28,377
Virginia	167,530
	Total..... 1,114,687

The number of families owning slaves were as follows:—

	Brought forward
Alabama.....	29,295
Arkansas.....	5,999
Florida	3,520
Georgia	38,456
Kentucky	38,385
Louisiana	20,670
Mississippi....	23,116
Missouri.....	19,185
	178,626
	Brought forward 178,626
N. Carolina....	28,303
S. Carolina....	25,596
Tennessee....	33,864
Texas	7,747
Virginia	55,063
Maryland	16,040
	Total..... 345,239

The following is the classification of slaveholders throughout the United States :—

Holders of 1 Slave	68,820
" 1 and under 5	105,683
" 5 " 10	80,765
" 10 " 20	54,593
" 20 " 50	29,733
" 50 " 100	6,196
" 100 " 200	1,479
" 200 " 300	187
" 300 " 500	56
" 500 " 1000	9
" 1000 and over	2

Thus, it appears that one family out of three own slaves, and if we allow for single persons being taken for families, the number of families owning slaves becomes much greater. Out of a population of 65,000,000, 174,503 families own one or less than five slaves. The negro, then, is domesticated in the South, and not, as Abolitionists assert, mere field cattle.

What provision is made for education in the South? The following is a return of the educational establishments :—

COLLEGES, ETC.			
	No. of Colleges.	Public Schools.	Private Schools.
Alabama	5	1152	169
Arkansas	3	353	190
Florida	—	69	34
Georgia	13	1251	219
Kentucky	15	2234	330
Louisiana	6	664	143
Mississippi	11	782	171
Missouri	9	1570	204
N. Carolina	5	2657	272
S. Carolina	8	724	202
Tennessee	18	2680	264
Texas	2	349	97
Virginia	12	2930	317
Maryland	13	898	223
	120	18,313	2838
Other States	118	62,649	3247

The South, in 1850, had absolutely more colleges than the North, though her population was more than 100 per cent. less. The proportion of public schools was less, but the proportion of private schools was greatly in excess.

The white population at school in 1850 was :—

Alabama	62,670	Brought forward	434,324
Arkansas	23,332	Missouri	91,991
Florida	4,638	North Carolina	100,041
Georgia	76,914	South Carolina	39,993
Kentucky	129,667	Tennessee	145,963
Louisiana	29,576	Texas	18,768
Maryland	58,770	Virginia	109,500
Mississippi	48,757		
		Total	940,474
Carried forward	434,324		

We have, we presume, sufficiently refuted the implication of ignorance ; for the number of scholars, as given above—being one-third of the population under twenty years—is equal to the number of children of an age to attend school. We further give the returns of illiterates over twenty years of age, which, though creditable to the North, is honourable to the South, when we consider her large free-coloured population :

Virginia	88,520	Maine	6,282
North Carolina	80,423	New Hampton	3,009
South Carolina	16,564	Vermont	6,240
Georgia	41,667	Massachusetts	28,345
Florida	4,329	Rhode	3,607
Alabama	33,992	Connecticut	5,306
Mississippi	13,528	New York	98,722
Louisiana	24,610	New Jersey	18,665
Texas	10,583	Pennsylvania	76,272
Arkansas	16,935	Delaware	10,181
Tennessee	78,619	Columbia	4,671
Kentucky	69,706	Illinois	41,283
Missouri	36,778	Indiana	72,710
Maryland	41,877	Ohio	66,020
		Michigan	8,281
		Wisconsin	6,453
		Iowa	2,158
		California	5,235
	557,931		469,440

With regard to religion, we shall quote a return of the number of churches, and it shows that neither absolutely nor relatively is the South an irreligious nation :—

NUMBER OF CHURCHES.			
Maine	945	Virginia	2383
N. Hampshire	626	N. Carolina	1795
Vermont	599	S. Carolina	1182
Massachusetts	1475	Georgia	1862
Rhode Island	228	Florida	177
Connecticut	734	Alabama	1373
New York	4134	Mississippi	1016
New Jersey	813	Louisiana	306
Pennsylvania	3566	Texas	341
Delaware	180	Arkansas	362
Columbia	46	Tennessee	2014
Illinois	1223	Kentucky	1845
Indiana	2032	Missouri	880
Ohio	3936	Maryland	909
Michigan	399		
Wisconsin	365		
Iowa	193		
California	28		
	2121		16,445

The population of the North in 1850 was 50 per cent. in excess of the population of the South, including the

slaves ; but the number of churches in the North was not more than 35 per cent. in excess of the number of churches in the South. Such a fact disposes of a quarter of a century of ceaseless calumny.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST OF 1860.*

THE future historian of the disruption of the United States, and the birth of the Confederate States of America will have abundant materials for a minute and graphic account of the great struggle, from its commencement until its consummation ; and far from being deceived as to the cause thereof by the allegations of the partizans of the North, he will marvel that such excuses should have obtained a momentary currency, even in the madness of the hour, and he will point out to posterity, as a remarkable curiosity, that on July 18, 1862, a member of the British House of Commons seriously asserted that Secession was brought about by slavery, and that the desolating war now raging was waged on the one side for the defence of slavery, and on the other, for the abolition of slavery. Besides, if we admit the facts of the Northern advocate, we must dissent from his conclusions, for assuredly, a war of abolition would violate the Constitution of the United States, both in spirit and in letter, would dissolve the Federal compact, and would be a direct infringement of the laws of civilized communities, which are strenuously opposed to interference with the internal affairs of sovereign nations, and properly regard it as a crime to enforce opinions by fire and sword. Without dealing with the absolute right or wrong of slavery, we may observe that an abolition war would have been consistent when it was thought a duty to convert infidels into Christians by means of carnage and rapine, when the Jews' denial of the Saviour was regarded as justification for plundering him, and when the battle-field, or a general massacre, was considered the best and, indeed, only agency for transmuting a heretical Protestant into a faithful member of the Catholic Church ; but in this 19th century, when we wisely reverence the text which saith, " he who takes the sword, shall perish by the sword," and recognize the folly as well as the utter wickedness of warring for opinion, the Northern plea is self-condemnatory. However, the North is not fighting for abolition, the Washington Government has denied the imputation, and the people of the Northern States are too " smart " to waste the " almighty dollar," and risk their precious lives, for any fancied benefit to a race whom they hate with a wonderfully bitter hatred, and whom they treat with a loathsome tyranny infinitely more horrible than any system of slavery that could be imagined. If all the monstrous calumnies that have been told about the treatment of the negroes in the South were true, their state of servitude would yet be infinitely better than an existence under the dominion of the North. Still, we do not deny that slavery has had, incidentally, something to do with the present war of independence and its continuance. It has been used, and with a vast amount of success, to prejudice Europe against the South, and to separate the South and the West, whose interests are equally inimical to the commercial policy of the North. This success is due not to suggestions of the abstract wrong of slavery, but to the most persistent and unscrupulous misrepresentations of slavery as it exists in the Southern States. We therefore think that Mr. Williams has wisely prefaced his comments on the Presidential election of 1860 by some able letters on slavery as it is, and on the right of non-interference with the domestic concerns of the Sovereign States of the South.

Mr. Williams' book, the first entered according to the Copyright Act of the Congress of the Confederate States, is a reprint of letters written at Constantinople in 1860, and published in a political journal in the United States. The author thoroughly appreciated the gravity of the crisis. He knew the design of the North to reduce the South to a condition of political dependence, and he also knew that the South would not submit to the degradation, and so, for the sake of the Union, he earnestly appealed to the North to pause, though he had little hope that the catastrophe which had been so long preparing could be any longer averted.

We presume by this time Europe is convinced that the Northern descriptions of Southern slavery were atrociously false. Was it likely, was it possible, that men would be so blind to their own interests as from mere wanton cruelty to injure their own property? The injury or premature death of a slave is a heavy loss to the master. It is not like Cooly labour, where the employer has an advantage in getting as much labour out of his hands as he can during the years they are bound to him.

The owner has only by contract an estate for eight years in the sinews of the freeman. His only interest, therefore, is to

concentrate all the physical capacity of the man within that compass of time ; and rarely, indeed, is it that there is any substance left in him at the expiration of his period of enslavement. If there is, what means has he to return to his native land? The miserable pittance allowed to him has in all probability been paid in such manner as to be exhausted before the period of his freedom commences, and he must sell himself for another term of eight years, for the doubtful prospect of again revisiting his far-off home.

Unfortunately, the slanders of the Abolitionists were too gross to be answered except by a laugh. Suppose M. Assolant, who lately represented the English people in rather an unfavourable light, had asserted that we were habitual wife-beaters, that we were as brutal to our domestic servants as we could be without coming into collision with the law, and that we used the skulls of the Russian soldiers slain during the Crimean War for drinking cups, their hack bones for children's toys, and their finger bones for shirt studs, we should have laughed *aux éclats* at the raving of the Frenchman, and should have felt it would almost have been an admission of the charges to have condescended to have answered them. As wild stories have been invented of the treatment of the slaves in the South, and of the manners of the Southern people, and whilst we are surprised that they could have been in any degree believed, we cannot but respect the contemptuous silence of the 8,000,000 of the Anglo-Saxon race who were so malignantly libelled. Moreover, there was the actual state of the negro in the South to bear witness against the slanders of the North. He had become superior to the rest of his race ; he was industrious, well fed, well clothed, cared for in sickness and in health, and was taught the saving truths of the Gospel. That the negro appreciates his advantages is proved by his fidelity during the past year ; instead of rebelling against his master, he has been ready to defend his master's home and his master's family. Some " contrabands," rather too sharp for the Northerners, have told the Federal generals some very pretty yarns about the Confederate plans, and have led the Federal generals into some rather serious errors ; but it is notorious that neither by black nor white treachery has any of the movements of the Confederates been betrayed. All the tales about the ill-usage of the negro in the South, are, then, utterly false, and betray an unparalleled depth of moral depravity in their authors, who can so diabolically transgress the commandment, " Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Had it not been for reliance on the effect of these slanders, the North would not have ventured on the invasion of the South ; for, on the one hand, it would have dreaded the protest and interference of Europe, and, on the other, the steady opposition of the West. As it is, the cunning game is nearly played out. Europe is becoming rapidly undeceived, and there are mutterings in the West which threaten to precipitate the inevitable separation of the North and West. Mr. Williams very plainly exposes the Northern scheme :—

It has ever been the aim of the manufacturing interests to enforce, under various pretences, the payment of a portion of the earnings of the agriculturists into their coffers. Under the popular disguise of " protection to home productions," this system for a long time prevailed ; and to this day our statute-books are disfigured by the relics of this most unjust system of forcing one class to contribute to their earnings to the wealth of another class. The doctrine of " protection " became unpopular with the agriculturists in proportion as its true merits were discussed and understood. However the sacrifice they were called upon to make might be urged by appeals to their patriotism, an enlightened understanding could not fail to perceive that the real effect of such a system was to take away from the gainings of their labour, in order to add to the wealth of those who were already much richer than themselves. The numerical strength in this contest was in favour of the agriculturist, and in process of time the system fell into disfavour and into partial disuse.

For the manufacturers to wage a contest against such superior numbers, upon the direct issue, would be fruitless, because the combined South and West—both alike interested in protecting agriculture from such an unjust burden of taxes—would be able at all times to offer a successful resistance. The crusade against slavery, on the part of New England manufacturers, was designed, therefore, to detach the great agricultural interests of the free States in the West from their natural allies, the Southern States ; and thus, by dividing the adversaries of their favourite system, and creating between them an irreconcilable feud upon a collateral issue, conquer them in detail. Having wrought up the Western States to the proper pitch of enthusiasm against the existence of " the great sin," the manufacturers say " the best means of eradicating this evil is to build up the North at the expense of the South, by means of a protective tariff ; " and they call upon the Western States to " submit to a small pecuniary sacrifice," for the attainment of so desirable a result. To the South they can say : " See arrayed against you the moral power of Great Britain, exerting its ramified influence throughout the civilized world. Add to this the overwhelming numerical and political strength of the North and the West. It is not our wish to destroy you ; therefore, give us the protection we claim for our manufactures : that is, give us two hales of cotton of every ten you produce, and one-fifth of your annual products of wheat, and rice, and Indian corn, and we will find means to allay the storm which is ready to engulf you in irretrievable ruin."

The scheme has been worked far enough to break up the Union, and for a period to veil from Europe the greatness of the outrage upon the independence of the South, and from the West that it was only being used as a cat's-paw by the North, but it has not resulted in the gratification of the Northern greed, and it will eventually

* *Letters on the Presidential Contest of 1860, written during the penury of that struggle.* By JAMES WILLIAMS, late United States Minister to Turkey. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

in the complete vindication of the high character of the South.

Mr. Williams admits that slavery, like the ballot, or universal suffrage, or the expediency of a state church, may be discussed without offence, provided it is fairly discussed. Opinion and the expression of opinion ought to be free, and such is evidently the sentiment of the South, for it did not attempt to interfere with the *unfair* discussion of its domestic institution, and it was only roused into action when discussion was being changed into interference. The Abolitionists of the North had no right to plot for the overthrow of slavery in the South, even if they choose to denounce it. Suppose slavery had not been distinctly recognized by the Constitution of the United States, still the sovereign independence of the Southern States would have been a sufficient barrier against such proceedings. With regard to the proposed limitation of the area of the Slave States, what can be more unjust and unconstitutional?

If the government of the United States may, under the provisions, and according to the true intent of the Constitution, exclude from the territories any one article which is recognized as property by any one State, then it may prohibit the introduction of any species of property whatever. Even if there were not a slave State, no statesman in the formation of a charter of Confederation between independent States, however homogeneous might be their internal regulations, would confer upon Congress the power of excluding from the common territories any property recognized as such by any one of the States. If it would be absurd to suppose the existence of any such power in a Confederation of States, having similar local Constitutions, how can it be inferred that either the slave or free States which formed the Constitution of the United States would have authorized the exercise of such power by Congress?

To declare that the citizens of one State shall not enter upon the territory of the general Government with their property, and that the citizens of another State may, strikes down the very corner-stone of the Constitution. It would be a violation of every principle of common justice. For if these territories are common property—that is, if they have been bought by the common purse, or the common valour of the Confederacy—then there exists no power, except by the exercise of brute force, to exclude any one State from an equal participation therein.

We may be asked, if the Northerners were really sincere in their opposition to slavery, were they bound forever to be associated with it? Assuredly not. The North could have disavowed its political alliance with the South.

Upon the hypothesis that the Republican Party has no political purpose to subvert in opposition to the rights of the Southern States, by such an expression of anti-slavery feeling, the force of its significance, as a demonstration of sentiments adverse to the longer continuance of the Union, is doubly enhanced. Truthfully interpreted, according to the rules of common reason, such an expression of antipathy to the Southern States or their institutions, conveying no intimation of a design to give a practical effect to their victory by any act inimical to slavery, would mean, that they had ceased to regard the Union as worth maintaining. After the expression of such a deliberate sentiment of repugnance to the fifteen Southern States or their domestic institutions, would they not be driven by the force of public opinion without, as well as by their own feelings, to repudiate a longer political association with those whom they had thus formally insulted and pronounced unworthy of respect; or to attempt their subjugation and, if successful, hold them as vassals? Would it not be, in effect, a virtual dissolution of the Confederacy upon the terms previously existing? The unbiased mind can arrive at no other conclusion, than that such a result would of itself, and in itself, dissolve the union between the two great geographical sections.

A Northerner, conscientiously objecting to slavery, would, of course, be justified in opposing its introduction into his own State; and if the people of the South changed their views as to slavery, they would be justified in abolishing the institution, but a domestic change is an affair that does not concern foreigners. The volume before us contains a letter addressed to Lord Brougham, who was invited to Boston to celebrate the execution of John Brown, and in reply to which his lordship wrote, "I feel honoured by the invitation to attend the Boston Convention." This was surely most unjustifiable interference with the internal affairs of the South; and an encouragement to those who think assassination a proper and virtuous proceeding:—

The day may come, my lord, when "even-handed justice will commend the ingredients of the poisoned chalice to your own lips." There are more shining marks for the assassin's dagger than the slaveowners of America! Millions of lives stand between the honoured felon and the accomplishment of his bloody work of philanthropy; a thousand times your lordship might have the privilege of acknowledging "the honour" of invitations to attend and participate in the celebration of events similar to those which were enacted at Harper's Ferry, and as often might "English philanthropy" palliate or excuse the crimes in which they had their origin, and still there would be a sea of living blood coursing through the veins of slaveholders? * * * If a British nobleman, of such world-wide reputation for statesmanship and philanthropy as your lordship, endeavours to instil into the public mind the belief that it is a *real honour* for an honourable man to be invited to join in rendering homage to the virtues, the moral worth, and the philanthropic services of an *admitted midnight assassin*, whose only *virtue*, or *worth*, or *service* in the cause of humanity, whose only claim to distinction above other cut-throats, beyond that notoriety which always attaches to the most revolting murderers, consists in the fact that he killed ostensibly in the cause of the so-called great humanitarian anti-slavery movement of the age; you need not be surprised if others, who have real or imaginary wrongs to redress, may, while rejecting your peculiar idiosyncrasy, accept this as a means of redress. There are those who from the depths of their bleeding hearts, and for the redress of grievous

wrongs which they themselves have suffered at the hands of their own race, would feel and say, "If this be a real honour, which a British nobleman may covet, how much more honourable to be invited to participate in saturnalia of nobler blood!"

In the House of Lords, Lord Brougham was, doubtless, sincere in his fanaticism, and we can therefore conceive the pang it must have cost him to avow, that the conduct of the North during the war that is raging for the conquest of the South, is more horrible than any that has ever been charged to the Southerners in respect to the treatment of their slaves.

Mr. Williams' letters are a startling proof of the undisguised warnings that were given to the North that the election of a sectional candidate for President, and the consequent political abnegation of the South, would lead to the dissolution of the Union. So much has the South been misrepresented in Europe, that her people were regarded as tyrants and spiritless, and not, as they have shown themselves, a heroic and high-spirited race; it was believed that the ill-used slaves were ripe for revolt; it was thought the North had supported the South, though there were plenty of official documents at hand to show that the North derived her riches from the profligence and energy of the South; and, therefore, it was not strange that Europe should have disregarded the warnings and have believed the Northern boastings that the South dared not secede, and that it only wished she would. But how can we explain the blindness of the North? Does not such blindness seem retribution? Does it not seem that, having so long calumniated and pretended to despise the South, the Northerners fell into the pit they dug for others, became self-deceived, and "their lies caused them to err," and to immolate their prosperity on the altar of their *lust and hate*?

THE CHURCH IN THE ARMY.*

THAT "When Christ came on earth peace was sung; and when Christ left the earth peace was bequeathed," is a true saying, but often misunderstood. The glorious legacy was deferred, not immediate; and tribulation and strife were destined to precede millennial rest. If it were not so there would be some foundation for the indiscriminate denunciation of warfare by Quakers, who profess no other duty than getting rich, and by the Peace-at-all-price Party, except when they imagine that peace is inimical to their pecuniary interests. If peace, instead of being bequeathed, had been commanded, then the profession of arms would have been incompatible with Christianity. We do not deny that aggressive warfare is unnecessary and wicked, whilst defensive warfare is just and commendable. But the justice or injustice of the war is not the responsibility of the soldier. His duty is to obey, not to pass judgment on the commands of his superiors. Though the Roman centurions, whose conversion is recorded in the New Testament, were the soldiers of an unscrupulous, ambitious, and most aggressive Power, yet they became Christians without being called upon to give up their military service. It would be curious if German theologians, who have reduced Christianity to a system of misty metaphysics, and who regard the "Faust" of Goethe, the poems of Heine, and the Bible as of equal authority, maintained that soldiering was a transgression of the Divine law; for those who reason right cannot deem it wrong to oppose rapine, *vi et armis*, any more than it is wrong to oppose burglary and murder by a system of police. Indeed, in Christian lawfulness and morality, there is no appreciable difference between a soldier and a policeman, and to be consistent, Quakers ought to protest as much against blue coats as red coats; but then, to be sure, it would be impossible to obey the injunction, "get rich, honestly if thou canst, but get rich," if we had not a police to hunt down *vulgar* rogues. It is more than curious, it is absolutely marvellous, that men who profess to believe that Christianity is a revealed religion, and that the Bible is the record of that revelation, should think that warfare is necessarily sinful. In the Old Testament there are numerous wars described, and war in all cases it is represented as doing the work of God as a scourge and an avenger. The instigators of war are punished for their ambition, but in no instance is the vocation of the soldier condemned. The Ruler of the Universe is repeatedly designated as the Lord of Hosts, and in that glorious song, in which Miriam and the daughters of Israel celebrated the passage of the Red Sea and the escape from Egypt—a song that from typical association appeals very strongly to the sympathy of Christians—there is the graphic and remarkable expression, "The Lord is a man of war." In the New Testament the business of the warrior is not directly or indirectly condemned. The duty and position of the Christian is illustrated by the duty and position of the soldier; and, as our author observes, "Nor do we find in the New Testament any censure upon the centurions. * * * There is not a

syllable like this recorded of the centurion of Capernaum, nor of Cornelius, nor of the centurion in command at the crucifixion, nor of Julius, who had charge of Paul in his perilous journey to Rome. Nor did John the Baptist, nor our Lord in preaching to soldiers, intimate that their profession was inconsistent with the ethics of Christianity." Notwithstanding the evident lawfulness of the profession of arms, ever since the days of Cromwell, who declared that "a soldier must pray before he go to fight," and until very lately, there was a growing and general impression that licentiousness and irreligion were inevitable characteristics of the soldier. Officers high in command have not hesitated to avow that religion impaired the efficiency of an army, and endeavoured to impress upon the army-chaplain that the best religious service was "a roll on the drum and a blessing." We know this to be an error; we know that religious troops, even when religion has been unhappily associated with fanaticism, have proved themselves valiant and formidable. We know that the piety of Havelock did not make him a worse commander or a less heroic soldier. It is of incalculable importance that it should be understood that there is "a church in the army," since the recognition of the fact will do more than any other agency to ameliorate the condition, and elevate the character of our army. So long as we regard our soldiers as being without the pale of Christianity, so long will they, to a great extent, be strangers to the civilizing, ennobling influences of Christianity. Dr. Scott's book cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence, for the object of it, very successfully carried out, is thus stated in the introduction:—

Our great aim, then, in this volume, is to give an expository history of the FOUR CENTURIONS, officers of the Roman army in Judea in apostolic times, who were to a greater or less degree brought under the power of the Gospel, or at least made acquainted with our Lord's history and doctrines; and to illustrate the fact, that eminent piety in a soldier is consistent with the loftiest courage—that, in truth, the Church of God may and does exist in earthly armies. It is certainly very desirable that military men, officers and privates in the army, should be constantly reminded that there have been found in all ages in their profession, men whose piety, to say the least, would bear a comparison with that of any other profession. It is a necessary encouragement to them to know that men of their own class, men in every respect by birth and education and daily circumstances like themselves, have been truly pious. This should keep them from despairing. The cases we have tried to illustrate show, also, that God employs a great variety of means or instruments by which to bring men to a knowledge of saving truth; and that in some instances a high standard of piety has been displayed under great disadvantages. Men in the army and navy are accustomed to decision, promptness in action, and to meet with opposition and to endure discipline, to display a lofty courage and a devotion to their country and the cause they defend. It is perfectly consistent, therefore, that when it pleases God to reveal himself to them, they should show the same manful decision and courage in behalf of the Gospel.

It is surprising, considering the multitude of preachers, and the countless number of sermons written, that so few volumes of sermons are worthy of critical commendation. There is often a considerable display of learning, and frequently able expositions of doctrine, but scholarship and theological acumen, though necessary, are not the chief ingredients of a sermon. The preacher has to deal with the heart as well as the head, and his mission is not only to make men wiser, but by all means in his power to persuade them to become righteous. A sermon ought to be very practical in its application; but, at the same time, it is necessary to avoid the icy, argumentative morality of Paley and the soft, super-gentle style of Blair. Now Dr. Scott, whilst lucidly exposing the doctrines of the Christian faith, whilst giving ample evidences of his research and learning, is always practical as well as thoroughly in earnest. We will vindicate the justice of our criticism by an extract which is no better than any other we might have chosen by opening the volume at random, but we select it because it has a special reference to the title of the book:—

It was worthy of special attention that such faith was found in a soldier. Our Lord was at this time surrounded by the Scribes, and probably in the house of a Pharisee, but it was in the Roman soldier that he found the greatest faith. As the profession of arms is not in itself sinful—is not a *sin per se*—so neither is the term soldier synonymous with cruelty or blood-thirstiness, nor with drinking, debauchery, and lawlessness. * * * We regard war as a terrible thing, but it is sometimes the less of two evils. War is better than national disgrace, or such loss of national honour and position as should destroy our self-respect and happiness. * * * A man is under no necessity to serve Satan, because he serves the government as a soldier. * * * If the military profession was a *sin per se*, then, instead of having chaplains to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments of the Church in our army and navy, they should urge the men to desertion. But when the soldiers crowded to hear John the Baptist preach, as well as the Scribes and Pharisees, did he tell them to desert, and join a Peace Society? No; but he did tell them to do no violence and to be content with their wages, and not to accuse any man falsely. Soldiers are found also listening to the words of truth as they fell from the lips of the Great Teacher himself. But He did not tell them to leave their profession because it was a sin. In the New Testament we have four different centurions brought under the power of the Gospel. The one before us owed allegiance to a heathen emperor, yet he possessed greater faith than any in Israel. And what shall we say of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, and David—men of pre-eminent faith, and yet heroes in battle? And what shall we say of Colonel Gardiner, General Burns, and General Sir Henry Havelock, and many others in our times?

If "The Church in the Army" were republished in this country it would not only be favourably received by the religious public, but would aid those who are seeking to improve the social, moral, and religious *status* of the British soldier. Moreover, the general reader would find Dr. Scott's volume repay an attentive perusal, for the great lessons inculcated in it are as applicable to the civilian as to the soldier.

* *The Church in the Army; or, The Four Centurions.* By Rev. W. A. SCOTT, D.D. New York: Carleton.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.;
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOUDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rainer-platz,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBURGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

THE ONLY PAMPHLET ON THE AMERICAN
QUESTION WITH A MAP.

WHY PENNSYLVANIA
SHOULD BECOME ONE OF THE CON-
FEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. By a Native
of Pennsylvania. With a large Map of the Federal
and Confederate States, distinguished by colours.
London: J. W. Whitson, Bookseller and Publisher,
93, Great Russell-street. Five shillings west of the
British Museum.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
On Wednesday, the 20th, will be published, in
1 vol., 10s.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an His-
torical View of Democracy in America. By
GERRARD DE WYLLIE. Illustrated with the Author's
signature, by R. S. H. B. London: LONDON, GREEN, AND CO., 11, Lud-
gate-hill.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by R. G. DRESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES;
Their Origin and the Remedy for them.
Price 1s.
London: HOUGHTON, New Bond-street.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The advantages of
introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Time and time and tide waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will pause no ruinous ac-
tion, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
picture of the world, and not a picture of the
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors will be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.
The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manufac-
turers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.
Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your papers, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of ad-
vertising, &c.
We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.
By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY.—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location, who is desirous of placing her daughters
in the hands of a motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

GENTLEMEN requiring an excel-
lent Tailor are recommended to the establish-
ment of A. M. LAFFITTE, 229, Regent-street,
London, above Verrill's Restaurant; and 20, Rue de
la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
Dr. Jamieson.
Ar. Milkenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.
OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,398,206 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to
redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.
OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 692,328 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 71
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,220 08
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered the
redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issued
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.
At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Muspero.
R. Mouton.
C. H. Hould.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
A. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voorhier.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.
OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 501,576 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
laud Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, 23 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—
"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquafortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying, or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence be
penally not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board any
parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a
dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
Published every Thursday Evening.
PRICE SIXPENCE.
Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum
Stamped. Thirty Shillings per annum.
Nos. I. to XII. NOW READY.
Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent,
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe, with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thought; that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the slipshod and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely in
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gen-
tlemen already favourably known to the public.
The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.
Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.
A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, at 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C. July 24, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I.—No. 14.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 31, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	209
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	210
Manchester Letter	211
THE TOBACCO MARKET	211
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
General Lee	211
The Grand Conflict	211
PRIVATE LETTERS	212
GENERAL BOTLER AND THE LADIES OF NEW ORLEANS	212
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	213
Havannah	213
Paris	213
THE DEBATE ON THE WAR IN AMERICA—	
Mr. Lindsay's Motion	214
LEADERS—	
A Word with our Readers	216
The Position of the Belligerents	216
The Decisive Moment	217
Financial Prospects	217
THE CRUISE OF THE SUMNER—	
Capture of the Vigilant and the E. van Dodge ..	218
LETTER TO THE EDITOR	218
THE AMENITIES OF THE UNITED STATES' CONGRESS	223
ADVERTISEMENTS	224

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE state of General McClellan's army is the subject of angry discussion in Congress, as well as in the press and amongst the people. There is no longer any rumours of advance, and instead of them, it is reported that "the Confederate army has retreated ten miles towards Richmond," and this is intended to quiet the apprehensions of those who know something about the actual position of affairs. General Lee has issued a congratulatory address to his soldiers upon raising the siege of Richmond, and announces the capture of fifty-three pieces of artillery. In the United States' Senate, Mr. Chandler has again denounced General McClellan's tactics, "declaring that tens of thousands of men were killed in the swamp, and stating that 158,000 men were sent to McClellan previous to the battles before Richmond." The reported large reinforcement of the army of the Potomac is now contradicted; and it is said the Government "cannot spare any men from the existing divisions of the army." General McClellan has issued strict orders that no civilians are to enter his camp, "and great mystery hangs over all his proceedings." The vessels passing up James River "are frequently fired into from field-pieces stationed on the banks by the Confederates." The sum of these items is, that General McClellan has been routed, forced to take up a position from which he cannot advance, has the enemy in his rear as well as in his front, cannot obtain the reinforcements he so urgently demands, and is harassed by the threatened interruption of his supplies. Add to this the sickness consequent upon the climate and season, and it is not surprising that there is a gloomy feeling in Washington and New York about the future of General McClellan's army, and that very little consolation is derived from the report that

the Confederates, having thus fixed the enemy, are retiring for a few miles from his front.

Nor can the account that McClellan has been reinforced from Hunter's command, be very pleasant to the Federals, as such movements are a virtual abandonment of operations in other States.

It is "expected" that General Halleck will assume the command of the United States' armies, but that Generals McClellan and Pope will retain their present positions. If this expectation is realized, it will not be an unreasonable arrangement. It will relieve Mr. Lincoln of responsibility, and General Halleck is quite as good a commander as the President. It is not likely that the services of General Halleck will be much longer needed near Corinth, and as Commander-in-Chief, he will be able to gain victories and capture prisoners, on paper, whenever and wherever he likes.

The James River has been strongly fortified by the Confederates against the operations of the Federal fleet. Besides the multiplication of obstructions in the channel, earthworks have been erected, and Fort Darling has been strengthened with iron-clad batteries.

In another page will be found the address of President Davis to the Confederate army, after the battles before Richmond. This document is marked by quiet confidence, and in the hour of triumph, it warns the defenders of their country that new labours and fresh sacrifices are in store for them.

General Pope, a worthy disciple of the illustrious despatch-writer, General Halleck, has treated his soldiers to a flaming address. We quote the first few sentences of this characteristic document:—

Washington, Monday, July 14.

To the Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Virginia.

By special assignment of the President of the United States, I have assumed command of this army. I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants, in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose. I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found—whose policy has been attack, and not defence. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in a defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving; that opportunity I shall endeavour to give you.

No reference is made to the capture of 10,000 prisoners in ten seconds, and we congratulate General Pope upon his modest reticence. The description of the operations of the Federal army in the West is a remarkable example of unblushing mendacity. Perhaps "where we have always seen the backs of our enemies" is a pretty equivocation for "where we have never had the audacity to face the enemy." General Pope omitted to state that the army in the West was particularly careful not to look at the enemy, except from behind entrenchments. It is true that "in but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western army in a

defensive attitude," because the army of the West has never been placed in an offensive attitude.

General Pope has not been long in getting to work. It was reported that he had entered Gordonsville, destroyed the junction of the Orange, Alexandria, and Virginia Central Railroads, and thus cut off a large quantity of supplies for Richmond. On the 21st inst. it was notified that "the report that the Federals had advanced to Gordonsville was erroneous. The Confederates are supposed to be still in possession of that place." The Washington Government ought to take measures so that the victories of Pope may live at least for one mail.

General Pope has issued an order that "his army will subsist on the country in which operations are carried on;" a needless license to plunder, seeing that the Federal armies have not hitherto shown any unwillingness to plunder unarmed people.

General "Stonewall" Jackson is said to be on the Shenandoah, advancing upon Harper's Ferry.

But the movements in Kentucky are, for the moment, of more interest than the events now transpiring in Virginia. Throughout that important State there is a general uprising, and every probability that it will shortly pass from the control of the Federals. The operation is so general, so well arranged, that there is no pretence for saying the victories in Virginia brought about, though they may have been the signal of, the uprising; it has been determined from the outset of the war, and the prostration of the North, and the defeat of McClellan's army, were regarded as fitting opportunities for action. We must observe that our accounts in reference to Kentucky are solely derived from Northern sources, and that, therefore, it is certain the power and doings of the Confederates are not fully stated; yet even these reports are sufficient to manifest the loyalty of the Kentuckians to the South, and the unanimity of the State in determining to throw off the Federal yoke.

Last week we announced that the Confederates were in considerable force near Frankfort, the State capital of Kentucky. Since then, we hear, that the Confederates have captured Cynthiana, a place to the north of Lexington; that they have captured Henderson, on the borders of Kentucky; that the Confederates were advancing on Louisville and Lexington; that the last-named place has been put under martial law; that "great excitement exists at Covington, Newport, and even at Cincinnati," and that the Confederates were at Glasgow in large force. The reports that "the Confederates, under General Morgan, are reported to be advancing upon Lexington," that General Morgan was advancing on Louisville," and that "the Federals, with several pieces of artillery, left Louisville, and advanced to Georgetown to meet General Morgan's forces," show that there is more than one Confederate army in the field in Kentucky. Moreover, the Confederates have captured Newburg, in Indiana, a town opposite to Henderson, and "the Governor of Ohio has called out volunteers for thirty days to resist invasion from Kentucky." Instead of answering to the call of the President of the United States, the men of

the North will have to remain at home to protect their own States. We need hardly remark that the movements in Kentucky make the position of the Federal army in Tennessee extremely critical, if not altogether untenable.

Besides the movements in Kentucky, the Confederates have captured two towns in Missouri. We learn that "General Curtis, by forced marches, has arrived safely at Helena, Arkansas," and we further know that he has withdrawn from Arkansas. The Northern account of his retreat shows that he was driven out of the State, and it is ominous to read that "several small engagements have occurred in Arkansas, in which the Federals were successful." Of course, to be forced to retreat, to be driven from position by the enemy, is a Federal success in Arkansas, as well as in Virginia.

The Confederates were within fifteen miles of Nashville. The defence of a hostile city in the midst of a hostile country is not an easy task.

The most significant item of the news is, "the South-West is overrun with guerillas." The Federals have to contend against the entire population, which is thoroughly roused to resistance; and to do this Mr. Lincoln will want more than the new army he finds it so difficult to raise.

We have a few particulars of the capture of Murfreesborough, Tennessee. It appears that the Confederates were under the command of Colonel Forrest, and that two Federal regiments surrendered—the 9th Michigan, and the 3rd Minnesota. There is a Northern report that the Confederates did not continue to occupy Murfreesborough, but retired to Chattanooga.

The whereabouts of General Beauregard is still anxiously canvassed by the Federals; the latest Federal "guess" is that he is at Chattanooga, with 60,000 men.

General Butler is further distinguishing himself at New Orleans. He has imprisoned Mrs. Phillips, the wife of an eminent lawyer, for laughing during the passing of the funeral procession of a Federal officer. We do not defend the conduct of the lady, though it is palliated by the circumstances, and by the infamous conduct of the Federal commander towards the ladies of New Orleans. General Butler's account of this affair will be found in another column. The price of bread has been fixed, and any New Orleans baker asking more will be imprisoned. The functions of the City Council have been suspended, and Bureaus of Finance, Streets, and Landings instituted. The reason of this is that the city authorities will not take the oath of allegiance. General Butler will not allow any one to leave New Orleans without taking the oath; and, on the other hand, General Grant compels all persons to leave Memphis who refuse to take the oath. These proceedings are peculiarly contradictory. The Governor of Louisiana has forbidden any intercourse with New Orleans, because General Butler has admitted persons into the city without question, and before allowing them to leave, either forced on them the oath of allegiance to the United States or endorsed on their passports a stipulation of disloyalty to the Confederacy.

The Confederates are said "to be making mysterious movements in the neighbourhood of Corinth," and it is reported that on the 12th inst. the Confederate cavalry made a demonstration against the Federals.

General Van Dorn has issued a proclamation declaring his intention to protect the banks along the river Mississippi to the last extremity.

The British gunboats Landrail and Rinaldo are at New Orleans, so that the British subjects are no longer entirely without protection.

Vicksburg was at the last news still holding out. A Confederate ram had arrived at Vicksburg, and, "after inflicting considerable damage upon the Federal fleet, had anchored under cover of the batteries." This may give Commander Farragut something else to think about besides cutting the canal to alter the course of the Mississippi. "Inflicting considerable damage" is a strong admission for the North to make.

Recruiting is going on very slowly. Federal bounty, State bounty, payment in advance, a year's or nine months' enlistment, and the threats of conscription, are of little or no avail. 300,000 men are asked for, and only 15,000 volunteered in eleven days. Congress has passed the Militia Bill, authorizing the employment of negroes for camp service, or any military or naval service for which they are competent; also to accept 100,000 volunteers for nine months' service, with \$25 bounty, and one month's advance pay.

The financial position of the North is sensationally desperate. Gold is at 20 per cent. premium, silver at 15 per cent. premium, and exchange on this country at 132 to 133. The President has signed an act for issuing postage and other stamps for currency. During the session Congress has apportioned \$800,000,000, and assuming this appropriation to be at par, it is equal, at the present rate of exchange, to an expenditure of £190,000,000 sterling; but this does not include the indebtedness of the Government to contractors, to the army, and to the States, or the indebtedness of the several States.

A National Currency Bill has been introduced into Congress. This Bill provides for the formation of associations for carrying on banking, with United States' stocks as a basis. Congress has no constitutional right to pass such a measure; however, at present, there is no respect paid to constitutional rights.

President Lincoln has signed the Confiscation Bill, with amendments that the provisions of the Bill should not apply to acts of rebels done previous to the passage of the Bill, and that the confiscation is to be only during the lifetime of offenders. A message was previously sent to Congress by the President suggesting some modifications in the Bill, but it was not favourably received by the Republican Party. We agree with the *Times* that this Bill is infamous, and further, we submit it is pre-eminently foolish to confiscate before conquering. Let nations on this side the Atlantic be careful, or perhaps Congress may confiscate England and France, and for the matter of that, the property of the Man in the Moon.

In the Senate on the 14th, the Bill for the admission of Western Virginia as a State was taken up, debated at considerable length, and passed. The Bill, as passed, provides that all slaves born within the limits of the State after July 4, 1863, shall be free. The House of Representatives has postponed the consideration of this Bill till December.

On the 15th a Bill was introduced further amending the Articles of War, so as to render it the duty of officers to furnish protection to slaves.

The following is Mr. Lincoln's Message to Congress in reference to the Emancipation Act:—

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—Herewith is the draught of the Bill to compensate any State which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that any State shall have lawfully abolished slavery within and throughout such State, either immediately or gradually, it shall be the duty of the President, assisted by the Secretary of the Treasury, to prepare and deliver to each State an amount of 6 per cent. interest-bearing bonds of the United States, equal to the aggregate value at \$— per head of all the slaves within such State as reported by the census of 1860; the whole amount for any one State to be delivered at once, if the abolishment be immediate, or in equal annual instalments if it be gradual, interest to begin running on each bond at the time of delivery, and not before.

"And be it further enacted, that if any State having so received any such bonds shall at any time after wards, by law, reintroduce or tolerate slavery within its limits, contrary to the Act of abolishment upon which such bonds shall have been received, said bonds so received by said State shall at once be null and void, in whomsoever hands they may be, and such State shall refund to the United States all interest which may have been paid on such bonds."

On the 15th the Border States' representatives finally agreed upon their reply to the President's emancipation proposition. They cannot endorse his policy, and differ from his belief that the refusal of

those States to act upon and adopt it may or will prolong the war.

Meetings have been held in various places to promote volunteering for the Federal army, but they have not been very numerously attended, and have not gained many recruits. The meeting in Union Square, on the 15th, was altogether a failure, though, of course, the prepared resolutions were passed, but there was not a numerous or enthusiastic auditory.

The House of Commons has this week been engaged in the discussion of the Union Relief Aid Bill. Mr. Potter made the following statement as to the extent of the distress:—

The number of hands employed in trades coming under the Factory Act in Great Britain was 451,000. Of these 315,000 were employed in Lancashire, 27,800 in Yorkshire, and 40,000 in Cheshire. Last year the wages amounted to £250,000 a week, or about 10s. 6d. per head. The number altogether unemployed was at present 80,000, the loss of wages being £42,000 a week; the number half employed was 370,000, the loss of wages being £97,125, making a total loss of £139,125. At present the average earnings of the workers amounted to 4s. 10d. per head, as compared with 10s. 6d. last year; and the 80,000 persons entirely unemployed might be said to have dependent upon them about 120,000 more, making a total of 200,000 to be supported by the public. That was exclusive of the unemployed in trades connected with the cotton manufacture, such as bleaching, dyeing, and others.

The Government was defeated on Wednesday, and Lord Palmerston agreed to introduce a clause embodying the views of the House in reference to granting the Guardians powers to borrow money on the security of the rates of parishes.

The Queen, as Duchess of Lancashire, has sent £2000 to the fund for the relief of the distress in the manufacturing districts, accompanied by a graceful and feeling letter.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, July 30, 1862.

Our last report left the market, quiet and dull, at 17½d. to 18d. for middling Orleans, and 13d. for Fair Dhollerah.

On Thursday and Friday the dullness continued, with sales each day of 3,000 bales, and some transactions took place in American cotton almost on the basis of 17½d. for middling Orleans. On the announcement of the week's business, surprise was expressed at the small amount taken by the trade—only 3,000 bales—but this is partly to be explained by the fact that considerable deductions are still making for parcels resold by spinners, and it is probable that the actual purchases by the trade last week reached 10,000 or 12,000 bales, the actual export reached the large figure of 16,000 bales, and the estimated stock in the port was increased to 171,000 bales. It is thought that the real stock is somewhat larger than these figures, and that sufficient allowance has not yet been made for the large amounts returned by spinners; and it is not unlikely that the stock of Surats in the port is still 20,000 or 30,000 bales larger than the estimates.

On Friday afternoon the Scotia's news came to hand after business hours, and though containing few fresh items of interest they were generally construed in favour of the market. Accordingly the demand improved on Saturday, and 7000 bales were sold at about ¾d. advance; out of that total no less than 5000 bales were taken by the trade, a quantity far in excess of their previous purchases, and indicating more vitality with Manchester than had generally been looked for. On Monday the good inquiry continued, and 7000 bales were again sold at rather higher prices. Yesterday the market received a further stimulus from the receipt of the Hibernian's news, which arrived about noon, and strongly confirmed the most gloomy forebodings of those who looked for a protracted war; the business reached 8000 bales, at a further advance of ¾d. in American.

In Manchester prices were also decidedly dearer, and confidence was increased in a higher range of prices for the future. Spinners in consequence have attended freely to-day, and with a strong tone in the market and sales of 10,000 bales, a further advance of ¾d. must be noted, putting the quotations for Middling American at 18d. for Bowed, 18½ for Mobiles, and 18½ to ½ for Orleans. In Surats there has been less elasticity, owing to large arrivals being placed on the market, and we quote to-day 13½d. to ¾d. for Fair Dhollerahs and Omrawatte, 14d. for Broach, and 16c. for Sawginned Dharwar.

It is easy to perceive that at the last few days the hopes previously entertained of a speedy termination of the American struggle have greatly subsided. It cannot be denied that the last news from America is most adverse to any chance of early settlement. It had been hoped that the Federal disasters at Richmond would disgust the North with their fruitless war, and lead to a revulsion of public feeling, but it must be admitted that recent advices do not bear out this opinion. The only effect of these mortifying reverses seem to be that the North is abandoning the original programme of the war, and finding it impossible to regain the South by the ordinary weapons of warfare, is preparing to crush it by the use of the negro element. The Confiscation Bill just passed at Washington, is practically equivalent to a decree for universal emancipation, and it is impossible to foretell the fearful lengths to which the carrying out of this measure may last. It is evident that if this war becomes one of abolition, and fairly involves the element of servile insurrection, it may go on till both sections of the country are utterly ruined; and even if it happily disappoints this expectation, it is hardly possible to see how any arrangement is possible between North and South, after the passage of such a barbarous measure as that which has just received the President's assent. The only hope now for an early peace lies in the difficulty of the North to find men and money; but it seems likely that such a pres-

sure will be brought to bear in the shape of bounties and moral compulsion, that a sufficient number of recruits will be obtained to carry on the war for the present, and rather than forego that object, it appears that the North, if others means fail, will resort to a conscription. Neither is it likely that financial embarrassment will sufficiently obstruct its efforts for a considerable time yet, the currency is rapidly depreciating, but as the Government issues are legal tender, and cannot be refused in payment of contracts to the State, the Government expenditure may be supported for a considerable period yet, though at the cost of a constant depreciation in the value of its paper.

Under these circumstances, there seems a strong probability of our little handful of American cotton being run to a most extravagant figure, for it is evident now that there is little chance of its being supplemented before the end of the year. Cotton at New York had reached fifty-one cents at the latest dates, so that it is reasonable to anticipate some export demand for that quarter, and in Havre the market rates steadily 1½d. above our quotations, causing a constant strain of export in that direction; and yet an existing stock will only provide 2000 bales per week till the end of the year, for all purposes put together. The position of the market is certainly extraordinary. It may be added that the recent Confederate successes in Tennessee and Kentucky, by closing up the outlets for cotton, will put a stop to the slender trade that had commenced between Nashville and New York.

MANCHESTER, Wednesday, July 30, 1862.

Since Tuesday last our market, like that of Liverpool, has recovered in some degree from the loss of tone suffered through the American intelligence and Indian advices.

On Friday the sellers of water twist in bundles, and still more of mule yarns below 50s. are regaining firmness.

The weakness most observable is in articles partly or wholly made from Surat cotton, and is found chiefly among speculators who bought previously for resale in this market.

Sales continue to be small both to merchants and manufacturers.

The production is very much decreasing, and will soon become less than the requirements of the trade demand.

Spinners of single yarns from 60s. to 100s. exhibit less anxiety to sell than previously.

The tendency for double and single above 100s. continue to improve in price.

There was an increase of offers for some kinds of cloth, mainly Eastern shirtings, the offers were made in a great measure by speculators to speculators without, however, much result in business.

In all kinds of cloth there continues but a very trifling demand, and the business doing is but of a retail character, production is fast ceasing, and manufacturers are firmer in their prices.

As regards shirtings, jaconets, printers, T cloths, &c., the bulk of the very moderate business done has been by speculators who hold stock, and who often show a disposition to realize whenever a fair profit is obtainable.

The following report of a visit to one of our manufacturing towns illustrates too faithfully the great distress now prevailing, and which is, unfortunately, only a forerunner of what we may expect in all our manufacturing towns for an indefinite period:—

"On our way, I noticed again some features of street life which are more common in manufacturing towns just now than when times are good.

"Now and then one meets with a man in the dress of a factory worker, selling newspapers or religious tracts, or hawk numbers of the penny periodicals, which do not cost much. It is easy to see, from their shy and awkward manner, that they are new to the trade, and do not like it. They are far less dexterous and much more easily sold than the brisk young salesman who hawk newspapers in the streets of Manchester. I know that many of these are unemployed operatives, trying to make an honest penny in this manner till better days return. Now and then, too, a grown-up girl trails along the streets, with wandering steps, slow, ragged, and soiled, and starved, and looking as if she had travelled far in the rainy weather, homeless and forlorn. I know that such sights may be seen at any time, but not near so often as just now, and I cannot help thinking that many of these are poor sheep which have strayed away from the broken folds of labour. Sometimes it is an older woman that goes by, with a child at the breast, and one or two holding by the skirt of her tattered gown, and perhaps one or two limping after, as she crawls along the pavement, gazing languidly from side to side among the heedless crowd, as if giving her last look round the world for help, without knowing where to get it, and without heart to ask for it. It is easy to give wholesale reasons why nobody need to be in such a condition as this, but it is not improbable that there are some poor souls who, from no fault of their own, drop through the great sieve of charity into utter destitution. They are well kept that God keeps. May the continual dew of Heaven's blessing gladden the hearts of those who deal kindly with them all.

To-day our market has improved perceptibly in tone, and firmer and more confident feeling is exhibited by all classes of producers.

In yarns, the aggregate amount of business doing is not large, but on the whole, prices are firmer, and for some of the better qualities, especially for those spun from American cotton very extreme rates have sometimes been paid.

The German merchants appear to be the principal operators, but their purchases are much circumscribed by the advance for which spinners hold, and to which, as their production is lessening every week, they steadily adhere. We hear of some transactions in 20s. water-twist at full prices, and in 30s. (which is very scarce) at an advance sometimes of ½d. per lb. since last Tuesday. The better qualities in 40s. mule are also in fair request for the continent, but the high prices for which this class of yarn is held, has checked the demand and limited business.

In India and China qualities, next to no business is doing, but the quantity brought on the market is now very moderate, and prices are very firmly maintained. Twist and pin cops, for the home trade, are all held for an advance, as compared with last week, but the amount of business doing in this department appears to be very small. Doubled yarns are very firm, and some of the lower counts from 40s. downwards, are in fair request, and have been sold at very full prices to day.

In every kind of goods the business doing seems to be very small, but, as the quantity brought upon the market is being daily reduced, there is no pressure to sell on the part of manufacturers, and, except at extreme prices, they seem careless about parting with their cloth.

TOBACCO.

LONDON, July 31, 1862.

The markets in London and Liverpool for American descriptions have been in an excited state throughout this month, the feeling at the close being perhaps stronger than at any preceding date.

The business has been large, and prices materially advanced on the quotations at the opening of the month.

The late accounts from Kentucky are considered favourable for holders. Should hostilities be actively resumed, there is imminent danger that the crop will be greatly injured through neglect.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

IN our last impression, the types rather oddly spelled the names of Mr. A. P. Wetter and Mr. Von Barke, who lately ran the blockade at Charleston.

OUR files of Richmond papers come down to the 9th inst. We subjoin such extracts as are possible at the late hour of their receipt. In our next issue we shall publish in full the addresses of the Governors of Virginia and Louisiana to the people of those States, as also a list of the Confederates killed and wounded in the recent battles, as far as known.

GENERAL LEE.

From the *Richmond Dispatch*.

The rise which this officer has suddenly taken in the public confidence is without a precedent. At the commencement of the war he enjoyed the highest reputation of any officer on the continent. But his fame was considerably damaged by the result of his campaign over the mountains. The public was unable to estimate the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and was displeased with him because he did not accomplish what we are now convinced must have been an impossibility.—We confess we were of the number who allowed our previously high estimation of Gen. Lee to be considerably shaken, if not altogether overthrown, by the result of that expedition. It was not until he was placed in a situation in which he had an opportunity to display his great abilities that he was enabled to teach the country and ourselves, as humble sons of the country, the folly of forming sudden judgments upon premises not sufficiently established.

The operations of General Lee in the short campaign which is just over were certainly those of a master. No captain that ever lived could have planned or executed a better campaign. It was perfect in all its parts, and will be set down hereafter as among the models which the military student will be required to study. His first labour was to render the city impregnable, which he accomplished so successfully, that, in the opinion of military men, it could not be taken by double the force McClellan could bring against it. His next was to provide for the dispersion of the enormous force which threatened it from the Chickahominy. How was this to be done? To attack their fortifications in front was only to throw away the lives of his soldiers. To turn them with the force which he had under him here was an enterprise of infinite difficulty, since he would be compelled, in doing so, to expose his own flank during the cross march. In this dilemma, he fell upon the bold and original plan of bringing Jackson down upon their right flank and rear. But it was of the last importance to conceal this intended operation until the very last moment. The plan he devised was in the highest degree ingenious. It was generally believed that Jackson, after crushing Fremont and Shields, was to march into the enemy's country and transfer the war to its own fireside. Means were taken to encourage that belief, and one of them was to send heavy reinforcements to the Valley. When these had reached their destination, and everybody was expecting to hear the sound of Jackson's cannon on the Susquehanna, the public were electrified by the magnificent reconnaissance of Gen. Stuart. From that reconnaissance Lee learned all that he wished further to know, and while the public was still discussing the utility of an operation so full of hazard, the news arrived that Jackson had sent to Lynchburg for all the cars, that he was at Staunton, that he was at Gordonsville, that he was at Louisa Court-House, that he was at Hanover Court-House, with all his army. The truth then burst upon the public in its full effulgence. The enemy were to be attacked in flank and rear by Jackson's army at the same time that they were to be assailed in front by Lee with the main bulk of his army. The plan was worthy of the most renowned general that ever lived; and even while it was in the very agony of projection, and had not yet been tried, no man doubted its entire success. It did succeed beyond all reasonable hope, even of so wisely-conceived and well digested an operation. Its success places its author among the highest military names—on the same roll with the Hannibals, the Cæsars, the Fredericks, and the Napoleons of history.

The perfect success which attended the efforts of Lee to keep the march of Jackson from the knowledge of the enemy, is among the marvels of those marvellous operations. The writer of this was aware that Jackson was on the march for Richmond as early as last Sunday fortnight, when he heard that he had passed through Gordonsville with a portion of his forces. Not fewer than 1000 persons knew the same thing at the same time. And yet not a soul was found to betray the secret to the enemy, and he was taken, at last, completely by surprise! Was there ever such unanimity of opinion as this circumstance reveals? Where is the Union party that were to show themselves as soon as the enemy made its appearance in force!

THE GRAND CONFLICT.

The grand conflict of the immense armies near this city still progresses. Our successes have been almost uninterrupted. The nature of the country and the great extent of the lines prohibited a grand battle in open plain. The struggle has been one of successive fights of divisions of the armies thus far. But there must be a greater battle than any yet between the main bodies, when brought by concentration and strategy front to front.

The positions of the armies at this time, it is believed, insures a complete ultimate triumph to our arms. The intrepid Jackson, as our citizens have been aware for several days, is in the field here with his principal force. By a rapid march he swept down from the mountains, and, co-operating with General Lee, got in rear of the enemy. It is understood that he has cut off retreat by way of the Pamunkey, and stands a

stone-wall to hold the enemy to his position, while he is pressed by our intrepid forces on the South bank of the Chickahominy. He has had some hard fighting, and has dealt the enemy some terrible blows.

The struggle began auspiciously for our arms, and has continued with daily triumphs. We refer to our details. The final blow must be given, we suppose, in a few hours. We are confident of complete victory. Let us be grateful for our signal success the past week, and continue our prayers to Heaven for final triumph.

MONDAY AFTERNOON'S FIGHT.

We have already laid before our readers such accounts of the desperate and determined fight of Monday evening as we were enabled to gather from the most authentic sources. An active participant in that memorable engagement has furnished a detailed account of the part borne by the division of General A. P. Hill in this struggle. This division went into the fight about half-past five o'clock p.m., and was actively engaged from the time it closed, after nine o'clock at night.

The 40th Virginia Regiment, Fields' Brigade, Colonel Brockenbrough commanding, was deployed as skirmishers, 300 yards to the right, separating them from the balance of the brigade, which was ordered forward. The regiment was then withdrawn as skirmishers, and placed in the rear of the division, which was advancing rapidly to the field in regular line of battle. After advancing in this order for some distance, they were thrown out upon the left, through a heavy tract of woods—emerging from which they encountered a strong force of the enemy, who threw themselves upon the ground and awaited the approach of the regiment. When within 150 yards of this body, which, we learn, was partly composed of the 57th New York regiment, a most murderous and destructive fire was opened upon them, and it is believed that not less than seventy-five of our men fell from the first volley. This, as might have been expected, produced some confusion in the regiment, and they fell back to the woods, hotly pursued by the exultant foe. Many of the regiment, it is believed, were captured in this wood, as at roll-call next morning but fifty were present to respond to their names, out of 450 that went into the fight.

On a hill, obliquely to the right of General Hill's advance, was posted a battery of some twelve pieces, which had been twice captured during the afternoon by our forces under General Lee's direction, but recaptured by the enemy. This battery, the brigade of General Fields—reduced in numbers and worn out with fatigue from their participation in every general engagement since Thursday—was ordered to charge. With spirit and alacrity they responded to the order, and with close rank and steady step they moved forward to its execution. In their approach to the battery, they fired three or four rounds, and then engaged the enemy with the bayonet. Here the struggle was bloody and determined, but after a most obstinate resistance the enemy was driven from his pieces, and pressed back some 200 yards in a hand-to-hand engagement. This charge was made by three regiments—the 47th, 53d, and 60th Virginia.

The other brigades of the division coming up to the support of Fields, finding the enemy routed, commenced cheering vociferously. The Federal general, M. Call, hearing this cheering, and mistaking the source from whence it came, rode up and said, "Hurra, boys; I am glad you have held the battery. Hold on for a short time, and reinforcements will be up to sustain you!" He was accompanied by Major Biddle, his adjutant-general, Major Williams, another aid, and two couriers. Suspecting that he had, perhaps, made a mistake, he asked what regiment it was that held the battery. An officer present replied, the 47th Virginia. On obtaining this information, Majors Williams and Biddle and the two couriers wheeled about and endeavoured to effect their escape. They were fired upon, and Major Biddle shot through the head and killed instantly. The others, so far as is known, escaped without injury. General M. Call being in advance of his party, was brought to stand by a private of the 47th Regiment, who drew his gun upon him and demanded his surrender. His sword was received by Major Mayo. The General was particularly solicitous that no indignity should be offered him, when he was emphatically assured by Major Mayo that he had not fallen into the hands of a soldiery unacquainted with the usages of civilized warfare. Under an escort, M. Call was sent to General Hill.

About nine o'clock the brigade of General Anderson was advanced to the front, and drawn up in line of battle. Several volleys were fired into the woods where the enemy had taken shelter, which had the effect to disperse them, and the fight closed for the evening. During the engagement General Anderson was knocked from his horse by the fragment of a shell striking him on the side of the head. He was missed after the fight was ended, and it was feared that he had been captured; but on Tuesday morning he came in tolerably well, but considerably bruised about the head.

TUESDAY'S OPERATIONS.

During the forenoon of Tuesday there was no regular engagement, but much desultory firing along the whole extent of the retreating and advancing lines. In the afternoon, about half-past two o'clock, a brisk fire was commenced on the right of the left wing of our army, Jackson's corps, then situated convenient to Dr. Poindexter's farm, on the Williamsburg-road, and directly opposite Turkey Island creek. The character of the country here is slightly undulating, the intervening ground between the belligerent parties, consisting of open, cultivated fields, whilst the extremes are dense woods of heavy timber and thick undergrowth. From the situation occupied by our troops, the enemy was discovered in large force deploying their troops, and placing their artillery in position. Bodies of skirmishers were thrown out from our column with a view to test the disposition of the enemy. This required but a short time to accomplish, as a brisk fire was soon opened upon them. Our artillery then opened fire upon the batteries of the enemy, which had the effect to produce another "artillery duel," lasting for one hour and a half, both parties serving their pieces with decided skill and alacrity.

Heavy bodies of infantry were advanced to the support of our artillery, and a general fight ensued, which resulted in the repulse and temporary withdrawal of the enemy; but, ultimately rallying and bringing to their aid a battery on their right, they opened a fierce oblique fire on the left flank of our forces then in action. This fire, which was excessively severe, was continued without intermission, and responded to with spirit by our own artillery until six o'clock p.m.

An intermission of some half hour then occurred, during which time, according to the representation of prisoners subsequently captured, the enemy at this point were heavily engaged, when the fight was again renewed, our centre and right becoming engaged. For three successive hours the same kept up one unbroken roar of artillery and musketry, which, for its fierce intensity, exceeded anything that has occurred in the whole series of bloody battles around

Richmond. The very earth trembled beneath the deafening and incessant peals. Notwithstanding the fatigue and well-nigh exhausted condition of our men, from their almost superhuman labours of the previous six days, they entered this fight with an ardour and readiness, plainly indicating their unchangeable determination to conquer or die. About half-past nine or ten o'clock, our artillery ceased firing, having effectually silenced the batteries of the enemy. This, however, it is due to say, was the only perceptible advantage gained by this wing of the army in the afternoon's operations. The loss sustained by both contending parties was heavy. How many on either side it is impossible to state, or even give an approximate estimate.

Whilst these operations were going on on the left wing of our army, a scarcely less severe fight was progressing on the right, where the division of General Huger was engaged. The brigades of Mahone and Armistead had been exerting themselves against a largely overwhelming force of the enemy, but being compelled to fall back in order to rest their men, General Ransom's brigade was ordered forward. It consisted of five regiments—viz., 24th, Colonel Clark; 25th, Colonel Rutledge; 26th, Colonel Vance; 35th, Colonel Ransom; and 49th, Colonel Ramsenr, all North Carolina troops. They were ordered to charge two heavy batteries, that were supported by not less than five Federal brigades, and all the while they were marching up to make the charge were under three fires. They did not falter, however, but went forward into the very teeth of the enemy without so much as the slightest indication of hesitation. It was, beyond question, one of the hardest fights, and one of the most desperate charges, that has been made during the whole war. This one brigade engaged the main body of the enemy's army at this point, and when compelled to withdraw did so in the most perfect order, and with the most undaunted spirit. General Ransom fearlessly and intrepidly led his brigade on horseback, and was, during the whole continuance of the fight, exposed to the leaden hail of the enemy.

Colonel M. W. Ransom, of the 35th Regiment, was wounded in the early part of the fight by a Minie ball in the arm, but remained at the head of his regiment, rallying and cheering his men, till struck by a piece of shell in the side and prostrated. Lieutenant Colonel Pettway then took command of the regiment, but was almost immediately killed. Colonel Ramsenr, of the 49th, was wounded, and the casualties are very large throughout the entire brigade. We held our ground, and General Ransom and his men slept upon the field they had formerly occupied, and, but for the pelting rain, would have renewed the fight yesterday morning.

There were, doubtless, other divisions and brigades engaged at different points along the line, who acquitted themselves with the same heroic and determined courage as that of the gallant Ransom; but being unapprised of their particular participation in this grand struggle for the defence of liberty, we are not prepared to notice them specially.

YESTERDAY'S OPERATIONS.

Notwithstanding the heavy rains of yesterday, the two armies were not inactive, though we have no report of any severe fighting. The latest accounts we have inform us that the enemy, finding some difficulty in getting off the bulk of their forces by the way of Turkey Island, had not moved to their left, in the direction of Deep Bottom, where there are good landings and deep water. But their retreat was cut off by our troops occupying the New Market-road, while they were also being attacked along the lines of the Long Bridge and Quaker roads. These three roads form a triangle of about one and a half or two miles area of low and heavily timbered land, with thick undergrowth, and which in wet weather is almost impassable.

If this information is correct—and we cannot doubt it—the total surrender must be only a question of time; and, in the absence of supplies, cannot be postponed more than one or two days.

LETTERS from Havannah state that the Federal authorities at New Orleans enforce a quarantine of forty days on every vessel coming from a foreign port, which virtually suspends all commerce.

We clip the following from the *Louisville Journal*, a paper under the patronage and control of the Federal Government, and a consistent opponent of Secession, both before and since the war. It will be seen that the "infamous" Butler has at last found a rival in the person of the Astronomer Mitchell:

FEDERAL GENERAL MITCHELL.—There seems unhappily to be no room for doubt that the course of this officer in North Alabama has been marked by conduct, not only injurious to the Government, but disgraceful to humanity. We are assured of this fact on authority we do not doubt and cannot doubt. The fact is thoroughly attested. We believe it, and, believing it, we proclaim it. We proclaim it with emphasis. General Mitchell and a portion of his command have perpetrated in North Alabama, deeds of cruelty and of guilt, the bare narration of which makes the heart sick. The particulars in the case will be laid before the authorities at Washington, in the course of a few days, when, we take it for granted, the honour of the nation and the welfare of the national cause will be promptly vindicated. The case will not brook delay. It cries out for investigation and determination. Let it be investigated and determined at once. We at present forbear to go into the heart-sickening particulars of the case, but, if necessary, we will not hesitate to do so hereafter. Meanwhile, we invoke the authorities, as they value the national honour and cherish the national cause, to visit swift justice upon the epauletted miscreant who has recklessly sinned both at defiance. General Mitchell is now in Washington, and can answer the charges against him, if they are answerable, without delay. We hope, for the country's sake, there will be in the matter no delay, and no clemency. The matter justly admits of neither. Feeling deeply, we speak strongly, but not certainly without the keenest sorrow. General Mitchell's villainous misconduct is a national calamity. It must pierce with sorrow the heart of every patriot, as of every man.

THE ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO THE ARMY AFTER THE BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND.

To the Army in Eastern Virginia: Soldiers—I congratulate you on the series of brilliant victories which, under the favour of Divine Providence, you have lately won, and, as the President of the Confederate States, do heartily tender to you the thanks of the country, whose just cause you have so skillfully and heroically served. Ten days ago an invading army, vastly superior to you in numbers and in the material of war, closely beleaguered your capital, and vauntingly proclaimed its speedy conquest. You

marched to attack the enemy in his entrenchments; with well-directed movements and death-dealing valour, you charged upon him in his strong positions, drove him from field to field over a distance of more than thirty-five miles, and, despite his reinforcements, compelled him to seek shelter under the cover of his gun-boats, where he now lies cowering before the army so lately derided and threatened with entire subjugation. The fortitude with which you have borne toil and privation, the gallantry with which you have entered into each successive battle, must have been witnessed to be fully appreciated; but a grateful people will not fail to recognize you, and to bear you in loved remembrance. Well may it be said of you that you have "done enough for glory," but duty to a suffering country, and to the cause of constitutional liberty, claims from you yet further effort. Let it be your pride to relax in nothing which can promote your future efficiency. Your one grand object being to drive the invader from your soil, and, carrying your standards beyond the outer boundaries of the Confederacy, to wring from an unscrupulous foe the recognition of your birthright, community, and independence.

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

PRIVATE LETTER.

Extract from Letter dated New Orleans, July 27, from a commercial house there to another in London:—

There has been very little change in our business affairs since the date of our last letter (May 10). Our part, as you will have learned, has been declared open, and, in consequence, we have had a number of arrivals, bringing full cargoes of provisions and general merchandize. The former being in extreme scarce supply, the first shipments found ready sale, at good prices, for our city consumption; the general merchandize, however, met a dead market; there being still no trade whatever yet with the country, our merchants have no occasion to make purchases. Communication with the interior is in no better shape than it was at the date of our last, the Federal forces having made no headway yet, since the date of their arrival, towards the country, except along the river above us, where they have taken possession of some small towns. No business can be carried on outside of the city; and, with the exception of an occasional arrival from the country of some provisions, no cotton or any other article of produce is coming to hand. The people in the country maintain the same hostile attitude as before, and persistently refuse to let anything come to our city, and, in particular, not a bale of cotton. We hear of continued burning of crops in the neighbourhood of those districts where the Federal forces are approaching. Some little business has been done in the way of exports, by shipments of our Louisiana sugar and molasses to New York and the other Eastern markets, which is the only article that we have a large supply of, and which numerous parties are sending forward, even at unusual high rates of freight. The few hundred bales of cotton which escaped destruction at the time nearly all the stock on hand here was burnt on arrival of the Federal fleet, have lately gone forward, together with what has since been put into hales, consisting of picked cotton and old samples. We suppose the total amount cleared to date may perhaps run up to 1000 bales, and expect that at the present moment there is but very little left. We have no hope of any cotton being sent to market here from the interior, as the people continue unchanged in their determination to do nothing which might be of advantage to the Northern people.

A British vessel, arrived from Liverpool via Havannah, since the opening of the port, is advertised for freight to Liverpool, but thus far has made no engagement. The rate asked is 13d. for cotton.

We find ourselves here in a most disheartening position, not the least sign of a prospect for a favourable change. The Southern people continue in their feeling of extreme enmity towards the United States' Government, and a quasi submission exists only where the Federal arms are in overpowering force; consequently wherever in the country, no army holds power yet, the people continue in their open hostility. The sentiments of our city people remain, like those in the country, unchanged towards the old Government; though everybody expresses the greatest anxiety for peace, all remain stubbornly determined not to do an act which might show a willingness to return to allegiance to the old Government.

Of the so-called Union people, a very small number indeed have shown themselves of those belonging to the respectable class; most of those who have taken the oath of allegiance are either of irresponsible character, or of the lower class of people and such as have no great scruple to side with any party in power, thousands of whom are always found in every large city; or they are persons who had to take it by compulsion. How then, and when, can we look for a change for the better?

GENERAL BUTLER AND THE LADIES OF NEW ORLEANS.

General Butler has written the following letter to a friend in Boston, purporting to defend his infamous Woman Order:—

Head-quarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, July 2, 1862.

My dear Sir,—I am as jealous of the good opinion of my friends as I am careless of the slanders of my enemies, and your kind expressions in regard to Order No. 28 leads me to say a word to you on the subject. That it ever could have been so misconceived as it has been by some portions of the Northern press is wonderful, and would lead one to exclaim with the Jew, 'O Father Abraham, what these Christians are, whose own hard dealings teach them to suspect the very thoughts of others.' What was the state of things to which the Woman Order applied? We were 2,500 men in a city seven miles long, by two to four wide, of 150,000 inhabitants, all hostile, bitter, defiant, explosive, standing literally on a magazine! A spark only needed for destruction. The devil had entered the hearts of the women of this town (you know seven of them chose Mary Magdalen for a residence), to stir up strife in every way possible. Every opprobrious epithet, every insulting gesture, was made by these ho-jewelled, beer-coloured and laced creatures, calling themselves ladies, towards my soldiers and officers, from the windows and houses, and in the streets. How long do you suppose our flesh and blood could have stood this without retort? That would lead to disturbances and riot, from which we must clear the streets with artillery—and then a howl that we had murdered these fine women. I had arrested the men who hurrahed for Beauregard. Could I arrest the women? No. What was to be done? No order could be made save one that could excuse itself. With anxious careful thought I hit upon this: 'Women who insult my soldiers are to be regarded and treated as common women plying their vocation.' Pray

how do you treat a common woman plying her vocation in the streets? You pass her by unheeded. She cannot insult you. As a gentleman you can and will take no notice of her. If she speaks, her words are not approbrious. It is only when she becomes a continuous and positive nuisance that you call a watchman and give her in charge to him. But some of the Northern editors seems to think that whenever one meets such a woman one must stop her, talk with her, insult her, or hold dalliance with her, and so, from their own conduct, they construed my order. The editor of the *Boston Courier* may so deal with common women, and out of the abundance of the heart his mouth may speak; but so do not I. Why, these she-addressers of New Orleans themselves were at once shamed into propriety of conduct by the order, and from that day no woman has either insulted or annoyed any live soldiers or officers, and of a certainty no soldier has insulted any woman. When I passed through Baltimore on the 23rd of February last, members of my staff were insulted by the gestures of the ladies there. Not so in New Orleans. One of the worst possible of all these women showed disrespect to the remains of gallant young De Kay, and you will see her punishment, a copy of the order which I enclose, is at once a vindication and a construction of my order. I can only say that I would issue it again under like circumstances. Again thanking you for your kind interest, I am, truly your friend,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Major-General Commanding.

The *Herald's* correspondent at New Orleans writes as follows on the 30th ult.:—"Lieut. G. C. De Kay, who, it will be remembered, was shot at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, about a month since, died last Friday morning from his wounds. The funeral, which took place on Saturday evening, resulted in a scene so shocking that it is difficult to believe that it occurred in the nineteenth century, among a people who profess to be not only civilized, but christianized. As the cortege moved through the streets, women in the garb of ladies flaunted Secession badges, and mocked and jeered at the poor dead body of a brave boy who, in life, would have scorned to treat even his enemy with dishonour. At Christ Church, where the services were held, the front pews, the aisles, and the gallery were filled with a rabble of negroes, rowdies, and ragged boys, the women showing Secession badges freely. One of the women who scoffed at the remains was the well-known Mrs. Philip Phillips, who, with Mrs. Greenhow, was arrested last summer at Washington for treason, and who, it will be remembered, caused her house to be illuminated from basement to attic on learning of the Union defeat at Bull Run. When the funeral procession passed her in Charles-street, she, with other females, sat on the balcony and laughed and jeered at the sad display in an intentionally offensive manner. On General Butler's return to this city from Baton Rouge, learning of the disgraceful proceedings of the day before, he was greatly enraged, and declared that if he had been here he would have bombarded the church with his artillery. This morning he ordered Mrs. Phillips to be arrested and brought before him. Accompanied by her husband she arrived about noon. General Butler asked her if it was true that she had behaved as above described; she answered in the most flippant and contemptuous manner, 'I was in good spirits that day.' That was enough for the general; he at once issued the following order:—

"Head-quarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, June 30, 1862.

"Mrs. Phillips, wife of Philip Phillips, having been once imprisoned for her traitorous proclivities and acts at Washington, and released by the clemency of the Government, and having been found training her children to spit upon officers of the United States, for which act of one of those children both her husband and herself apologized and were again forgiven, is now found on the balcony of her house during the passage of the funeral procession of Lieutenant De Kay, laughing and mocking at his remains; and upon being inquired of by the commanding general if this fact were so, contemptuously replies, 'I was in good spirits that day.' It is therefore ordered that she be not regarded and treated as a common woman, of whom no officer or soldier is bound to take notice, but as an uncommon, bad, and dangerous woman, stirring up strife and inciting to riot, and that therefore she be confined at Ship Island, in the State of Mississippi, within proper limits there till further orders, and that she be allowed one female servant, and no more, if she so choose. That one of the houses for hospital purposes be assigned her as quarters, and a soldier's ration each day be served out to her, with the means of cooking the same; and that no verbal or written communication be allowed with her except through this office; and that she be kept in close confinement until removed to Ship Island.

"By order of Major-General Butler,
"R. S. DAVIS, Captain and A.A.A. General."

"STONEWALL" JACKSON.—A Baltimore paper publishes the following in reference to the appellation of "Stonewall" being conferred on General Jackson:—

"Messrs. Editors,—I see in your paper, as well as in many Northern journals, a continual reference to the Confederate General Jackson by his well-earned name of 'The Stone Wall.' As many use the title given the General and his renowned brigade without knowing its origin, I ask you to insert the following in the columns of your paper, for the benefit of those who have had no opportunities for learning the circumstances under which the title was first acquired. It was earned on the plains of Manassas, and was given by the lamented General Bee, of South Carolina. His brigade was giving way at one period of the engagement, which circumstance so distressed General Bee, that he exclaimed, with a world of agony in his voice: 'Look! look at my men falling back, while there stands General Jackson and his brigade as firm as a stone wall!' He was shot a moment after, and did not live to see his men rally and share the triumphs of *The Stone Wall Brigade*.

"This brigade is composed almost entirely of volunteers from the Valley of Virginia.

"A LADY OF THE VALLEY.

"June 16th, 1862."

Numerous inquiries are constantly made as to the derivation of the now famous prenominal of General Thos. J. Jackson, and one of our contemporaries has lately published what purports to be a correct statement of its origin, but which is in fact the Northern version of it.

At the Battle of Bulls Run General Jackson was ordered to hold a position with his brigade near Stone Bridge, which he did so heroically and effectually against repeated attacks, that after the battle was over he was complimented on the field by General Beauregard, who told him that his brigade had stood like a "Stonewall." Since that day he has been known by the name of Stonewall Jackson.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 16, 1862.

The troubles in Wall-street are on the increase. Exchange and gold have advanced 2 per cent., and would have risen still more, but for the importers, who, being unused to such figures, and incapable of realizing the emergency, have withheld from purchasing bills on London; they, however, will soon be obliged to enter the markets, as they are largely in debt to Europe. Our exports are about \$5,000,000 per month, while our imports are \$20,000,000, and the sales of securities, on account of foreign holders, are believed to be \$5,000,000; this makes a deficit of \$20,000,000 that has to be met by shipments of specie. The silver and copper coins have disappeared from circulation. The masses for the first time are feeling the war, its horrors being seen by the number of maimed persons in the streets. Stocks of all kinds are falling daily, except the securities of a few of the railroads to the West, that have had a temporary increase of traffic by the large business in grain; their shares will now decline. Our people are beginning to appreciate the blessings of a sound currency, and to be aware that promissory notes and bank bills were merely the representatives of value, the former of merchandize and the latter of money; not so, however, with Mr. Chase's issues, they having nothing at their back but "greenness," as if in derision of the verdancy of the community. The machinery of finance in the Northern States, based upon a system of credit, has so far assisted the Secretary of the Treasury in carrying the heavy load of debt; but that system is now breaking down, and there is a general disposition to do business on the cash principle; this is owing to widespread fear. Every person who can do so is hoarding.

The most glaring depreciation is in real estate, which, in the city of New York, was valued, in 1856, at \$1,200,000,000; the commercial panic of 1857 reduced it to \$900,000,000, and at the present time shrewd appraisers estimate it at \$400,000,000, making a total decline of \$800,000,000. The enormous investments in mill property in the New England States, and the absence of the raw material to work up, entail a monstrous loss upon the Yankees. The West and the South, being purely agricultural, will suffer comparatively little, nor can a financial crisis appear in the South; their mercantile transactions ceasing for four months every year, has prevented them from adopting the credit system; hence they never had any inflation in their affairs.

The reign of terror is fast subsiding; Mr. Stanton appears timid about issuing more orders. The Peace Party is gaining strength, and daily becoming more bold in its expressions. The war meeting in Union-square was a perfect failure.

HAVANNAH, July 7, 1862.

We have had no direct news; no arrival from New Orleans since the French war-steamer Milan brought us the intelligence of the taking of that city by the Federal forces under General Butler, and of the infamous conduct of that General immediately after his occupation of the city. The Federal pledge, that the port of New Orleans should be open to the commerce of the world, has been intentionally, shamefully violated. The Spanish steamer *Cardinas*, with passengers and cargo, sailed from this port for New Orleans immediately after the promulgation of the proclamation opening that port, and, by order of General Butler, was quarantined for forty days. The United States' steamer *Roanoke* sailed from Havannah a few days after the *Cardinas*, and was permitted to discharge her cargo at New Orleans, and reload, or rather take passengers, and clear for New York, via Key West, without delay. A strict quarantine is imposed on all foreign vessels, while vessels of the United States are permitted to come and go without detention. We get this news, via Key West, from twenty different sources; no vessel will, therefore, leave this port for New Orleans, except those sailing under the United States' flag. Under the pledge of the United States' Government, to open to trade the Southern ports, many millions of dollars' worth of goods have been sent from England, France, and other countries, to Havannah, to be shipped to New Orleans immediately upon raising the blockade, and several vessels have retained their cargoes on board, awaiting the result. All this commerce is fraudulently interrupted, to give to a few favourites of General Butler, and others high in authority, the benefit of first sales and high prices; but even this trick did not avail them, for the people of New Orleans only buy bread and meat sufficient to sustain life from the enemy—ship nothing. Will European Governments longer stand this humbugging?

The cotton at New Orleans, as I remarked in my last letter, was all burned, and none has, and none will be, sent in from the country; the sugar was also destroyed, except about \$2,000,000 worth, in the hands of foreigners. It was believed that the rights of neutrals, in their undisputed ownership of property not contraband of war, would be respected by the invaders, and therefore the Confederate generals, in retiring, left this property under the protection of the English, French, and other neutral flags; but General Butler has seized all this sugar, under the absurd pretext that the purchasers of this sugar sold bills of exchange on England and France, and accepted in payment Confederate notes, which they paid out for sugar—thus, as he says, giving aid and comfort to the enemy of the United States' Government. Confederate notes were the chief currency at New Orleans when these sugars were bought, and it could make no possible difference whether the Englishman or Frenchman gave his bill on his house in London or Paris to the planter, or first sold his bill in New Orleans, and paid over the proceeds for the sugar; the seizure of the sugar in either case is an outrage which ought not—we hope will not—be tolerated.

You will see from the Northern papers that the Confederates burned 30,000 bales of cotton on retiring from Memphis. I have certain information that more than double that amount was burned at and near that city, and on the opposite side of the river, in Arkansas. It is now conceded, even by the Northern press, that the Confederates are ready, and will make any sacrifice necessary, either in property or life, to protract the war. That granted, can they be conquered? Never! The first prisoner taken by the Federals was Lewis Washington, grand-nephew of George Washington. All the Washingtons are in arms on the Confederate side—General Lee, now in command at Richmond, wears the sword bequeathed by Washington to Virginia's most gallant son. All the descendants of Jefferson, of Madison, of Monroe, of the thousand Southern worthies whose patriotism and valour first planted the standard of liberty in the New World, are now engaged in this struggle for separation from a people whom they abhor. The first American revolution extended through seven long years, under constant defeat and privations, which our people can never know, and yet in the end the revolutionists were successful, because fighting on their own soil, and in defence of their own homes. The Confederates have never been defeated in any important battle on land. And now the tide of victory has been thrown back upon the invaders—Banks has been defeated—Shields has been whipped—Fremont thrashed—Jackson is marching victoriously towards Maryland, and the Young Napoleon, McClellan, advances backwards from Richmond under daily defeat and mortification—Halleck is swamp-bound, with a sick-list of 20,000. The invincible Beauregard is where he should be, and will soon be heard from.

I refer you to the New York papers for forms of the odious oaths to be forced on the citizens of New Orleans, and leave you to comment upon the attempt to perjure a whole community, and make spics of all foreigners temporarily in the city.

I enclose you a slip from the *Leirio de la Manica*, of the 4th inst., on the commerce of New Orleans; translate and publish it.

H.

PARIS, July 30, 1862.

The war with Mexico continues to be the topic of great concern and interest. Two fights have taken place between General Lorencez's command and the Mexican army, in which the last were worsted. On June 12, Zaragoza sent a flag of truce to the French commander, urging him to capitulate, "as the best means of getting out of his difficult situation," which was briefly declined, of course. On the next day, it was reported that the Mexicans were marching against Ingenio, a small town three miles from Orizaba. Captain Detrie having been detached with his company (of the 99th of the Line) to oppose them, arrived on the spot at midnight, and hearing that the enemy was encamped a few hundred yards from the town, he attacked at once. They fought until daylight, by which time the Mexicans retired, leaving in the hands of Detrie's men four field-guns and an important amount of stores. The loss on the French side was twenty-three men *hors de combat*—one man out of four, (Captain Detrie was among the wounded); whilst the enemy had 120 killed, and 135 wounded. Rather warm affair that, considering the small party engaged, on one side at least. On the day following, General Zaragoza came in person to the attack on Ingenio, with 5000 men—but the French had been reinforced to the number of 600, and after a combat which lasted from 3 till 10 o'clock A.M., the Mexicans were compelled to retire, leaving a large number of their dead and wounded on the field.

General Forey and Vice-Admiral Jurien de La Graviere

have sailed, under pressing orders of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy. The reason assigned for adding iron-plated ships to the Mexican squadron is, that the Mexicans might have bought one or more "Monitors" the Government at Washington, and our whole fleet from would have been in great danger, without some fighting crafts of the same sort to meet the monsters.

But I have, from reliable authority, another and a different account of the Emperor's object in sending such a large naval force across the Atlantic. That a number of troops should be ordered there, more proportionate to the difficulties which have to be encountered in Mexico than the small force [defending there at present the honour of the Tricolor, has nothing in it to excite comment; but what is the reason for sending six first-class men-of-war, two, and probably three, iron-plated frigates, with the accompanying reglementary number of smaller ships and iron-plated gunboats? Now, it is stated that such a fleet, useless against Mexico, since that country has no navy, is destined to meet the emergencies which may arise elsewhere, and that it may have important work to perform on the American coast.

Some of your readers may have left unnoticed the following, from the able and well-informed Paris correspondent of the *Times*, writing from here last Sunday:—

I have reason to believe that the American question once more occupies the most serious attention of the Emperor, and that within the last few days it has been before the Council of Ministers. It is again here thoroughly examined and discussed in all its bearings, the fearful carnage, the more fearful from its being without any object—the utter hopelessness of seeing the Union restored—the animosity on both sides acquiring more intensity after defeat or after victory, and the consequence of this unnatural conflict on those who have, with perhaps exaggerated scrupulousness, held aloof from the belligerents. All these considerations have, I repeat, forcibly pressed themselves on the Emperor's mind, and I should not be surprised if they were now laid before the English Government in a still more pressing manner, with a view to a speedy termination. Indeed, that solution, as far as it depends on the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by the European Powers, must be speedy to be effective. The elections to Congress begin, I believe, in August, and will be over in November. If France and England do nothing in the meantime, the same men who sit in the American Legislature will, in all probability, be returned, and the same terrorism be maintained; whereas, if France and England take before then some steps towards recognition, the case might be different. The Government of Washington, with the public opinion of Europe manifesting itself against the continuance of a bloody and a useless struggle, might yield, if not with a good grace, at least without loss of self-respect. If nothing be done people must resign themselves to the spectacle of a tremendous war for an indefinite time, and with the certainty of utter ruin to both parties—not to speak of the consequences to those who have had no hand or part in it. I do not pretend to say whether the present movement will be followed by any immediate effect; whether France will take the lead, with the expectation that England cannot do otherwise than follow; or whether both will act at the same time. I only know that France is convinced that the present moment is most opportune for united action.

The hatred between both parties is becoming more and more intense; and the determination of the South to carry on the war to the last more fierce than ever. The terrors inspired by General Butler do not prevent this hatred from manifesting itself even in New Orleans. In that defenceless city there now remains hardly any but women, children, or aged men. The very children seem to defy and provoke the wrath of the Governor and his troops. Boys of ten or twelve go out into the streets, and with the most irritating epithets invite the Yankee soldiers and officers to come and be measured for their coffins, as Yellow Jack (the yellow fever) is waiting for them; and young girls, finding that the pestilence was too slow in coming, spoke of going somewhere to catch the infection, and returning in order to spread it among the detested invaders.

I am not sure that President Lincoln himself, and some of those of whom he takes counsel, would learn with displeasure that a gentle pressure was likely to be exercised on them; for whatever be the language they held, they are aware of the hopelessness of continuing the struggle.

The above corresponds exactly with my own information, and is so well written that I could not resist giving it to you in full. Peace is signed between France and the Emperor Tu-Duc, on advantageous terms for this country. We have a detailed and touching account of the funeral of Admiral Protet, borne to his place of eternal repose by his companions in arms, both French and English. Indeed, all the European representatives in China, Russian and others, united in the honours rendered to the brave sailor's remains. The Servian question is a knotty one, and the "Conferences" at Constantinople will be followed by the public with earnest attention. Garibaldi has succeeded in obliging the French and Italian Governments to keep a serious watch on the result of the speeches "de cet enfant terrible." A new paper is going to be started in Paris (which is an event here), under the title of *La France*. It will receive communications from M. de La Guéronnière, which must attract great interest, both as regards the interior and exterior political questions. A Baron Brenier, le Comte de Clary, Mr. Debellyme, are among the "Comité de Surveillance." The printing-press of the *Moniteur* is now put in motion by an engine of the "Lencoir" system—having for its principle the dilatation of air by the power of electricity. I believe that you have one of Lencoir's apparatus at the London Exhibition. It is considered by competent men as a motive-power of considerable value.

THE DEBATE ON THE WAR IN AMERICA.

MR. LINDSAY'S MOTION.

According to our promise last week, we give below for the use of our readers in the South, a full report of the debate on Mr. Lindsay's motion. The correctness of this report we can ensure, as we have been favoured with revises of their speeches by nearly all the honourable gentlemen who participated in the debate:—

The order of the day for going into Committee of Supply having been read,

Mr. LINDSAY rose, pursuant to notice, and said he wished to call the attention of the House to a matter of great importance—the unhappy war which now raged in the United States. In doing so he felt assured that an expression of opinion on the part of the House on the subject would have an effect contrary to that which some of his hon. friends near him seemed to apprehend. He might add that, in the course of the observations which he was about to make, he would not say one word with reference to the sinking of the stone fleet at Charleston, or the proclamations which had been recently issued by the Federal Generals; but would, on the contrary, confine himself as strictly as possible to the terms of the motion which he had placed on the paper. He begged leave to move, “That, in the opinion of this House, the States which have seceded from the Union of the Republic of the United States have so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and have given such proof of their determination and ability to support their independence, that the propriety of offering mediation with the view of terminating hostilities between the contending parties is worthy of the serious and immediate attention of her Majesty's Government.” He meant to leave out the latter part of the resolution of which he had even notice; but he trusted the other portion of it would receive the sanction of the House. He thought the Confederate States had shown their determination and ability to support their independence. There could be no difference of opinion on that point; but there might be a difference of opinion as to the propriety of our mediation. He would first address himself to the origin of the fearful war now raging on the other side of the Atlantic; he would then touch on the causes of that war; he would then refer to its effects; next, he would show that, as he conceived, the end of that war must be separation; and, lastly, he would endeavour to show how humanity and our own interests demanded that a stop should be put to that war. The hon. gentleman then alluded to the compact formed between the different independent States of the Union for their mutual convenience, the area covered by their territory, and the aggregate population. The trade of the country in 1860 amounted to \$350,000,000. Many people were under the impression that disunion was the impulse of the moment. It was not so. It had been working for more than a quarter of a century. The Southern States were dissatisfied with the Union, and had been protesting against the oppressive taxation of the North. On the 20th of December South Carolina gave notice that she desired to withdraw from the compact. He did not argue the question whether South Carolina, or any minority of the States, had a right to withdraw from the compact made for the convenience of all the States; but he could find no clause in the Constitution of the United States which prevented any State from withdrawing when she felt herself aggrieved, and certainly none which vested in the President of the Federal Government a power to coerce those States that did secede. The resolution of South Carolina was formed by the unanimous vote of the Legislature met specially to consider whether it was for the interest of that State to remain in the compact. It was resolved to be for their interest that they should remain by it no longer, and three of their most distinguished citizens were appointed to wait on President Buchanan and his Government, and represent their grievances, state the reasons why they could no longer remain in the Union, and arrange, if possible, the terms of separation. These gentlemen were not received by the Federal President. They drew up a memorial representing their case in respectful but determined language, and sent it to the then Secretary of State: but it was returned to them unanswered. They reported, as the only course left to them, that the Government of Washington was unwilling even to hear their grievances. South Carolina, still anxious to preserve peace, and above all to avoid bloodshed, in the following February sent the Attorney-General to the Government at Washington. He met similar success—he was not received, his letter was returned. Other States seeing how the Federal Government were resolved to treat the representations and complaints of South Carolina, resolved to follow the example of that State and withdraw from the Union. The States of Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas withdrew, and in March 1861, met in Convention, formed a provisional Government to last one year, and elected Mr. Davis to be President. These seven Confederate States, anxious to avoid a rupture, and above all to avoid bloodshed, deputed three of their citizens to proceed to Washington and represent their grievances to the Government, arrange terms, and settle all questions of disagreement upon principles of right, equity, and good faith. The Commissioners arrived immediately after President Lincoln had been inducted into office, and on March 12, they officially communicated their object to Mr. Seward. No reply was received till the 8th of the following month, when they received a peremptory refusal. President Davis on April 29 sent a message to the Confederate Congress giving a history of that mission, and all the incidents connected with it, which has been recently republished in England. Every hon. member who read that statement must arrive at the conclusion to which he had come, that these three Commissioners were shamefully treated. The message of President Davis clearly showed that at the earnest request of Mr. Seward, and with the view of promoting the peaceful settlement of all difficulties, the Commissioners were induced to forbear pressing for an early answer to their communication. Secondly, it was stated that during the interview the Commissioners were assured that Fort Sumter, commanding the entrance to the port of Charleston, would be evacuated; that no measure which could prejudice the Confederate States was contemplated; that a demand for an immediate answer would be productive of evil; and, lastly, that while these promises were given in the most solemn manner by Mr. Secretary Seward, the Government of the United States was secretly preparing a great naval and military expedition, which had for its object the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, and which actually sailed while the Commissioners were kept at Washington waiting for a peaceful settlement. The knowledge of that expedition reached the Confederate States only two or

three days before its actual arrival off Charleston. Then the people of that place rose to a man, and it was not surprising. They saw their appeals for justice, their remonstrances against oppressive taxation, that, in fact, the prayer of 5,500,000 persons—for that was the population of the seven States which had then withdrawn—were to be answered only by the cannon's month. The people of Charleston were then obliged in self-defence to lay hold of Fort Sumter. Soon after that, President Lincoln issued his first proclamation for 75,000 men to subdue what he termed the rebellion of the South. Then it was that North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia followed the example of the seven first seceding States in rapid succession. As to the causes of the civil war, the suppression of slavery had very little to do with it. If it had, possibly the people of the North would have received more sympathy from the people of this country. During the last Presidential election, the word slavery was used as a mere political cry for party purposes. In his inaugural address, President Lincoln declared:—“I have no intention to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the question of slavery where it exists. I do not think I have the right to do so legally, and I am by no means inclined to do it.” Such was the policy of Mr. Lincoln and the majority of his Cabinet, and they had acted upon it. When General Fremont proclaimed the freedom of the slaves in Missouri, he was immediately recalled from his command. When General Hunter took a similar course in the districts under his control, his conduct was at once disavowed by the Government at Washington. Again, when Mr. Cameron, as Secretary at War, in his report to the President, stated that one object of the war was the suppression of slavery in the South, Mr. Lincoln ordered that clause to be struck out, and the report appeared without it. The Government of Washington would not even admit that the suppression of slavery in the South was one of the objects of this unfortunate war. The opinion of the *New York Herald* might not be worthy of great consideration, but the proprietor of that journal printed it to sell, and must therefore write so as to suit the taste of his readers. When he was himself at New York, some fifteen months ago, the average circulation of that newspaper was about 120,000 daily. Reviewing very recently the sermons preached on the day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer observed in the Northern States, the *New York Herald* said that negro slavery was part of the Constitution, and the attempt to abolish it by the Congress or the Executive would be a violation of the Federal compact, and would, moreover, be an imputation on the character of Washington and the other founders of the Republic, who agreed by a solemn league and covenant that the rights of the Southern slaveholders should be guaranteed for ever. The writer disowned entirely that slavery had anything to do with this war, and combated the argument that slavery was a sin. In the North there was not, perhaps, one person out of ten who desired to see it abolished. They should view this question not merely as benevolent, but as practical men. The slaves in the South represented a property estimated at £500,000,000 sterling, and where was the compensation money to come from if they were to be emancipated all at once? Each of the thirty-four States sent two members to the Senate, the smallest State sending two as well as the largest. On the other hand, the number of members returned from each State to the Lower House was entirely regulated by population. The ratio of population had been changed. In 1790, shortly after the Constitution was framed, there was one representative to every 33,000 persons; while in 1850 there was one to every 33,420. For many years past the tide of emigration had set to the Northern and Western States. Thus, in consequence of numbers being the measure of representation in the Lower House, year by year the wealth, the intelligence, and the commerce of the Southern States had been slowly losing their influence in that assembly. The people of the South thus felt that they were saddled with taxation, in the levying of which practically they had no voice. The interests of the North and of the South were diametrically opposite. The South was purely an agricultural country, and its interest was perfect free trade. The supposed interests of the North were in the direction of protection. As the population of the North increased those States began to obtain an ascendancy in Congress, and then for the first time, in 1824, a protective tariff was introduced. In 1828 that tariff was rendered more stringent. As far back as 1833 South Carolina protested against the tariff, and gave notice of her intention to withdraw from the Union. She was induced to remain upon a promise that the tariff should be relaxed; but that promise was not kept, and in 1846 it was made still heavier. In addition to that the Morrill tariff had since increased the duties upon imports to an enormous extent. The exports from the United States, in 1860, amounted to \$350,000,000, of which no less than \$250,000,000 represented the produce of the South. If it were true that exports must be paid for by imports, the South must either directly or indirectly be bearing an undue proportion of the taxation levied by the Federal Government. But the people of the South also complained that the increasing taxation was not levied for the purposes laid down in the constitution, but for the purpose of encouraging the ironmasters of Pennsylvania and the manufacturers of New England. The evil consequence of that taxation was felt by them in two ways, because, while they were called upon to bear an undue proportion of taxation, they were also obliged to pay an increased price for articles which they required from the North and which they could obtain cheaper and better from Europe. The real causes of the present disruption were taxation without representation, and taxation levied not for the purposes of all the States, but for the benefit of particular States. A very large proportion of the cotton grown in the Southern States found its way to this country, and the stoppage of the supply had created intense suffering here. By the last accounts it appeared that the poor-rate at Preston was 18s. in the pound. At Blackburn there were about 15,000 persons receiving relief, at Preston close upon 12,000 and about 17,000 claimants upon the Relief Fund. The English people were patient and bore their trials quietly, but their patience and endurance must not be tried too far. (Hear, hear.) He believed that the distress was greater than appeared from the accounts in the newspapers; but the people knew what was the cause of their sufferings; they believed that the fighting in America could only result in the permanent separation of the North and South, and they looked to that House to express an opinion and to try whether by mediation or some representation to the contending Powers they might not be induced to reflect, if not upon the injury they were doing to themselves, at least upon the serious injury they were inflicting upon the people of this country. What was to be the end of the war? No one could seriously believe that the South would ever be brought back into the Union. In March last the Confederate Congress solemnly declared the unalterable determination of the people of the Confederate States to suffer all the calamities of a protracted war, but under no circumstances would they again enter into union with those who had invaded their soil and butchered their people. Even if the North could overcome the armies of the South there would

be an amount of passive resistance, such as was the case in New Orleans, which it would be impossible to overcome. Such was the unanimous feeling throughout the Confederate States. It was said at one time, “Only let the Union flag be hoisted in any part of the South, and you will see the people rally round it.” But the Union flag had been hoisted at New Orleans and at Beaufort, where an attempt was made to open up a trade, and the people would have nothing to do with it. (Hear, hear.) Re-union was hopeless; and if we had arrived at that conclusion, then it behoved England, in concert, he hoped, with the great Powers of Europe, to offer mediation. He held but one opinion as to this war from the beginning, in proof of which he would read a letter which he wrote when the war broke out, and which had been extensively circulated in the Northern States. The hon. gentleman then read the letter, and proceeded thus:—Independent of his wish to see an end put to the war and the distress in this country brought to a close, he desired to see the South separated from the North in the interest of this country. They all knew that the South would enter into free trade relations with us, and, politically, we had been put to constant trouble, and subjected to constant threats from the United States. (Hear.) Was it really the case that the offer of mediation would be scouted by the North? Men of position, property, and intelligence dared not express an opinion there, because mob law reigned supreme. In proof of how earnestly the mediation of England was desired by the better class of American citizens, he would read part of a letter which he had received from New York only to-day, and which was dated July 4. The writer said:—“Will England hesitate any longer to offer mediation? Why, if she had in the first month of the war forcibly interfered, no greater ill-feeling could have been shown towards her, than has been shown under her magnanimous forbearance. Nor need a war be feared if you recognize the South. . . . Gold is at 10 per cent. premium, silver disappearing, ‘ship plasters,’ or tradersmen's debt tickets, becoming a currency, millions of irredeemable paper constantly issuing by Government, and millions more to come if war continues. . . . What is all this against the stupendous power of England? No, indeed, there can be no war short of England declaring it. . . . Is she afraid for her Northern supplies of bread stuffs? Let her consider that her demand for them is the lifeblood of our agricultural States. They must sell to her. The probable loss of her custom alone would secure her from any danger on our part. We await her action in sad dismay.” (Hear, hear.) Such were the sentiments of the people, and he believed the Government of Washington, seeing the hopeless fix they had got into, would be glad to have some excuse for discontinuing the war. He had received another letter from Brunswick, in the State of Maine, dated also the 4th of this month, in which the writer, a man of strong Union feeling, said he saw now the war was hopeless, and he trusted the Powers of Europe would offer mediation. (Hear, hear.) That gentleman wrote to him not knowing that he had any intention of bringing the subject before the House. Would foreign Powers go with us in this matter? He thought there could be no doubt of it. The Emperor of the French, whose people were suffering from the stoppage of their cotton supplies, was known to be favourable. All that he asked was that the Government, in concert with foreign Powers, should offer mediation. The South, he believed, would be willing to accept it—of course, on the basis of separation; and even the North, he thought, would not be unwilling. Seeing how our own people were suffering from this fratricidal war, he trusted that Her Majesty's Government, either alone or in concert with other great Powers, would use their best efforts to put an end to the terrible struggle which was now raging in America. (Hear, hear.) It appeared strange and unaccountable that Her Majesty's Government had taken no steps in that direction. It was clear that the South could not be conquered, and it was still more clear that it could never be brought back again into the Union. He therefore submitted that the time had arrived when the Southern States ought to be received into the family of nations, and he begged to move “That, in the opinion of this House, the States which have seceded from the Union of the Republic of the United States have so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and have given such proof of their determination and ability to support their independence, that the propriety of offering mediation, with the view of terminating hostilities between the contending parties, is worthy of the serious and immediate attention of Government.” (Hear, hear.)

Mr. TAYLOR said he was not permitted by the rules of the House to move another amendment upon the question that the Speaker leave the chair, but he hoped the House would allow him to give the reasons why, in his opinion, the amendment of the hon. gentleman should be negatived. The amendment had been before the House for some time, and there seemed some probability that the Session would close without its being formally moved. And now that it had been moved he ventured to say that it was not at an auspicious moment. (Cheers.) There was a saying, not very reverential, that Providence fought on the side of the strongest battalions, and 20,000,000 of the North were not likely to be put down by 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of the South, encumbered by 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 slaves. (Hear, hear.) They had recently been discussing economical doctrines, and the hon. member for Sunderland was one of their staunch supporters. But if the hon. member had voted for every vote for army, navy, and fortifications for Spithead, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, and then, like Oliver Twist, had asked for more, he would have done a far more economical thing than ventilating the subject which he had brought before the House to-night. (Hear.) He regretted that the hon. gentleman had not accepted the advice to withdraw a motion which was without any possible advantage, and without any possible object except adding to the irritation and bitterness felt with regard to our position upon this question. The hon. gentleman said that, from reading the papers, he was inclined to think those feelings could not be worse. But he differed from him; and although he admitted that exaggerated and mistaken opinions prevailed in the North, there was a great deal of ground for their bitterness and irritation. (Loud and repeated cries of “No.”) America had a right to expect that, with our anti-slavery opinions, we should have looked with calmer eyes upon the struggle between the North and South. A certain portion and a not unimportant portion, of the English press had done anything but fairly with the Northern States. No sooner had the South proclaimed secession than these papers denounced the North for entering into war. (Loud cheers.) All the indignation and hostility with regard to America when the Government at Washington was influenced by Southern counsels were transferred to the Northern Government, when the Southern power no longer predominated. He hardly knew whether upon the merits or demerits of the Northern Government this portion of the press was the most bitter. The censure was diverse and inconsistent. First, it was said to be ridiculous for a

republic to attempt to go to war, and that it could not have that individuality of power necessary to enable it to strike a blow with effect; but when the Northern States showed that they would put down faction, and even give up individual liberty and the liberty of the press (hear), they were called tyrannical and dictatorial. One day they were told that they could not carry on the war because they could not raise the money, and the next they were told they were extravagant and thriftless in their expenditure. (Hear, hear.) They were denounced because they did not pass tax bills to raise revenue, and when the tax bills were passed and the tariff increased, they were blamed for their bad policy. (Hear, hear.) They were denounced as hypocritical for professing to fight for the slaves, and yet, as soon as they had shown distinctly the direction of their wishes, by prohibiting slavery in the central State of Columbia, they were told that they were not dealing justly with the State rights of the South. The amendment they were now discussing had been once or twice changed, and each time it was more diluted than before; and no doubt the hon. gentleman meant, by mediation, recognition of the South (hear, hear), and intervention in the North. ("No! no!") Intervention was only a longer word for war. Never was so tremendous an issue so easily, so lightly, and with so slight a recognition of its importance, raised, as had been this issue by the hon. member. (Hear.) War without bloodshed and suffering was impossible; but why must we run into it? Did experience teach us no lessons? There was the war with Russia, and who would say that game was worth its cost? (Hear, hear.) There was the intervention in Mexico, the only good step in which was when we stepped out of it. (Hear, hear.) There was immediate danger of war with China, yet all these wars would be petty and insignificant if compared with a war between us and the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) No war in the century would be a parallel for such a terrible conflict. It would be a fratricidal war, almost as truly as that which was being fought between the South and North—a war which would strike terror into all the friends of progress and liberty, and be rejoiced at by all who were their foes. (Cheers.) At the beginning of the last century there was an intervention in the interest of order. It would be like it, only it would be in the interest of rebellion. It was said, then, that they were to surround the scorpion of revolution with a circle of fire, that it might sting itself to death. The metaphor was bad. It was like battering down a volcano, which burst forth with more resistless power, and overran the greater part of Europe. We were compelled to fight almost for existence. It saddled us with the interest of hundreds of millions of debt, and it left a legacy of antagonism and hatred which seventy years had not been sufficient to expiate. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the working-classes of this country entertained the opinions which the hon. gentleman imputed to them. At a meeting at Blackburn a resolution in the opposite sense was carried by the working men almost unanimously. (Hear, hear.) He thought the attitude of the working classes in Lancashire one of the finest character ever exhibited in the history of this country. (Hear.) Suffering from something beyond their own action and control, and seeing their little savings gradually decreasing, with no hope for the future except that which was created by the confidence that their countrymen would accept between them and want, they still declined to stand interference in the American quarrel. It was a magnificent spectacle of patience and intelligence, when these people were seen ready to bear their sufferings, because they felt, even if a supply of cotton should be the result of intervention, that that intervention would involve a sin and produce a stain on the anti-slavery flag of England. (Cries of "No.") There might occasionally be advantages in intervention, when, for instance, by some unfortunate misunderstanding, two nations had got into a quarrel. Then there might occur an opportunity for some judicious friend from without to put a constraint and force on them to compel them to do that which was for their own good. But the present strife in America was no such unexpected event, and it was one of the greatest reflections on all who had a deep interest in cotton—both on the men of Manchester and on the Government—that knowing that for such an essential article the English manufacturers were dependent on only one country, and that a country where slave labour prevailed, they did not long before take steps to enlarge the area of supply. For the present conflict in America the South had been preparing for many years past, and the thinkers of the North had been expecting it. This was no casual strife. It was the Nemesis of that system of slavery which condemned to chattelism 4,000,000 of human beings, and which, taken in connection with the civilization prevailing beyond its pale, might be described as the wickedest and most infernal system the world had ever seen. (Hear, hear.) This war might have occurred later, or it might have come on ten years sooner, but it was in itself inevitable. The history of the United States for many years past had exhibited one long attempt to postpone and put off this inevitable struggle. It was said that the Northern Americans cared nothing about slavery, and that the present war did not originate out of any feeling on that subject. That was true (hear), but the issue depending on it was not the less slavery or no slavery. (Hear, hear.) The whole legislation of the United States for many years past showed attempts to postpone this strife by concessions. At first the freedom of the citizens of the North was degraded by giving to the Southern States their three-fifth black vote, and at last was passed that most infamous measure—the Fugitive Slave Bill. Let not Englishmen suppose that that was only a small sacrifice for the Northerners to make; let them only think what the citizens of the Old Bay State must feel when they saw its boundaries invaded by hellhounds from the South. There was a point, however, beyond which the Northerners would not go in the way of concession. They would not allow the action of slavery to be extended over all the States of America and into the new territories. The South demanded this, and the answer was the election of old Abraham Lincoln, rugged, simple, and indomitable, whose name would live after that of many a smooth and polished statesman was forgotten. That was the answer of the North, and the sword was drawn. Under these circumstances, he thought that intervention would be simply useless. If, by their own power, or by assistance from this country, the Southerners should be made independent, there would then be merely an armed truce, and each side would wait for a favourable moment for renewing the war. The question was one in which this country had no right to interfere, and it appeared to be an inconsistency that a nation, which had spent millions to emancipate her own slaves, should be discussing in Parliament whether an endeavour should not be made to establish the independence of a set of States based solely on the principles of human servitude. Mr. J. S. Mill had said,—"After our people by their cold disapprobation, and our press by its invective, had combined with their own difficulties to damp the spirit of the Free States, and drive them to submit and make peace, we should have to fight the Slave States ourselves at far greater disadvan-

tages, when we should no longer have the wearied and exhausted North for an ally. The time might come when the barbarous and barbarizing Power, which we by our moral support had helped into existence, would require a general crusade of civilized Europe, to extinguish the mischief which it had allowed, and we had aided, to rise up in the midst of our civilization." In conclusion, he expressed a hope that the motion of the hon. member for Sunderland, which, if successful, would do no credit to England, and could not but be considered an insult by America, would be met by an indignant and almost unanimous rejection. (Hear.)

LORD A. VANE TEMPEST thought that the tone taken by the hon. gentleman who had just sat down was hardly justified by the speech of the hon. member for Sunderland. (Hear, hear.) He should not have ventured to put a motion on the paper himself had he not believed that the motions of which notice had been given by the hon. members for Sunderland and Clitheroe had been withdrawn, and that the House was about to separate without expressing an opinion on this momentous subject, which was the chief subject of conversation in every circle out of doors, from the highest to the lowest. It was not for the dignity of the House, whose highest boast was to be the reflex of public opinion, that it should remain silent as to the course which the Government ought to take. Out of doors the question was discussed with varying sympathies for one side or the other, but there was almost an unanimous agreement that the time had come when this awful struggle, if possible, should be put an end to. The hon. member for Leicester had attempted to represent this question as one of continued slavery or abolition. He claimed to have as deep a feeling against slavery as the hon. member, but it was his firm conviction that the course advocated by the hon. member for Sunderland would go farther towards the abolition of slavery than any other measure. (Hear, hear.) In his speech at Manchester, the Chancellor of the Exchequer truly stated that the Northern Government had offered to the Southern Confederation every possible security which they could ask—they offered the Fugitive Slave Law and every other concession which could be required; but the Southern Government returned for their answer, "If you sent us a blank piece of paper and told us to fill it up with our own conditions, we would decline to go back into your Union." The meeting, too, which had recently taken place at New York, ought to teach the hon. member a lesson. It was attended by the leaders of the great Democratic party, who were carrying on the war, and without whom it could not be carried on, and one of the resolutions they passed was, that the two great causes militating against the Union were Secession and Abolitionism. The party pledged itself equally against secession and abolition. He could hardly have thought that any hon. member would have thrown such a colouring over the question as that which had been given to it by the hon. member for Leicester; but, unless it was stripped of all that prejudice which was created by representing the cause of the North as the cause of the negro, it was impossible to discuss the question with any advantage. (Hear, hear.) He was firmly convinced that the maintenance of the Union would go further to perpetuate slavery than anything else. The establishment of a Southern Confederacy would, to a certainty, be followed by an amelioration of the condition of the slave, and, eventually, by a general manumission. It was the efforts of the small Abolition party in the North, whose advocate the hon. member was on this occasion, which had delayed those ameliorations. (Hear, hear.) The cause of the negro would be more advanced by the success of the South than by any other event. The question now before the House might be divided into two parts—whether interference should take place; and if so, what that interference should be. He might be inclined to agree in the views expressed in the amendment of the hon. member for Bradford in favour of the continuance of non-intervention, if it were not for our peculiar position towards America. We were not in the position of being totally indifferent in the matter—we had a *locus standi* in the shape of 5,000,000 of people. (Hear, hear.) He concurred fully in all that had been said of the magnificent courage which had been displayed by our distressed population. (Hear, hear.) Thousands and thousands had been thrown out of employment, and their little hordes, the fruits of their hard labour and economy, were dribbling fast away day by day; but would they continue to bear their privations with the same firmness—nay, more, ought the House to entail them upon them if they could possibly be avoided? (Hear.) This was a question of principle as well as of interest, and he would ask did not this country inherit responsibility as well as greatness? Had we not a duty to perform to Europe, and ought we not to come forward and state what our views were on this subject, even if we went no further? Two or three weeks ago he read in the New York journals that there would have been reason for our interference some time ago. We might have urged that it was necessary in the interests of our own population, but now no such interference would be justifiable, because the Federal Government had all the cotton ports in their possession. This was not true, for Savannah, Mobile, and Charleston still resisted the Federal arms; but even if the North held the cotton ports, our interference ought to be grounded, not upon cotton, but upon conscience and Christianity. Two reasons might be urged against our interference—one being the chance that the North would be successful, and the other the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the North. But what were the chances that the North would restore the Union? Could any one doubt that the restoration of the Union was an utter fallacy? (Hear, hear.) Look at the position of affairs. For sixteen months the South had successfully kept at bay the North, though the latter were backed by all the resources of Europe. The Southern capital was intact, and he had received a letter partially corroborating the news announced to-night, and stating that the Northern troops had been worsted near Richmond, and were retreating. It had been proved that the Federal forces, when they were once taken from the seaboard and from the support of their gunboats in the river, could make no way at all. (Hear, hear.) The war surprised the South without a navy or an army. Theirs was an agricultural population; they had no manufactures of their own, and they had had to improvise everything. Yet now, after an interval of sixteen months, they gallantly held their own. The fact was that you could not beat such a people—for this reason, that they were fighting for freedom. It was the old tale—

"For Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

But, allowing that the South was overcome, how were the North to hold it when, by the confession of one of their own statesmen, it would take 200,000 men to hold Kentucky and it now took 70,000 to hold Maryland? (Hear, hear.) Was it wished to realize the success of the Tyrant of Old—

"To make a solitude and call it peace!"

and by a war of extermination—for success could be attained by no other result—to hold the Southern States? Why were we to exercise this unnatural magnanimity in keeping the lists open for a contest in which all our sympathies should be with the South? (Hear, hear.) If this were the case of a king trying to subdue his rebellious subjects, how the hon. member for Bradford and his party would exclaim! "The freedom of the people is at stake," they would say. Well, but he had this pull over the hon. member. When a sovereign had subdued his rebellious subjects, he resumed the government as before. But how could the Federalists henceforth govern the South? Not upon the principle which they professed—the will of the people. (Hear, hear.) Twenty millions of people were trying to impose their rule upon 8,000,000, who, whether rightly or wrongly, detested it, and they were trying to do this by means of an army of which three-fifths were mercenaries. (Hear, hear.) There was another point noticed in the newspapers, and corroborated by his private letters. Were we to hold aloof while the Northern Government enlisted 40,000 blacks in order to assist in imposing their rule upon 8,000,000 whites? (Hear, hear.) As to the chances of our remaining upon friendly terms with the Northern Government, they were very slight. On almost every occasion that Government had opposed, thwarted, and insulted us. (Hear, hear.) Instances of this abundance. Upon no occasion had they shown the slightest consideration towards us, and it was truly remarked by a writer upon this point that the course taken by the American Government during the war with Russia was dictated not by sympathy with Russia, but by hatred of England. (Hear, hear.) What could be done in the face of the extreme wilfulness and hostility of this very wayward child? All our forbearance had not produced on her part an atom of good-will or one bit of respect. When the noble lord at the head of the Government declared that General Butler's proclamation was an infamous one—an opinion which would be endorsed by every member in that House—the American newspapers said that the Mississippi was not the Thames, that New Orleans was not London, and that when they got the opportunity they would whip the old country until she knew how to behave herself. (Laughter.) We might well laugh at all this, but what were the practical proofs given of the hostility of the North towards us? Why, the prohibitive tariff lately adopted. In several towns in the Northern States placards were posted outside the shops setting forth that no English goods were sold there; and was that, he would ask, a country in favour of which any extraordinary sympathy ought to be shown by the English people? On the other hand, the inhabitants of the Southern States were by interest and necessity freetraders, who, if they were let alone, would be glad to exchange for our manufactured goods their raw material. He had been asked by a member of the Confederate Government, "How is it that you in England do not assist us? We are not a manufacturing people, and never mean to be a shipholding nation. We should therefore look to England to be our workshop and our corner." Contrast this policy with that of the Northern Government. He would, however, discard the notion of self-interest from the consideration of the question as sordid, and would ask whether it required any great stretch of imagination on the part of the hon. member for Bradford and those who supported his views in reference to the struggle going on in America to realize the feelings of those men in the South who saw their friends and relatives hung, or run the risk of being so, because they happened not to show respect to a flag which they abhorred, and the women around them outraged because they did not treat with what was deemed the requisite civility a soldiery they detested. (Hear.) The cause of the South, he might add, was that of 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 of people struggling manfully for their independence, and maintaining bravely their position for a period of sixteen months. Was it surprising that under those circumstances they should think they had a claim to the sympathy and good offices of the nations of Europe? (Hear, hear.) Why not, he would ask, adopt in their case the principle on which we had hitherto so constantly acted—that of acknowledging Governments *de facto*, and not interfering with the will of a people, as was done in the case of the Provisional Government in Greece, in the case of Belgium and Italy? The principle was one, he might further say, which was not new to America herself, for in 1848 Mr. Buchanan, in writing to the American envoy in Paris, stated that, "in its acknowledgment of foreign nations, the Government of the United States has, from its origin, always recognized *de facto* Governments, and the right of all nations to create or reform their political institutions according to their own will and pleasure." (Hear.) "It is sufficient for us to know," he added, "that a Government exists capable of maintaining itself; then our recognition immediately follows." (Hear, hear.) That was the enunciation of a policy which he thought might justify our recognition of the Southern States. (Hear, hear.) Now, he held in his hand a letter in which the writer said, "If you wish to pay off all your small debts to the North let them alone, and, like the two Kilkenny cats, they will do the work for themselves." He would not detain the House by reading the rest of the letter. He must, however, observe, before he sat down, with respect to the question of mediation, that he did not think *pur et simple* mediation would be found to be worth much unless it was to be followed in the event of rejection by ulterior measures; while, with reference to the recognition of the Southern States, which might be regarded as an act of civility on the part of one country towards another, he did not think that it ought of necessity to be regarded as a *casus belli* by the North. It might, on the other hand, possibly entail on us complications which, on account of a merely complimentary proceeding, it might not be worth while to encounter. The question still remained what course we ought to take. The time was, he thought, arrived when this country ought, either by itself or in conjunction with the other Powers of Europe, to interfere with the view of putting a stop in some way to a most deplorable struggle. There were many in the North who, he had no doubt, would welcome such interference, properly conducted. The time had come when a resolution should be adopted by that House pledging itself to assist Her Majesty, either alone or in conjunction with other European Powers, in endeavouring to put a stop to the frightful and purposeless war in America. Such a policy, if carried out with honesty, firmly, and with singleness of purpose, might obtain a benediction from above, and we might hope for it that blessing promised to the peacemakers upon earth. (Hear, hear.)

MR. W. E. FORSTER said the noble lord had asked him a variety of questions as to what the Northern Government would, could, might, or should do in certain contingencies. He begged to assure the noble lord and the House that he did not stand there as the advocate or mouthpiece of the Northern Government. He looked at the question purely from an English point of view. No man more deeply deplored than himself the evils caused by the war, both here and in America, and no prepossession in favour of either party would prevent him from supporting any feasible mode of putting an end to them. He believed, however, that the motion of the hon.

Continued on page 219.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1862.

A Word with our Readers.

WITH this number THE INDEX commences the second quarter of its youthful career. Thanks to the leniency with which an indulgent public has judged of its numerous shortcomings, and the earnest and cordial support which has rallied around it, THE INDEX—three months ago considered a rash experiment—has become an established member of the London Press. In almost every part of the civilized world, wherever the struggling nation across the Atlantic has friends, THE INDEX has found readers; and it is for the purpose of expressing our grateful sense of the many obligations under which we have been thus laid, as well as to tender an apology which we feel due, that we now transgress journalistic etiquette so far as to speak of ourselves.

The past three months form the most important period of the second American War of Independence—the period from the fall of New Orleans to the full comprehension in Europe of the extent of General McClellan's disasters before Richmond—a period beginning with the greatest reverse sustained by the Confederate arms, and ending with the greatest triumph they have yet achieved. During a period so crowded with great events and so pregnant with great results, our duty, as the index of Southern views, Southern hopes, and Southern policy, was plainly marked out. We could turn neither to the right nor to the left, however tempting might be the side-paths along our way, and we must of needs be what can justly be charged upon us as our greatest fault—a paper of one idea. The claims of the Confederate States, amid evil as amid good fortune, to recognition as a member of the family of nations, the effect of such a recognition upon the progress and the duration of the war—this was the twofold theme upon which our eye must be unswervingly fixed, upon which our efforts undivided must be expended, and to which, had we had twice our space at command, we should have felt bound to devote it all. Whatever had no direct bearing upon this all-absorbing theme had to be rejected from our columns; and until this object is attained, the same course will in a great measure continue, not a matter of choice, but rather of necessity.

With the recognition of the Confederate States, and the lasting peace which we honestly believe to be the speedy and certain consequence of that recognition, a new and broader field of usefulness will open to us. We shall then address, besides our own public in Europe, a much larger Transatlantic audience, and an audience composed of those classes upon whom devolves the duty of shaping the peaceful destinies of the Southern people as a nation. As we have endeavoured, and shall continue to endeavour, to be the faithful index of Southern views and opinions to Europe, so we shall endeavour to be the truthful index to the South of European opinions and views. It will then become not only a pleasure but a duty to adorn and enrich our columns with the flowers and fruits of the ever-blossoming, ever-ripening intellectual activity of the Old World. The task of making Europe known to the South is not so urgent nor so difficult as that of making the South known to Europe; but it nevertheless affords

scope for much painstaking and well-bestowed labour, and is worthy of an honest effort. The mutual interests of Great Britain and of the South extend to almost every subject of national policy in peace and in war. Indeed, from our point of view, we find it impossible to discover a single subject on which the interest of one nation, if rightly understood, clashes, or can ever clash, with that of the other. It cannot, therefore, be difficult to combine, as we have heretofore done, Southern with English pens in the exposition of the interests of both. But in whatever emergency the future brings forth, THE INDEX will never be found hostile or untrue to the country on whose soil it is established, and whose nationality it is proud to claim.

The Position of the Belligerents.

THE seven days' fight occupies a foremost place in the list of the world's great battles, on account of the numbers engaged, the tremendous slaughter, the complete defeat of the Northern army, and the quantity of artillery and stores captured; but it is yet more memorable with respect to its results. General McClellan's discomfiture has caused the withdrawal of General Burnside's forces from North Carolina, and General Hunter's forces from Georgia; so that the costly Federal operations on the Atlantic seaboard are fruitless, by reason of the Confederate triumph in Virginia. With a single blow, the South has shattered the main army of the North, and loosed the hold of the invader upon other States. To comprehend the completeness of the collapse consequent upon the "strategic movement" of the Northern commander, we must consider the present Federal situation in Virginia. Although other States have been abandoned to reinforce him, General McClellan can do nothing but prepare for defence against another attack. He reports that the Confederates are falling back, yet he does not advance. With the enemy in his front and rear, he is literally besieged. His panting army is being decimated with sickness. He asks for more men, but the Government cannot comply with his urgent demands. The people in the North have no disposition, even if they had the means, to replace the immense army, 220,000 strong, equipped and furnished in the most efficient manner, which he boastfully led forth from Washington, and which, under his command, and by means of his strategy, is demoralized and prostrated, and by defeat, death, sickness, and other casualties reduced to 70,000 men. Nor are the Federal prospects in the rest of Virginia any brighter. As yet General Pope has done nothing but compose an infamously mendacious proclamation about the doings of the army in the West. The reported re-appearance of General "Stonewall" Jackson, in the Shenandoah Valley, and his probable advance on Harper's Ferry, may be true, or else originate in the fear of the panic-stricken and bewildered Federals; but the removal of stores from Winchester, and the proposal to abandon that place, manifest the conscious weakness of the invaders in that quarter of the State in which, to maintain a footing, the North is using its utmost energy and resources. Such is the aspect in the East; let us glance at the situation in the West.

The uprising in Kentucky is co-extensive with the State. At the commencement of the war the North admitted that an army of 100,000 men was necessary to preserve Kentucky to the Union; but after such evidence of the resolution of the Kentuckians to throw off the Federal yoke, even that force would be altogether inadequate to subjugate this highly-important and powerful State. The demonstrations may be fairly considered as the accomplishment of the secession of Kentucky, and its virtual adhesion to the Confederacy, to which it is naturally linked by geographical position and interest. The Confederate plan in Kentucky has been well devised and carefully matured, as well as vigorously executed. The Confederates are in considerable force in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, the State capital, and threaten an attack on Lexington; but the most important

operations are on the banks of the Ohio. Henderson has been captured, and preparations were being made for attacking Louisville and Covington. These three places are distant from each other, but they have this connection, that they are the termini of the railroads that, *via* Kentucky, connect Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, with Nashville, in Tennessee. Cynthiana, which the Confederates have captured, is on the railroad between Covington and Lexington. The strategic importance of these movements is that the army under General Halleck is by them cut off from its main communication with the North. And not only from Kentucky, but in every direction, the Southern forces are closing in upon Halleck. The Confederates have just shown their power in Missouri, by the capture of two towns; and General Curtis has been driven out of Arkansas. Thus General Halleck is surrounded by the enemy, and he is pressed on every side. Nashville, a city noted for its loyalty to the Confederacy, is anticipating immediate deliverance from the Federal yoke. General Beanregard is reported at the head of 60,000 men, and there are "mysterious Confederate movements" about Corinth. General Halleck got into Tennessee by the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, but at this season the waters have too far subsided to withdraw his army by the same route. Completely surrounded, his position must be untenable, and the only retreat he has is to fall back on the banks of the Mississippi, and seek the protection of the gunboats.

The capture of Baton Rouge is fully confirmed. Vicksburg still holds out, and a Confederate ram has, according to Northern accounts, inflicted considerable damage on the attacking fleet, and anchored under the Vicksburg batteries. We may be sure that "considerable damage" means, at least, a Federal reverse. Mobile, that was to have been taken two months ago, is no longer the object of attack. New Orleans, captured, by the way, on account of an unusual rise of the waters, which swept away the Confederate obstructions and filled the rifle pits, is, though under the despotic rule of the infamous Butler, still defiantly opposed to the invader. According to the Northern programme, by the 4th of this present July, Secession was to have been so far crushed out, that it was only to have maintained itself in isolated positions; whereas, this arrogant expectation has been singularly disappointed, and the Northern invasion has been so far crushed, that it only maintains itself in isolated positions.

The capture of Newburg, in Indiana—a place opposite to Henderson, in Kentucky—shows that the North is as vulnerable to the Confederates as the South is to the Federals. For a year and a half the Confederates have acted strictly on the defensive, but it seems that the time has now arrived when they are about to manifest their power by making inroads on Northern territory. Probably, after capturing Newburg the Confederates recrossed the Ohio, but the enterprise is a practical endorsement of the warning contained in the address of President Davis to the army, that if the Federals persisted in their unrighteous invasion the South would make reprisals. Having regard to this, the Governor of Ohio has called out the militia to defend the State against anticipated attacks. The necessity of the States looking to their individual protection will present another obstacle to recruiting the Federal army. Excepting the fanatical partisans of the North no one ever believed in the possibility of the North subjugating the South; but the most sanguine friend of the Confederate States must be surprised, as well as gratified, at the little result achieved by the Federals, despite their enormous levies, and their unprecedented lavish expenditure. And if the United States could effect so little with its resources unimpaired, what are its prospects of conquest, when in a moment of great emergency even heavy bounties cannot induce its citizens to enter the army, and when it is in the throes of a financial crisis, portending not only national bankruptcy, but the permanent commercial and industrial exhaustion of the country?

The Decisive Moment.

ALTHOUGH the news from America still breathes slaughter, desolation, and the continued growth of bitter enmity—although we hear of unrelenting determination to persevere in the deadly struggle—there is a very general impression that the termination of the war is not far distant. Europe has such a deep and absorbing interest in the cessation of hostilities that, to some extent, the wish is father to the thought; for no one can survey the state of affairs carefully and dispassionately without arriving at the conclusion that there is no prospect of the advent of peace unless the European Powers take action. We know that the North is financially exhausted and ruined; but, ere this, nations suffering from a financial collapse have been able to carry on long and costly wars. The Northern people show an indisposition to recruit the army, but conscripts may replace volunteers. True, to all reasonable men, the hopelessness of the contest is manifest, but, unhappily, the voice of reason is drowned in the din of war. We grant that for the North to continue the war is sheer madness, for a few more campaigns such as the past would add to the ruin of trade and industry that national prostration and exhaustion from which it takes generations to recover. But, on the other hand, we must remember that, though the prolongation of the warfare is evidently fraught with such incalculable disasters, yet peace will not trammel up the consequences of the past, or afford an immediate relief from national insolvency and from the anarchy engendered by the substitution of military despotism for constitutional government. Still, we firmly believe that just now the people of the North are inclined to sheathe the sword; whilst we are not less convinced that this pacific disposition will not long prevail, and that it cannot lead to the devoutly-desired consummation unless the great Powers of Europe seize the favourable moment for making such a demonstration as may give encouragement and consistency to peaceful counsels. And such a demonstration would not only be politic and humane, but is a solemn and bounden duty.

Suppose this war, through the non-interference of Europe, goes on for two or more years, we submit the people of the North will be justified in reproaching us for our apathy, and for the violation of a duty imposed upon us by humanity, civilization, and Christianity, as well as by international custom, that is, the *lex non scripta* of nations. Why are we to expect the people of the United States to humble themselves unnecessarily, and in a manner and degree unprecedented? Let us recall the position of belligerents, or rather, regard it in its Northern aspect. We must forget the legal and constitutional justification of Secession. In word and deed the United States has declared the Confederate States to be an insurgent and rebellious Power, and that Secession is but another name for revolution. Whenever peace is made, the North will have to concede what it has been pleased to call its right. Now, how can we ask or expect such a concession to be voluntarily made? Why should we expect the United States to be the first to acknowledge the independence of, as they designate them, their revolted provinces? Did Europe refuse to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, because such recognition was withheld by Austria and the Papal Government? Was Great Britain the first to recognize the independence of her revolted colonies? Was not the independence of Belgium acknowledged by all Europe before it was admitted by Holland? Was not Spain the last to recognize the independence of the Netherlands? We need not multiply instances, but we may remark that history does not record a case of the independence of a new nation being first recognized by the nation from which it had first separated or revolted. We have heard much about giving the United States the opportunity of saying that the disruption of the Union was accomplished by foreign intervention. But we cannot understand the objection to giving the North a fair excuse for an inevitable act that, at best, cannot fail to wound the national pride. Why should the United States despair of the restoration

of the Union so long as foreign Powers, by refusing to recognize the Confederate States, declare that they do not think the task is hopeless. The recognition of the South by Europe must precede its recognition by the North, and unless Europe acts at once the war will probably be continued for at least two years, except the South is conquered, or the North displays more wisdom than has ever been evinced by other nations.

The people of the United States will within the next few months be called upon to decide for peace or war. The present Congress expires on March 3, 1863, and the whole of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate will have to be chosen, but the complexion of the new Congress will be determined before the new year. During the present fall the constituencies will, through the ballot-box, prescribe the official conduct of their representatives in Congress. From August till the end of the year there are state elections in nearly every State of the Federal Union, and the State Legislatures will have to elect one-third of the Upper House of the next Congress. Nine Governors of States will have to be chosen this year, including the Governors of New York, New Jersey, and Vermont; and the election of state officers is always an expression of public opinion, and exercises an indirect, yet powerful influence over the government of the country; but the state elections from August to the end of the present year will decide the policy of the United States' Congress for two years. If the House of Representatives and the re-elected or new members of the Senate are chosen to carry out a war policy the war will be continued; or if a Congress is chosen pledged to a pacific policy peace will ensue. Under such circumstances, there can be no doubt that the decisive moment for recognition, or for an unmistakable intimation, has arrived. If Europe does not now manifest a determination to acknowledge Southern independence, we cannot hope that the next Congress will be pacifically inclined, since its character depends upon the opinions of the electors, and, as we have shown, and we think conclusively, the people of the United States cannot and will not be the first to recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

The great Powers of Europe are, of course, bound to consider, as far as possible, the ultra-sensitiveness of the people of the North, and therefore the utmost diplomatic skill ought to be used to prevent offence. A most respectful representation might be made to the Washington Government as to the reasons that make recognition a duty, and the subsequent or accompanying offer of mediation an act of courtesy as well as humanity; whilst, simultaneously, it might be privately but definitively stated that the rejection of good offices would not postpone recognition. There might be a great show of indignation, but we believe that the North would be secretly and heartily glad, in its present mood, of such a fair chance of being morally forced to abandon a futile and disastrous war. At all events, even if it caused a momentary irritation between the United States and England and France, it would prevent the next Congress being pledged to the continuance of the war at all hazards. The people of the North would perceive the impossibility of conquering the South, when that impossibility had been endorsed by the recognition of Europe, and their representatives would be instructed not to persevere in a hopeless and ruinous enterprise.

Financial Prospects.

THE present very low rates for money gives rise to the question, how long will they continue at a minimum point? The accepted reason for such small interest is the general contraction of trade caused by the temporary dethronement of the leading article of commerce—American cotton. With a restoration of peace in America, there must necessarily be an advance in the discount market, as the mercantile affairs of the world would then assume their usual magnitude.

All past experience teaches that when a new trade is opened to the enterprise of the business commu-

nity, money becomes scarce in consequence of the additional quantity of bills created to carry on the fresh transactions. Will not this be so when the ports of the Confederate States shall be rid of the blockading squadron? Should hostilities cease in America the Southerners will require, between this and next June, at least \$100,000,000 worth of European manufactures, notwithstanding the habits of economy acquired by them during a struggle of eighteen months in defence of their firesides; a large portion of this amount will consist of the cargoes of sailing vessels, and hence it will be a long while before the value of the same can be returned to this side of the Atlantic. While these shipments are bound to the westward, a stream of Southern products will be started to the eastward; and as all raw materials are sold for cash, British sovereigns will find their way to the Confederate States to pay for the purchases. At a fair valuation, and after making every allowance for the destruction of the crops, the South will have to spare within the period named, about \$350,000,000 worth of produce; the balance of trade the first year will, therefore, be very much in her favour, and must tell greatly upon Lombard Street. Of course, such a state of affairs will induce extensive enterprises to be inaugurated in the Confederacy, and the specie will in time flow back to the financial centres, after having been subjected to double freights, double insurances, and loss of interest, to say nothing of the temporary panic that may arise during the period of transition. In the history of commerce there is no parallel case to this, and probably, by a little financial skill, some arrangement may be effected by which the disorder can be avoided.

The legislation of the Southern States dictates "free trade" with all the world except the Northern States, and their commerce must therefore be Transatlantic, and not inland. Indeed, the North is so short of goods, that they have none to spare. A field for mercantile energy presents itself now, in comparison with which the trade of California and Australia sinks into insignificance. The return of peace in America will give the manufacturers of Europe 12,000,000 customers, and at the same time supply the wants of Christendom with two years' products. It is idle, however, to suppose that prices for Southern staples can be very low for some months; they will come forward but gradually; for the first time since the origin of the American cotton trade the demand for manufactured goods will be ahead of the supply of the raw material, and until 2,000,000 of bales shall have reached Liverpool, normal prices cannot rule. It must be borne in mind that it takes sixty days for a bale of cotton to be landed at Liverpool, and reshipped in the manufactured state.

It has been said that the soil of England is money, and her crop interest; she is, then, a heavy loser by the low rates of discount, which are correctly attributed to the blockade of the Southern ports of America. The usual annual importations of cotton into this country are 80 per cent. of American, and 20 per cent. of other sorts; the exportation being principally of Surats, leaves 85 per cent. to be used in manufactures; and it is a fact that while the goods shipped to India are mostly made from the Southern staple, a large portion of the exports to America—hosiery—consists of Eastern cotton; a double trade is thereby created. There is no article of commerce that passes through so many hands as cotton; from the time a bale is opened, until it reaches the papermaker and then the printer, the first fabric made from it, having been long deserted by the wearer, the profits of labour, of merchandizing, interest, commission, insurance, freight, and other items, are estimated at five or six times the original value. England has, therefore, lost, directly and indirectly, by the troubles in America over £100,000,000 sterling; this stupendous amount is not yet felt, but will be soon seen in the balance sheets of her people.

While on the subject of monetary affairs between Europe and the Confederate States, we desire to make a few suggestions in reference to the mode of

calculating exchange, and in this connection we introduce a proposition in regard to coinage which we hope will receive the consideration of the Confederate Government. The people of the South, unlike their late allies of the North, having always been students of political economy, it is reasonable to suppose that when the fortunes of war permit them to open a direct trade with Europe, they will be ready to adopt measures that will simplify the financial and commercial arrangements between the two continents. The false manner in which exchange on London has been computed in the United States has given rise to the belief in the minds of the masses of the North that the balance of trade was ever against America, when the truth is that the quotations for sterling have been as frequently below 9 per cent.—the actual par—as above that premium. Why not, then, make the par of exchange four dollars, eighty-four cents, and forty-four mills to the pound, instead of the old colonial, but now fictitious, valuation of four dollars, forty-four cents, and forty-four mills? For many years the real value of the sovereign in America was four dollars and eighty cents; but in 1834, when the politicians debased the standard for gold, in order, as they thought, “to keep it from leaving the country,” that coin became worth the amount first stated. Prior to the establishment of the United States’ mint, there was great irregularity in the description of money in America; most of the transactions were conducted in pounds, shillings, and pence, the value of which varied in the different States; thus, “Pennsylvanian currency” meant one thing, and “New Jersey currency” meant another. Finally, the Spanish silver dollar was adopted, there being very little gold in circulation, and upon it the decimal system was introduced and carried out with the higher coins. The “eagle” was made equivalent to ten dollars; the “half-eagle,” five dollars, etc., etc. The Confederate Government having ignored the “Stars and Stripes,” will no doubt do likewise with the “eagle.” Assuming that their principal coin will be called a “sun”—an appropriate title for the money of their country—they might make it of the same value as the British sovereign; their “half-suns” equal to half-sovereigns; their dollar worth four shillings; their half-dollar, two shillings; their quarter-dollar, one shilling. These slight changes from the Federal coinage could be very readily made by the Confederate States, now that their foreign commerce is, in a great measure, interrupted, and their inland trade very much paralyzed. In fact, the people of the South have very few unclosed transactions; but for all contracts existing, until the new currency would be brought fairly into action, the debtor could pay the creditor 3 per cent. in addition, viz., instead of a five-dollar United States’ half-eagle, a Confederate “sun,” with 3 per cent. thereon. Should this improvement be adopted, the Northern Government might make the same change, and thus the currency of the three great Anglo-Saxon nations would be similar, and the continual loss by recoinage, as well as the “shaves,” that have to be submitted to by emigrants and other passengers, in getting their money changed, would be avoided. It is simply a relic of barbarism for each country to have a different standard for the precious metals and different kinds of coins; in this age of internationality there should be some uniform system.

This matter of coinage is more important than it would seem at first glance; it is the basis of valuation, and prices of all the commodities of the world are known by it. Why not make the ways of commerce as smooth as possible? A little engineering now will accomplish much; let us cut away the old hills of trade, and fill up the valleys, so that business can be conducted on an easy level.

THE “CORNHILL MAGAZINE” AND THE CRUISE OF THE SUMTER.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—I have noticed in the *Cornhill Magazine* for July an article professing to narrate with great minuteness the incidents of the cruise of the *Sumter*, from the journal of one of her officers; and, for the credit of the

officers of that vessel, I desire to intrude on your valuable space so far as to state the real facts of the case. While the shipping-office was open at New Orleans for the enlistment of the crew of the *Sumter*, a pale, cadaverous-looking individual presented himself for enrolment in the service; he rejoiced in the historical appellation of Francis Drake, and if there is really anything in a name we may suppose that he was desirous of emulating the fame of the great navigator.

On testing his capacities it was soon found that he had not as yet seen blue water; he was, therefore, rated as a landsman—a personage of no very great importance or responsibility on board a man-of-war. His literary propensities were manifested by a ludicrous article in the *New Orleans journals*, professing to give the entire details concerning the *Sumter*; and for this variation from the ordinary routine of a landsman’s duties, he was put in double irons and severely punished. From this short sketch of Francis Drake you can form some idea of the reliance to be placed on his statements of the condition of the *Sumter*, and of the plans of those in command of her, as narrated in the *Cornhill Magazine*.

Very respectfully,

AN OFFICER OF THE SUMTER.

London, July 28, 1862.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

CAPTURE OF THE VIGILANT AND THE EBAN DODGE.

On the morning of December 3 we made a large sail a little on the starboard bow, which seemed to be nearing us rapidly; her sharp bows, black hull, and double topsail yards, made her present a most suspicious appearance in our eyes, and caused our hopes to run high in expectation of a capture; nor were we disappointed; on getting abeam of the stranger we could distinctly see the gay Yankee’ buunting floating at his gaff end; to send the first gun’s crew to quarters, cast loose, and send an eight-inch shell across his bows, with an order to heave-to, was but the work of a moment, and a boat was lowered to board the prize. The *Sumter* had been disguised, so as to present the appearance of the most innocent-looking French barque imaginable, her huge smoke-stack, which was down on deck, was carefully covered with stunsails, and other gear, and the Yankee must have thought it a “tartation” heavy deck load for such a little ship. This smoke-stack was certainly a curiosity, and deserves a description; being about seven feet too long for the *Sumter*, its girth was enormous, and would have been thought large for a line-of-battle ship. I have seen this smoke-stack when it was on deck, at the distance of four miles, and it loomed up looking actually larger than the saucy little craft to whom it belonged. We were occupied some time in beating up to the prize, and by this time the boat had reached her also. She proved to be the ship *Vigilant* (Minot master), from New York to the Island of Sombrero, in ballast. Captain Minot seemed to have something on his mind, which troubled him exceedingly, and appeared very much disconcerted. On examining the papers a little note was found, purporting that the good ship *Vigilant* was prepared for any privateer or pirate, and that Captain Minot would give a good account of any one which he might meet; the reason for this bombastic species of proclamation being a beautiful nine-pounder rifled gun in the aforesaid ship, which piece of ordnance Captain Minot had hoped to conceal. We immediately transferred it, together with its supply of ammunition, to the fore-castle of the *Sumter*, where it was to do duty in future as our bow-chaser.

The papers were teeming with accounts of the capture of Beaufort, South Carolina, and the splendid deeds of the *Wabash* and *Minnesota* on that occasion. We also gleaned some interesting pieces of information concerning the whereabouts of our pursuers from the *New York Herald*, that journal generally giving their time of starting, cruising ground, and other little items very useful to us.

We were some two hours in removing the crew and their effects to our ship, preparatory to setting the *Vigilant* on fire, and then the torch was applied to the doomed vessel. She burnt very rapidly, one

mast after the other going by the board,—mizzen, main, and fore in rotation, until nothing remained but the bare hull drifting away to leeward, a lurid mass of flame; while the dense columns of smoke must have been plainly visible to an enemy’s cruiser had he been within a radius of thirty miles.

The crew of the *Vigilant* were negroes; and, like all Southerners, we proceeded immediately to give them plenty to eat—and plenty of work, so as to keep them out of mischief. They seemed to prefer this state of things to being subjected to the restrictions which are necessarily imposed on prisoners, and went to work right willingly.

Hitherto the cruising ground of the *Sumter* had been confined to the sunny seas of the Tropics, where light clothing was all that was necessary, but now we were admonished by many signs, that we were entering the region of cold and storms, where every preparation was needed to keep out the one and to defy the other. On Thursday, the 5th inst., the barometer fell rapidly, while the dull, leaden appearance of the heavens told of some sudden change soon to occur, and presently it burst upon us in the shape of a heavy gale from the northward, barely giving us time to put the ship under close reefed topsails and storm trysails; we soon had a very heavy sea running which caused not a few of the novices to pay tribute to Old Neptune, notwithstanding the fact of their having crossed the line some time before.

This weather continued, with some slight variations, until the morning of the 8th, when it moderated, though still misty with a very heavy sea. At about nine a.m., a vessel under close-reefed topsails was discovered immediately ahead and close aboard of us. She had what is, in nautical parlance, termed the *clean run* of a man-of-war, while her quarter boats, and the fact of her being under such short sail, made us suspect that we had run afoul of a Yankee fighting ship; fires were started, the ship cleared for action, and when abeam of the stranger we were ready for him. A shot from one of the bow guns whizzed a few yards ahead of her flying jib-boom, and the vessel hove to, with the United States’ colours flying at her peak. The knowing ones on board now saw, from the various peculiarities in her rigging that our prize was a whaler, and when the boarding-officer returned she was found to be the bark *Eban Dodge* (Gideon C. Hoxey master), of and from New Bedford, bound on a whaling cruise around “the Horn.” The *Eban Dodge* was fitted out for a three years voyage, and possessed a good stock of warm clothing, which was particularly acceptable to us; indeed, as far as creature comforts went, we considered her the most valuable prize we had yet taken. The crew of this vessel consisted of some forty-three men and boys; and I do not think that such a heterogeneous assemblage was ever congregated together in so small a space before; every nation had its representatives; the Esquimaux, the South American Indian, and the Guinea negro, were all personated by members of this extraordinary company; and, although water was their element, they seemed, from all appearances, to have long since eschewed any personal contact with the fluid. The sea was so rough that we were forced to leave a great many heavy articles, and content ourselves with those of less bulk; we were, however, fortunate enough to secure two of her beautiful boats, which were afterwards of great service in boarding ships. This transfer of property being effected, we fired the *Eban Dodge*, and the *Sumter* sailed away. In conversing some time afterwards with one of the officers of the whaler, I was informed that it was customary to ship such outcasts for a crew when the ship first set out, on account of the lowliness of the advance, and, when the cruise was nearly completed, another habit was to send them ashore at some of the islands for recreation, while the ship sailed away without waiting their return, being provided with an entirely new crew of natives; thus happily ridding the officers and owners from any troublesome shareholders in the proceedings of the cruise. I went in my way silent and wondering upon receiving this information, though I was forced to consider it a decidedly Yankee method of repudiation.

MR. LINDSAY'S MOTION.

Continued from page 215.

member for Sunderland, so far from staying the war, would rather aggravate and prolog it, and possibly, drag us into it; and he earnestly trusted that we would persevere in the principle and policy of entire non-intervention. (Hear, hear.) The motion had undergone many alterations. First, it simply implied recognition of the Confederate States as an independent nation; then it implied both recognition and mediation, if not something stronger than mediation; then recognition was dropped out, and Her Majesty was requested to adopt measures, in conjunction with other European Powers, to put an end to the civil war in America. It was to the motion in that shape that he had ventured to put an amendment on the paper. It was evident there had been a conflict of opinion in the hon. gentleman's own mind, whether he should go for a friendly mediation, or mediation accompanied with a threat; but let not the hon. gentleman transfer that doubt, which existed in his own mind, to the House, so that America and their own constituents should not know what was really meant. What did they mean? Was it friendly mediation or forcible intervention? If the object was friendly mediation, in the present relations with America, the less that was publicly said about it the better. He differed from his hon. friend as to the causes of the war, but there could be no doubt as to the object in continuing it. The men of the South were fighting in order to make themselves an independent nation, and in order to destroy the Union. The Federals were fighting in order to prevent their becoming an independent nation, and in order to maintain the Union. How was it possible to end the war short of the utter defeat of either party? either that the men of the South should on some conditions return to the Union, or that the men of the North should on certain terms allow them to leave it? If any Government would go between these two powerful and furious foes—both confident in the right of their cause, both sanguine of success, neither prepared to submit to dictation—one thing must be avoided—to express any opinion on the object in dispute. But the hon. member for Sunderland had, in bringing forward this subject, expressed an opinion in favour of the South, and accompanied it with a threat to the North, which had been reiterated boldly enough by those who supported him. Yet the hon. gentleman expected the North to listen to this friendly mediation. They were going the very worst way to work in order to effect their object. Notwithstanding his wish for peace, the hon. member for Sunderland does not think our mediation would be less likely to be successful if accompanied by a threat. Was that likely to put an end to the war? Were we in the position of the Federals—take the case of the war in India—if an offer of mediation had been made, accompanied by a threat—if France had stood forward and said, this contest can end only in separation—should we not have considered it an insult, and, instead of bringing us to peace, would it not much more likely have tended to aggravate the war? If we wanted this war to be prosecuted by the men of the North with greater fury, we could not go to work more ingeniously to attain our end. Again, if any disturbance arose in Ireland, if a contest were going on there, and if another Power stepped in, saying to us, "Let Irishmen alone, and let them govern themselves," should we be prepared to submit to dictation in such a matter? It might be said this was a war so suicidal, so foolish, so wicked, that we must simply consider how to put a stop to it. Now this was not the opinion of the vast majority of the 20,000,000 of the North, and it would not be our opinion if we were in the same position. The courage and endurance of the South were beyond all praise, and commanded our sympathy; but why did they evince these qualities? Because they regarded the Northern army as foreign invaders. But let us threaten the North with foreign interference, and we shall work them up to the same pitch of fury as the South. On the other hand, if we left them alone it was possible the Federalists might themselves find out that they had undertaken a task too hard for them. (Hear, hear.) President Lincoln had called for 300,000 more troops. He could not help thinking there was a little more difficulty in getting these 300,000 than there was before. (Hear, hear.) The sick and wounded men going home were not good recruiting sergeants; but if we wished to find President Lincoln his 300,000 men we had only to send out by next mail the statement that England, in concert with other Powers, threatened interference if she did not put a stop to the war. (Hear, hear.) Some went still further and were ready to assume the character of peacemakers, as defined by the noble lord at the end of his speech—rather a curious interpretation of the language of Scripture,—"Blessed are the peacemakers"—who do not stand aloof from the contest. There might be those who would say, "Better a war with America than a continuance of the present state of things." Now, surely, if we had no *casus belli* against America, where would be the justification of our going to war with her? Were we to go to war with any country because we happened to be in disaster on account of what was occurring in that country? Not only would such a war be wicked and unjust, but foolish to the greatest possible degree. It was said that our population was starving, and he believed that the cotton famine at this moment was likely to get worse. But we could keep the working population of Lancashire in luxury for less than the price it would cost us to interfere as the noble lord opposite suggested. We had a cotton famine now, but if we did that we should stand in danger of a corn famine. Even if we were to enter into such a war, and to break all the rules of international law, on the ground of mere interest, because we could not get a certain commodity, then we ought to take our material interest in all its bearings, and see whether we should not lose more than we should gain by it. He believed that, considered in a merely selfish and economical point of view, such a war would be the worse alternative. This hon. friend, the member for Leicester, had referred to the case of the French Revolution, and the intervention which then took place. Did they not all know that the horrors of that revolution were made more horrible still by that intervention, and the struggle rendered more bitter? Well, the same thing would happen if we ever interfered in America. This was not a common civil war—it partook more of a revolution than of a civil war; it was an entire change in the social system. The Southern States had been slaveholders, and the Northern States had connived at their being so. (Hear, hear.) But the American people now felt that they could not remain a great and powerful country, united before the world, because of slavery, and they said they would have an entire change in their social system. He believed it was now generally acknowledged that slavery was the real cause of this war. ("No, no," and "The tariff.") Why, Vice-President Stephens said that the South went to war to establish slavery as the corner stone of the new Republic. The tariff was not mentioned in the declaration of independence put forth by South Carolina; and it was scarcely

alluded to in the contest for the Presidential election. He believed that slavery was the cause of the war, and that the war would cause the end of slavery. How it would do that he did not pretend to say, and he would make no prophecy as to whether it would result from the South becoming independent. But he said, "Let us, who are free from the responsibilities which are coming upon that unhappy country, in punishment for the crime of slavery, take care how we involve ourselves in any such responsibilities by an attempt at interference." There was a feeling in the North, with respect to the question of slavery, at which some persons shrank. The North was loth to add a servile war to the present civil war, and hence, in great measure, the inconsistency with which it was tainted. Let us not by our interference be instrumental in any way in helping to provoke a servile war. It was said that we should be sure of cotton, but in six months after we interfered the able-bodied negro slaves would probably be converted into Sepoys, acting with the army of the North instead of producing the raw material for our manufactures. Thanking her Majesty's Government for the policy of non-intervention which they had hitherto pursued in regard to this terrible war, he earnestly hoped they would continue to adhere steadfastly to that policy. This matter, he thought, might be safely left to their discretion. As to the present motion, altered though it had been, yet remembering both how it was worded, and the way in which it had been supported, he must give his vote decidedly against it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WHITESIDE.—Sir, I quite admit, with hon. gentlemen who have addressed the House, that this question is one of great delicacy and some difficulty; but it does not therefore follow that we should not venture to express an opinion upon it. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe that any popular assembly in the world could be more cautious, more abstinent, more prudent and circumspect than this House of Commons has been since this unhappy war began. (Hear, hear.) For a long period it has been felt by every hon. member that the introduction of the question would be unpalatable to the House; but when at length, under different circumstances, and after a great lapse of time, an independent member has introduced it, it would, I think, be very cowardly on our part not to express our feelings upon the true question before us, which, with all deference to the hon. gentleman who spoke last, I hold he has left untouched. (Hear, hear.) An hon. gentleman connected with the north of England has stated the degree of suffering which now presses upon our artisans there. That is only one part and one phase of the great question which now rises before us in such awful proportions. We are not so much concerned with the past as with the present and the future. The Government have given us their opinion on the subject of fortifications and on other subjects which may be of more or less importance. They have stated nothing on this great question, which is uppermost in the mind of every man in the kingdom. I think the hon. member who has introduced it deserves well of the country, for having offered Her Majesty's Ministers the opportunity of declaring what their opinions are on this momentous subject. There may be involved in it a question of principle and a question of high expediency; but both the principle and the expediency ultimately turn upon a question of fact. I maintain that this motion in a great degree turns upon a matter of fact, because we do not come here to discuss whether one form of Government is better than another, nor to criticize the Government of the United States. I remember that the sentiment of the Roman historian was applied to the Government of those States after they had seceded from the Government of England:—"Civitas, incredibile memoratu, est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit." (Hear, hear.) I have no intention of speaking disrespectfully of that Government, nor of the Government established by the Southern States. I do not believe that the rules or principles of international law give us any authority to sit in judgment between the disputants. It is not for us to pronounce precisely how far either party was, in the first instance, right or wrong; although, indeed, if one were animated by an impertinent curiosity, he might be disposed to ask how it is that republicans refuse to allow republicans to form a republic. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) I cannot understand how the gentlemen who framed that famous Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that all men—at least all white men (a laugh)—are created free—that all men have a right to examine the principles of the Government under which they live—to alter, amend, change, or destroy it, according to their sovereign will and pleasure (cheers)—I say I think it would puzzle any person to give a reason why those who have acted upon such principles, and who have changed their own form of Government on the ground that it was not convenient to maintain it, should deny to others the exercise of the same privilege which they claimed for themselves. (Hear, hear.) If we were to follow the precedents commented upon by Mr. Justice Storey, we might construct good arguments to show that in the constitution of that country there is nothing to prevent one State seceding from the Government of another, if it thinks fit to do so. (Hear, hear.) But I admit that, in the practice of the United States, there is a considerable difference between seceding to the United States and seceding from the United States. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) I have always understood that the behaviour of Florida was exemplary in seceding from Spain; that her conduct in seceding to the United States was better still (laughter); that the conduct of Texas in seceding first to Mexico, and next from Mexico to the United States, was perfectly right; but when Texas now seceded from the United States, these champions of liberty start up and denounce in the strongest terms this daring attack upon the constitution of the United States. (Hear, hear.) I think some gentlemen have forgotten that the Americans have framed a clause in their new constitution which enables them to take under their particular wing any State—and even Canada has been hinted at—they would receive any State which might think fit to prefer to join their Government, and we betide the tyrannic Power of Europe that should dare to question that right of annexation. Upon principle, there is almost nothing to discuss. Nor do I think it surprising that there has been a secession in certain States of America. If you investigate the character of the populations of the North and South—if you look at the vastness of their territories, and consider the incompatibility of their tempers, habits, passions, and desires—it is surprising, not that there should be now a secession, but that it has not happened long ago. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman who moved the resolution ascribed the secession to several possible causes. One was said to be slavery. The hon. gentleman who last spoke, and gave utterance to very credible sentiments, asserted that slavery was the cause of the secession; but I find that the most intelligent persons in New York, including governors, generals, and even the President himself, differ from him. (Hear, hear.) I have read a resolution passed at a meeting in New York the other day, in which nothing could be more precise or emphatic than their denunciations of those who

said that slavery was a question between the North and South, and they went the length of asserting that such a statement could only be put forth by the enemies of the Republic. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I can scarcely accept slavery as the cause of quarrel. Loss of power may have been an important element in the dispute, and the hon. gentleman stated correctly that as representation depends upon numbers, and when the great influx of population into the Northern States took place, the South saw that their power would be destroyed, and, accordingly, they came to the conclusion that they might as well fight for their existence now as at some future time. (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman also drew the attention of the House to the question of tariffs and free trade, and I must say I am startled to find free-traders in principle and theory so opposed to it in practice. (Hear, hear.) I have not heard the disciples of Adam Smith say one word against the tariff now imposed upon the manufacturers of England by the United States. (Hear, hear.) I agree that we have no right to go to war upon that ground, and no sensible man ever said so; but we have a right to observe that policy, to understand upon what principle the United States are acting, and to govern our conduct in accordance with our interests, as they govern their policy in accordance with their interests. This will appear a more critical question than the hon. gentleman who spoke last seems to think, for no one can deny that self-interest is a great moving-spring of human conduct. If the men of the South think that their interests are affected injuriously by the policy and taxation of the men of the North, it is not at all surprising that they should do what people in all ages have done under similar circumstances. Looking at the opposing interests of the North and the South, every one would have said at the beginning of this quarrel, if you are about to separate, separate quietly. The North may have a brilliant destiny before it—the South may, perhaps, become wise. But I can't believe that the evil of slavery—which the North never did abate when it had the power to do so (hear, hear)—that that is the cause of the quarrel. I have heard nothing to show that the slave population in the South have risen against their masters, nor does it appear that there is any alarm in the South of a rebellion of the slave population, such as we have been led to expect, and therefore we should be cautious in forming opinions upon a question upon which we have not the materials for a sound and safe judgment. But what, then, was the cause of quarrel? And here I think the hon. member who spoke last has left the question untouched. If the causes of quarrel be deep-rooted and fundamental, may I ask him to tell me when is the point of time when the South will be reconciled to the North, or the North to the South? If the quarrel be one of principle, as he has said, if one party abhors the other, if there be that hatred so intense and malignant that one party is prepared to perish rather than to live under the same Government with the other, will the hon. gentleman tell me when is the point of time that would be auspicious for us to intervene, not, as he said, mistaking the object of the motion, by war (hear, hear), but in the spirit of this resolution, which I understand to state two important matters of fact, and then to propose a policy arising out of those facts? If these facts do not exist there is no ground for the motion. These facts are that "the States which have seceded have so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and have given such proof of their determination and ability to support their independence." These are the two facts from which the policy springs, "that the propriety of offering mediation with a view of terminating hostilities between the contending parties worthy of the serious attention of the Government." I understand those words to imply that mediation with a view to recognition is the policy that is put forward in that resolution (hear, hear)—a policy that can only be founded upon a belief in the facts that are stated in the resolution. But that is a different question from that which has been raised by the hon. gentlemen who have opposed the resolution. I will admit that no matter what the rights of the quarrel might be on the part of the South against the North, nor how plausible soever the reasons that may be assigned, there would be no ground for any State to offer any opinion or to acknowledge the existence of the seceding State, unless that seceding State has exhibited power, has been able *de facto* to establish a Government, and has exhibited the courage and ability requisite to maintain that Government. It, therefore, becomes a matter of fact whether the seceding States have established a Government, and have shown a power and determination to resist any force that can be brought against them, and, if so, whether there is any ground to believe that at any time that can be named the North will be able to subjugate the South. I understood the hon. member for Leicester to say that we ought to stand by until the North had overwhelmed the South. I do not know, from the news we hear, whether Washington will be taken by the men from Richmond, or Richmond be taken by the men from Washington, but I do know that at the end of sixteen months, Richmond being only 130 miles from Washington, that city had not yet been taken, and that no great success has been obtained by the North upon the field of battle, but where they have had the powerful aid of their gunboats. (Hear, hear.) There is also the extraordinary fact that the President of this all-powerful Republic demands a conscription of 300,000 men in aid of the half-million or more already in arms to crush these incorrigible and sturdy asserters of Republican freedom. Then we come to the facts of European history and international law, and from that I do not intend to shrink. If we had no grounds founded upon international law for expressing our feelings, for recommending mediation, and for going to the extent of recognizing the South, we have no case, and we must submit to the miseries inflicted upon our own people, and abstain from recognizing a Government *de facto* which has established itself in strength, power, arms, and valour. (Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen who have spoken against the motion appear to have given the strongest arguments against themselves. They say that this is a terrific conflict, hundreds of thousands of fresh combatants will appear, one party may destroy itself, it will not destroy its opponent; but I want to know whether, as Christian statesmen and senators, if we can prevent this waste of human life, this destruction of property, this interruption of trade, this disturbance of the peace of the world—ought we not to do it at the right time, before irremediable mischief has been done? What are our rights? We are told we have no right to interfere. What are our duties and responsibilities? Do you remember that you have recognized the South as a belligerent Power? (Hear, hear.) When the recognition was made by Earl Russell—and I do not censure him for it—I thought it remarkable and significant, because in the great contest between Spain and her revolted provinces in America, when Sir James Mackintosh and the Whig party pressed on Mr. Canning to recognize each particular province that had established *de facto* its independence, the fact was very strongly

urged that he had admitted those provinces to be a belligerent Power. Mr. Canning was a very candid man, and the answer he gave to that argument was this,—"We allowed the colonists to assume an equal belligerent rank with the parent country. Thus we did *pro tanto* to raise them in the scale of nations." (Hear, hear.) Those gentlemen who have spoken against the resolution have held that recognition is inconsistent with neutrality. That I entirely deny. I say that recognition is compatible with neutrality; and no State has asserted that more constantly than have the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) I have a sincere respect for the United States of America. They have had able statesmen, great jurists, and enlightened lawyers. They have books written with a taste and elegance which some of our writers have failed to copy; but on this question they must reason with us. (Hear, hear.) In the consideration of such a question there is no use in appealing to prejudice or passion. We argue this question with America as we should with the proudest commonwealth in the world; but we must argue it on reason. (Hear, hear.) There is no use in their seeking to make a law for themselves. They must argue it in accordance with the laws which bind civilized nations. (Hear, hear.) How does it happen that recognition and neutrality are compatible? If we establish that proposition we shall have done a great deal to prove our case. (Hear, hear.) The motion is not a rash one—one for a wild interference which would lead to war. Now, when I speak of Sir James Mackintosh I do so with sincere respect and admiration. Great he was—greater as a professor of ethics, as a philosopher, as a professor of natural law, as it is called, than as a statesman. He is an authority on a question of this kind; and he had occasion to consider whether recognition, as he expounded it, led to war with the parent country in the case of a province which had revolted. It was said that in this sense recognition must always be a renunciation of authority. Certainly, when the United States committed, as I think, the great mistake of renouncing the good government of England, they obtained a recognition from England afterwards. But in the case now under consideration, we have nothing to renounce, and we are not going to confer any powers or advantages on any State. The recognition spoken of in this resolution is the mere acknowledgment of the existence *de facto* of a Government, and nothing more. Sir James Mackintosh, in spite of such a recognition, says:—"It implies no guarantee, no alliance, no aid, no approval of revolt, no intimation of opinion concerning the justice or injustice of the circumstances by which it has been accomplished." That is very strong. Sir James goes on to observe:—"The tacit recognition of a new State, not being a judgment for the new Government or against the old, is not a deviation from perfect neutrality, or a cause of just offence to the dispossessed ruler." I say, therefore, that the United States will have no cause to quarrel with you if you consider this is a proper time to recognize the existence of a *de facto* Government in the Southern States after the events which have taken place within the last twelve months. (Hear, hear.) Let us just turn to the history of Europe, and see whether hon. gentlemen can make good the proposition that because there is a war raging between two countries, a third State is not to recognize one of the belligerent Powers. We recognized the Netherlands many years before Spain and the Netherlands brought their hostilities to an end. Spain did not make that a cause of quarrel with this country. (Some expressions of dissent.) I do not think she did. Then, what do you say to the example you set in the case of Portugal? In 1640 the Portuguese rose against the tyranny of Spain, under which they had groaned sixty years. They seated the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, and in January, 1641, a Cortes ratified his title. England did not wait long. Within one year after the proclamation of the Duke of Braganza, a treaty was signed at Windsor between Charles I. and John IV. Charles was moved to conclude this treaty by his solicitude to preserve the tranquillity of his kingdom, and to secure the liberty of trade of his beloved subjects. The contest was carried on, the Spaniards obtained victories, and there is no trace of any complaint or remonstrance, or even murmur, against the early recognition by England, though it was not till twenty-six years afterwards that Spain herself acknowledged the independence of Portugal, and, what is remarkable, made that acknowledgment in a treaty concluded under the mediation of England. I dare say Charles II. was very well received while wandering over the continent of Europe when driven from this country, and I do not know that any complaint was made that the Protectorate had been acknowledged by other countries. How did you act in the case of Greece? (Hear, hear.) Did you not acknowledge the independence of Greece before the termination of its struggle with the Turks? Then what was your conduct with respect to Belgium? I do not think Holland had inflicted any very flagrant injury on Belgium. There was some incompatibility of temper, no doubt (a laugh), and the noble lord at the head of the Government signed a treaty with that Minister who was as politic as he was pious—Prince Talleyrand (a laugh)—which intimated to the King of Holland that if he did not quit Belgium as quickly as possible, with every respect for him, you would blow him up. (A laugh.) Within twelve months after the breaking out of hostilities you acknowledged the independence of Belgium; but it may, perhaps, be said that you did a very extraordinary thing, because the Hollanders were on the point of conquering when you signed the treaty. The noble lord did not hesitate in that case. He was not afraid. Holland was not as strong as the United States. You interfered, and independence was established in Belgium. In the case of Austria and the Italian duchies, there was an incompatibility of temper, perhaps, also (a laugh); but the people in the States from which dukes had to walk out were afflicted with no such grievous grinding as the Southerners assert was practised on them by the Northerners, yet you did not hesitate to acknowledge the *de facto* Government in Italy. However, those examples do not serve us as well as the case of Spanish America; and I refer to it because in that case those principles which were afterwards asserted by Mr. Canning—on the occasion when he said he called new worlds into existence to restore the balance of the old—were laid down by that able Minister, Lord Castlereagh, in his despatch to our Ambassador at the Congress of Verona. He said:—"The case of revolted colonies is different. It is evident from the course events have taken that their recognition as independent States has become merely a question of time; over by far the greater part of them Spain has lost all hold." Therefore, although war was still raging, as the revolted provinces had for a sufficient time shown their power to make and keep a Government, the duke was instructed that such Government—and the Government even of particular provinces—should be recognized. The conduct of Lord Castlereagh on another branch of this question proves how thoroughly he understood the doctrine of recognition—that is to say, acknowledgment as *contra-distinct* from active interference.

Against the strong opposition of the Whig party he brought forward his Enlistment Bill to prevent soldiers from being enlisted in this country, and sent out to assist in wresting from Spain those colonies whose happiness since has not, perhaps, been as great as Mr. Canning thought it would be. Lord Castlereagh held that he was not at liberty to allow armaments to sail from this country to take part in the contest, because we were at peace with Spain; but that, while abstaining from encouraging revolt, or doing anything to promote insurrection, we were at liberty, in full observance of a strict, impartial, and honorable neutrality, to acknowledge any Government *de facto* once established. Spain threatened to interdict our trade and to lay on prohibitory duties. What was his answer? "If you do we will recognize the whole of those provinces as Governments *de facto*. We cannot prevent you fulfilling your threat, but if you act in that manner we shall acknowledge the independence of those states the next morning." In the conference with Prince Polignac a State document was drawn up, in which he said:—"Completely convinced that the ancient system of the colonies cannot be restored, the British Government could not enter into any stipulations binding itself either to refuse or delay the recognition of independence. . . . The British Government had no desire to precipitate that recognition as long as any reasonable chance of accommodation between the mother country and the revolted provinces existed; but it could not wait indefinitely for that result"—this is the point which I consider specially applicable to the present case—"it could not consent to make its recognition of the new States dependent on that of Spain. (Hear, hear.) . . . Great Britain had no desire for any special advantages in the way of trade, but considered that the force of circumstances, and the irrepressible force of events, had already determined the freedom of these provinces. She had trade relations with the Colonies, and would continue to maintain them; that if attempts at laying on a positive interdiction were made, such attempts should be cut short by a speedy and unqualified recognition of the new States." What does he say in his despatch to the Minister of Spain? "In any further step to be taken by His Majesty towards the acknowledgment *de facto* Government, the decision must depend on various circumstances, and, among others, the reports the Government receive of the actual state of affairs in the several American provinces." And then he adds, "the recognition of the Government *de facto* cannot much longer be delayed." When that question came to be discussed, Lord Brougham explained what he understood to be the difference between recognition and acknowledgment, and his words I venture to submit to the House:—"There is unquestionably all the difference in the world between recognition by the mother country implying a renunciation of the claim of right and that bare acknowledgment for the interests and purposes of your own subjects, and for the convenience of your own foreign relations, which renounces no right and gives no aid, but which eventually secures the highest advantages. Viewing the subject in this light as an acknowledgment, and avoiding the word 'recognition,' about which some dispute may arise, it can be considered as no breach of neutrality towards the mother country and can by possibility involve us in no hostile discussion with any other Power." The short reply of Sir J. Mackintosh puts this point, as it affects the United States of America, in a manner which I defy any one to answer. He says:—"I wish to add one striking fact on the subject of recognition. The United States of America accompanied their acknowledgment with a declaration of their determination to adhere to neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies. A stronger instance cannot be adduced of the compatibility of recognition and neutrality." The Government of the United States preceded ours by nearly two years in the acknowledgment of those revolted provinces, and they would not allow anybody to criticise this transaction. They said the law of nations entitles us to decide what is best for our own interests. We believe that these provinces have sufficiently established their existence; and we will resent the interference of any other Power to assist Spain in recovering her provinces. Is that the country which is now to say to England "Beware how you offer an opinion!" (Hear, hear.) This may be a question of time, it may even be a question of geography; but, after all, it is a question of facts. And is it not a fact, that battles have been fought, and that no great victory over the South has been obtained? Does not every sane man believe it to be an impossibility for the South to be mastered and put down? (Cheers.) The United States have put on excessive duties with a facility which must be distasteful to the followers of Adam Smith; the principles of that great writer have been set aside by Republican Governments with a freedom surprising to the most old-fashioned Protectionists. (Laughter.) Why not apply to them the same argument which Castlereagh did in the case of Spain? The time for interference has certainly arrived. International law, feelings of humanity, the best and the kindest intentions towards Americans themselves, all induce us to come forward and propose mediation, having for its object to put an end to the war. Precedent is on our side; principle is in our favour; the maxims of international law are not defied, but respected; we do not provoke war with the United States when we say, in a spirit of strict and honourable impartiality, that the seceding States, having succeeded in establishing their independence, and in maintaining a Government, deserve to be recognized among civilized and independent States. (Cheers.)

Mr. GRACOV.—It is just four months from this date that a prophet rose up among us and proclaimed, "yet within ninety days and the civil war in America will be ended." And this prophet was a much less ambiguous and a much more outspoken prophet than his predecessors, whether sacred or profane, for not only did he give you the period within which the war was to end, but he actually described the basis of arrangement on which it was to be concluded, namely, the establishment of the independence of the Southern Republic. The prophet I allude to was the noble lord the Foreign Secretary; and the worst of prophecies by ministers is this, that men of business, being matter-of-fact persons, naturally conclude that these glimpses of futurity are derived from positive information, they trust to them, and they make their arrangements accordingly. And if I am correctly informed, there are not a few of them who have not bitterly regretted that the noble lord, the Foreign Secretary, did not follow a late strongly laid down injunction of the noble lord the Prime Minister, that for a statesman, if he must prophesy, the best thing is to prophesy after and not before. (Laughter.) Now, sir, I understand the cause of the noble lord's error. He was misled by a Northern gentleman who came here to set the mind of England right on American politics; this gentleman, though not actually a minister, still occupied a position as possessing the entire confidence of the Washington Cabinet. I make no secret of the name, it was Mr. Thurlow Weed, (hear, hear), a gentleman of great intelligence and, I believe, of moderation. I understand there is no denial that this gen-

tleman went about and had interviews with the chief members of the Government, and the burden of his representations were, "Give us three months, let us do our best, and if at the end of three months we fail to recover the Seceders, then we have little more to say." The noble lord was, no doubt, struck by this appeal, and being quite acute enough to see that the Confederate States were determined at all sacrifice to achieve their independence, and remembering Lord Chatham's celebrated expression, "Conquer a free population of three millions of souls, the thing is impossible," he judged the thing impossible, and he has been right so far in his judgment. (Hear, hear.) But this had been the note of every Northerner since the commencement of this contest. Every one, without a solitary exception, last year, said, "Within twelve months, if we are only let alone, the war will be over. (Hear, hear.) We utterly abjure conquest, domination, subjugation; all that we wish to do is to enter the South, and liberate that hearty Union sentiment which we know to be there, but which is now repressed by a tyrannical and violent minority." (Hear, hear.) Let us hear Mr. Cassius Clay. (A laugh.) My hon. friend below me laughs, and I understand the reason why; but let me assure him that Mr. Cassius Clay is not one whit more ridiculous nor more ignorant of diplomatic usage than very many of those persons who have been sent over to represent the United States to the consternation of foreign countries. Witness the celebrated dinner at Paris of Northern representatives, and their speeches on that occasion. Mr. Cassius Clay, writing to the *Times*, May 17th, 1861, asks himself various questions, which he answers with great ease and satisfaction to himself; he begins thus:—"But can you conquer the South? Of course we can. We can blockade them by sea and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year, if let alone, for the population of the Slave States is divided, perhaps equally, for and against the Union, the loyal citizens being for the time overawed by the organized conspiracy of the traitors; while the North is united to a man." That point being so comfortably settled, he goes on to ask another question:—"But can you govern a subjugated people and reconstruct the Union? We do not propose to subjugate the revolted states. We propose simply to put down the rebel citizens. We go to the rescue of the loyal Unionists of all the States. We carry safety and peace and liberty to the Union-loving people of the South, who will of themselves, the tyranny being overthrown, send back their representatives to Congress, and thus the Union will be reconstructed without a change of a letter in the Constitution of the United States." (Laughter and cheers.) So much for Mr. Clay's views, in which he only asks for a year, and that not for conquest, but simply to elicit and set free the Union feeling compressed and fettered in the South. Mr. Bright, too, the great English advocate of the North, used precisely the same argument in his celebrated speech at Rochdale of December 6, 1861. Speaking of the Southern States, and of Alabama in particular, he says:—"There are great numbers of most reasonable, just, and thoughtful men in that State who entirely deplore the condition of things there existing. What would you do with all these States, and with what may be called the loyal population of these States? Would you allow them to be dragged into this insurrection, and into becoming parts of a new State to which they themselves are hostile?" (Hear, hear.) Now, I ask you, has not this platform sunk beneath the feet of the North and Northern advocates in England? This Union sentiment has been hunted for wherever a Federal force has penetrated. Last year, on the first invasion of the Confederate territory, when the Northerners occupied Cape Hatteras, they announced they had hit upon it, and great was the exultation of the New York papers, and it turned out that it was represented by some twenty or thirty persons—half fishermen, half smugglers—who were brought together and, under the influence of "cocktails" (laughter) passed certain Union resolutions. This has been the solitary and notable discovery of Union proclivities. Has General Halleck found it at Nashville, where he has so safely locked up the clergy in the penitentiary; or at Memphis? or has General Banks in Western Virginia? or General Wool at Norfolk? or has the rigour of General Butler, by treating ladies as prostitutes, called it from its lurking place in New Orleans? No! it is perfectly clear that the Southern Confederacy is of one mind and of one heart, determined, whatever be the cost, whatever be the ruin, to work out their freedom from subjection to a people for whom their hatred is intensified by their contempt; and the Northerners now know this, and the war is no longer a war for independence on the one side, and for empire on the other. It is a war for independence on the one side, and for vengeance on the other—the vengeance of "one who grapples with his enemy and strives to strangle him before he dies." The wreaking of this vengeance is the uppermost thought of ninety out of every hundred in the North, and in this blind desperation every other feeling has been swallowed up; national faith, national solvency, national decency, national humanity, and, I may with truth add, national Christianity. The press of the United States, without exception, applauds those acts which are more the mad ferocity of a savage than of a man who calls himself a Christian. What in Europe would be infamy, in America has been dignified into energy, patriotism, and glory. (Cheers.) Now I am not going to attack the United States for engaging in this war. If they conscientiously believed that there was a powerful Union party in each State, they may certainly plead with fairness that it would have been an act of pusillanimity to allow so great a fabric to be lightly levelled with the ground. But this I will say, that when I was in the Southern States, in all the Southern States, in 1860, the universal sentiment was for separation. Whether in the railway cars, or in the bar-room, whether in high society or low society, I am bound to say there was but one thought, one aspiration, and that was, separation sooner or later. I am bound also to say there was one notable exception, and that was Louisiana, where the interests of protected sugar rendered the general disposition favourable to Union. But after the North had discovered that even those considerations failed to influence Louisiana, and that Secession was as hot at New Orleans as at Charleston, it became a blind, wilful self-delusion on their part and a mockery of the intelligence of foreign nations, to pretend that the war was continued, not for purposes of empire, but to liberate a Union sentiment, which notoriously did not exist. Well, then, if this Union feeling be a mere delusion, proved and convicted to be so—if the power of conquest be a mere delusion, proved and convicted to be so at Corinth, at Fair Oaks, at Charleston, and at Richmond, by that inexorable logician General "Stonewall" Jackson—if the war is degenerating into unmitigated cruelty, and into the wreck and ruin of what should be two great flourishing and happy communities, it seems to me the time has come when the nations of Europe should take some decided course. I do not wish to go into a history of this great campaign, but I think it is clear that the conquest of the South is farther off than at this time last year, when the North had not put forth its strength. If this be so,

the dictates of humanity alone ought to have some weight with us. We do not go to war, it is true, for an idea, nor liberate an oppressed country, like our friends the French, under the influence of a sentiment. Still, in spite of our somewhat unimaginative character, we have some feelings of this tendency; and though the Trepings have some good friends in this House, public opinion is rather in favour of their being suppressed, as enemies of the human race. We thought, too, some years ago, that the Greeks and Turks had cut each other's throats long enough, and we blew up the Turkish fleet under the influence of kindly feelings to both parties. (Laughter.) I feel so much for Chinamen, and Turks, and Greeks, we might have some commiseration for our own blood and kin on both sides of this conflict, devastating and slaughtering each other. But our humanity should come nearer home. We should remember what is impending over Lancashire—what woe, what woe, what humiliation—and that not caused by the decree of God, but by the perversity of man. I leave the statistics of the paperism that is, and that is to be, to my honourable friends the representatives of manufacturing England. But there is something to me even more harrowing than the physical privation that awaits the working classes of those districts. Judging of their character by their conduct, of the discipline of their minds by their noble patience and resignation, of their proud spirit of independence by their sacrifice of their all, are they condescended to ask relief, I dread, in their case, the humiliation of mind arising from the thought that they are supported from other sources than their own honest skill and industry, even as much as the stint, and the penury, and the squalid garb, and the cold and desolate hearth. The whole question of putting an end to this state of things depends on our obtaining cotton. We know we cannot get that supply in India. We do know we can get it from the Southern States of America. Now, in endeavouring to obtain it, are we likely to be driven into isolated action? Most assuredly not. France wants it as urgently as we do. Not that distress will be as extensive in France, but from the constitution of society in that country. In England the local rates provide for local destitution; in France the State is responsible, and the Emperor is the State. (Hear, hear.) He is held responsible, and in France that responsibility is a danger, and shakes thrones. (Hear, hear.) The French know, too, that if access to American cotton is cut off, it is to us they will have to come eventually on their bended knees for every pound of cotton they will require for their consumption, and markets once lost are not easily regained. (Hear, hear.) They know also, as we know, that by the new tariff the rulers of the United States have virtually proclaimed that the great American Continent is to be closed to the products of Europe. By the Morrill tariff they resolved on scourging us with whips; by the Stevens amended tariff they propose to scourge us with scorpions, to punish France and England for that want of sympathy which they have so long sought to evoke by menace and abuse. (Hear, hear.) Now, the French see, as clearly as ourselves, that this war is not only inflicting misery on all engaged in the manufacture of cotton, but that, if successful on the part of the North, it will shut out for ever 8,000,000 of customers ready and anxious to receive their silks and wools, and objects of luxury, and to give their raw products in exchange. They see, also, as we do, that if the South establishes its independence, these wretched tariffs will vanish from the North, for the smuggler will break down those barriers which United States' officials—I cannot call them statesmen—have erected to gratify the insatiable love of gain of the manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania, or, what is even worse, the promptings of malice, as ignorant as it is impotent. (Cheers.) Now, I say, France has even a greater interest than we have in putting an end to this state of things. All Europe has an interest, and I consequently think the resolutions of the honourable member Mr. Lindsay, and my noble friend Lord Adolphus Vane, are rightly worded in calling on the Government to unite with the other European Powers in a joint and immediate course of action in this great emergency. Now I come to the question of recognition, and I shall show, very briefly, from all analogy, that we are justified in recognizing the Confederate States as a Sovereign Republic; that they have every element constituting a *de facto* Government, for into the *de jure* question I cannot now enter, namely, the doctrine of State rights—and that we have openly interfered in favour of other countries, asserting their independence, and that, too, in cases where the necessity did not come home to us with one-tenth the urgency as in the present instance. The only difference was this, that the United States are strong and aggressive, the other Governments with whom we interfered were weak and incapable of resistance. (Hear, hear.) First of all, take the case of Texas, for it is a strong instance of recognition. When Texas asserted her independence we were in amity with Mexico; but we did not hesitate to recognize the flag of the lone State. What was the then population of Texas? not more than 60,000. But, as Lord Palmerston said, in 1839, in reply to Mr. O'Connell, "The principles of the Government were to recognize every State that was *de facto* and permanently independent." So, considering this small State of 60,000 souls to be *de facto* and permanently independent, we followed the example of France, and recognized it. We did the same by the South American Spanish Republics. We hastened to be the first to do the same by the Kingdom of Italy; and here let me quote Lord Russell's famous despatches:—Nov. 15, 1859. Lord Russell to Earl Cowley. "1825, England acknowledged two or more South American Republics. 1827, the treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, which led to the independence of Greece. 1830, Belgium rose against Holland, and Great Britain was active, both in the Cabinet and on the sea, in concerting the measures which led to the establishment of the independence of Belgium. Thus, in five instances, the policy of Great Britain appears to have been influenced by a consistent principle. She uniformly withheld her consent to acts of intervention by force to alter the internal government of other nations, but she uniformly gave her countenance, and, if necessary, her aid, to consolidate the *de facto* Governments which arose in Europe or America." But, as to interference, what did we do in Greece? Why, disgusted with the long-protracted bloodshed, we blew up, as I said before, the Turkish fleet, and we made Greece a sovereign independent State, although, unquestionably, had the war continued, the power of Turkey and the Egyptian forces would have crushed the insurrection. But what did you do in the case of Belgium, to which my hon. friend (Mr. Whiteside) has just alluded? You recognized her independence, and you interfered to establish it. Although Belgium formed part of a State called into existence by the Congress of Vienna, and its integrity recognized by the Great Powers of Europe, yet you considered, owing to various reasons unnecessary here to allude to, that its separation from Holland was of vast importance. So you tore up the treaties of Vienna at the point of the sword; you assumed an attitude of hostility to your oldest

friend and ally, Holland, and you encouraged the French to bombard the citadel of Antwerp. But the Dutch held Antwerp, and would have recovered Belgium in one campaign. Well, then, I say, what is the superior claim which the United States' Government has over Holland on your forbearance? (Hear, hear.) Is it on the ground of a superior state necessity, than that of saving the lives and independence of hundreds of thousands of the Queen's loyal and devoted subjects? (Hear, hear.) Is it on the ground that the United States has been a true and faithful ally to us, and that in the hour of need we should prove gratitude, and not avert our faces from them? (Hear, hear.) Witness the Russian war. Is it on the ground of innumerable kindly offices, interchange of friendship between two friendly kindred peoples? Witness the inroads of sympathizers in the Canadian rebellion (hear), the seizure of St. Juan, and the refusal to submit that question even to arbitration, on the part of Mr. Lincoln's Government. (Hear, hear.) Witness the outrages that are daily occurring to British ships in British waters, at the Bahamas, and an English port virtually blockaded; witness the seizure of British property at New Orleans, and the treatment of the British representative there. Is it on the ground of high and honourable dealing, even though it be not friendly? Witness the disgraceful fraud, perpetrated knowingly, justified and applauded, in the negotiations on the north-east frontier. Sir, we owe them nothing, save the strictest and sternest justice. (Hear, hear.) And I am perfectly entitled to ask—What is the meaning of all this terrible bother over our heads, which Mr. Seward has raised, in that dispatch in which he threatens the nations of Europe with I know not what, in case they venture even to hold communications with Confederate Commissioners. Let me show the House what has been the invariable practice of the United States—God forbid that we should frame our practice on American practice!—but I have a right to enter into these matters to show you that, though the doctrine allows to themselves every liberty of action, they make all this terrible hubbub if they even suspect that any other country is about to venture an inch on the same path. In March, 1848, Mr. Buchanan, then Minister for Foreign Affairs at Washington, lays down to Mr. Rush, then Minister at Paris, that it was his duty at once to recognize the French Republic, and adds that, "It is right that the Envoy of the United States should be always the first to recognize a new Government," and as a confirmation of this principle Mr. Buchanan exultingly adds, "So anxious are the United States to recognize *de facto* Governments, that the Pope, the Emperor Nicholas, and President Jackson, were the only authorities on earth who recognized Don Miguel." (Hear, hear.) But a still stronger case remains. The House may perhaps remember the quarrel between Austria and the United States in 1850. The cause of quarrel was this: under the Presidency of General Taylor, while Hungary was contending with Austria for its independence, even so early as June 1849, Mr. Clayton, Foreign Secretary at Washington, sent as an emissary to Hungary a gentleman, with the most ample instructions, in case the opportunity presented itself of recognizing what is now called the insurgent Government. (It is a curious coincidence that the same person then sent to Hungary to recognize its independence, was one of the representatives of the Southern States lately in this country, to claim their recognition—I mean Colonel Mann.—The instructions given to Colonel Mann were published subsequently at Washington, and offence was thereby given to the Austrian Minister, the Chevalier Hulsemann—a spirited war of words took place between him and Mr. Webster, the then Foreign Secretary, and it was on that occasion that Mr. Webster wrote his celebrated letter, throwing down the gage to the despotic Powers of Europe, enunciating the principles of the United States as regards the recognition of new States. He says, "It is not to be required of neutral Powers that they should await the recognition of the new Government by the parent State." The words "parent state" clearly recognize the right of secession, and he points out how, in the case of the Spanish South American Republics, Greece and Belgium, independent Governments were recognized by the leading countries of Europe, and by the United States, before they were acknowledged by the State from whom they had separated. Now let us come to the tests of what should entitle a country to recognition as a separate sovereign and independent State; that depends on its wealth, on its population, and on the spirit of that population to maintain its sovereignty and independence. On the latter point Generals McDowell and McClellan can give you better information than I can. (Laughter and cheers.) First of all, as to the population; there is an impression prevailing that the South is a retrograde, doomed, and dwindling population; but in the last ten years, according to the late census, the slave-owning States have increased from six and a half to eight and a half millions in free population. These figures show that as far as numbers go there is no retrogression, and that they are capable of maintaining themselves. Then as to territory, I will not weary you with statistics of square miles and acres, but it is enough to say that Texas alone contains territory sufficient to support a population engaged in agricultural pursuits of at least 20,000,000; that it is as large as France and the British Islands combined, that it has trebled its population within ten years, and from 1838 to 1860, it has increased from 60,000 to 600,000, and that not by any sudden influx of persons in search of minerals, as in the case of Australia and California, but by the regular course of emigration. (Hear, hear.) Take the increase of property as another test—let me give you the one case of Georgia; you will find that in 1860 the taxable property of that State had reached \$670,000,000, or double what it was in 1850. Now let us see how the Southern States stand as regards their productive powers. According to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, lately published—the Report, I mean, on Commerce and Navigation—the exports of domestic produce for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1860, the year before the war, amounted to \$373,000,000 in round numbers, of this \$36,000,000 was in gold coin and bullion, which it is impossible to allocate between the two sections, and which, therefore, had better be deducted, leaving \$317,000,000 to be accounted for; of this \$198,000,000 was in exports from Southern ports, and \$19,000,000 of Southern products, such as cotton, rice, tobacco, turpentine, pitch, &c., from Northern ports. We thus find, that of the whole \$317,000,000, \$217,000,000 of Southern produce, \$100,000,000 of Northern. So much for the material condition of the South—and now as to their position as a Government? The words of President Jefferson Davis, in his inaugural speech, are the very notes of Southern policy:—"An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity, required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit." And have they not amply fulfilled this pledge? They have thrown open the Mississippi to the commerce of the world; they have abolished all discriminating duties on foreign tonnage; they have sanctioned the lowest *ad valorem* tariff compatible with their

necessities, and they have embodied in their Constitution a provision that duties are to be imposed for revenue, and not for protection. (Hear, hear.) Now, I have heard many persons abuse the Southerners for their destruction of cotton. You might as fairly abuse the Russians for the burning of Moscow. (Hear, hear.) They burn it not to prevent it from reaching us, but to prevent it from becoming a source of wealth and strength to their opponents; it is not to starve Manchester, but to starve Lowell and New England. Remember, the Northerners promised us a cotton port, and how have they kept their word? Why, by General Butler keeping watch and ward, and not allowing one bale of cotton to leave New Orleans unless it can give a certificate of loyal origin, and of belonging to loyal citizens, as he calls them. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, look with what wisdom the Confederates have effected change in the former Constitution of the United States. They have prolonged the Presidential power from four to six years, and having rendered the revolution that disturbs the United States to the very centre every four years to be of rarer occurrence, they have enacted that ministers are, for the future, to be members of the Legislature, to explain the intentions of the Government, and not leave them to be expounded and interpreted according to the views of each speaker; a memorable instance of which was the attempt of Senator Douglas to frame a policy out of Mr. Lincoln's words, which were directly contrary to Mr. Lincoln's intentions. They have done away also with that wretched custom of dismissing every office-holder after the change of a Presidential party, the most miserable and short-sighted expedient of party warfare ever resorted to, spreading corruption broadcast, and paralysing the public service; and, lastly, they have enacted the most stringent provisions against the slave trade, and grafted them on their Constitution; and all this has been done with a dignity worthy of the inauguration of what I trust will be a thriving, powerful, and peace-loving Republic, wherein Republicans will not have to blush for Republican institutions. (Hear, hear.) As I have alluded to the provisions made by the Confederate States on the subject of the slave trade, I must now detain the House for a few minutes on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, which are perpetually thrown in the teeth of the advocates of Southern independence, and very notably this evening by the hon. member for Leicester (Mr. Taylor), whose whole argument in favour of the North was based on the fact that the Southerners were slaveowners, and that the independence of the South carried with it the extension of slavery. I should be the last man to have so ardently taken up the cause of the South from the commencement of this struggle had the contest been for the extension of slavery and the revival of the slave trade. Now, as to the slave trade. It is represented by Northern advocates that one of the great objects of secession was the revival of this traffic. This I utterly deny. It is from Northern and not from Southern ports that proceed the real traffickers in the flesh and blood of their fellow-men. Lord Lyons writes that in 1860 eighty-four vessels were notoriously fitted out for this unholy traffic; of these eighty-four vessels almost every one belong to New York and ports in New England. When I was in Cuba in 1860 I was shown a list of the vessels that brought 30,000 of these wretched Africans to that island within the current year. The greater, by far the greatest, proportion of these vessels were American, and almost all the American vessels were from Northern ports. Of the ten vessels captured by the United States' squadron in 1859-60 fitted up for the slave trade, or with slaves on board, seven were from the port of New York alone. (Hear, hear.) No; the Southerners are not the culprits. It is in Yankee ships—floated by Yankee capital—commanded by Yankee skippers, sent forth on their odious errand by the connivance of bribed Yankee officials—that this work of iniquity is carried on. (Hear, hear.) It will be stopped now, I trust, effectually by the treaty between this country and the United States, and I rejoice that the rulers of the United States have adopted this honourable course, for which I give them the fullest credit. But does any one believe that without Secession we should have ever got the North to consent to such a treaty? (Hear.) I am quite aware that in the South, the subject of the revival of the slave trade has been canvassed. But its advocates are of two classes: first, the poorer class of whites, who think it right that the principles of political economy should be extended to the purchase of negroes, and that they should be permitted to purchase in the cheapest market; and secondly, by a few persons of extreme opinions in the South, who, irritated by the violent language of Northern abolitionists, have determined to go for whatever may be most galling to their opponents. Thus one extreme begets another extreme. The Government, however, in the South is not directed and swayed by this violent section, nor is it, as it would be in the North, in the hands of the populace. It is directed by the ablest, and the wisest, and the most respected men in the community, and among them the idea of the revival of the slave trade never enters their imagination. (Hear.) I can say, with truth, that when I was in the South the idea of the revival of the slave trade was perfectly scouted. To say nothing of the instincts of humanity, which I suppose the hon. member for Leicester (Mr. Taylor) will altogether deny to every Southerner, there were three reasons alleged why they objected altogether to this traffic:—1st. The immense diminution of profits that African immigration would cause—the negro now worth \$1200 would fall to \$300. 2ndly. The unwillingness on the part of all prudent and thinking men to increase the disproportion between the whites and the coloured race, for already in two States, South Carolina and Mississippi, the negro has obtained the superiority in number. 3rdly. That from the experience of the few cargoes that have been landed, the planter dreads the incoming of these turbulent barbarians among his slaves, they having turned out perfect pests in the plantations where they were introduced. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, let me remark, that Louisiana, no longer protected in her sugar, has to compete with the Cuban sugar grower, with cheap slave labour; so that, rely on it, knowing as they do that their best chance is the enhanced price of labour in Cuba, the Louisiana planter will be as strong an anti-slave-trade man as you will find in this city or on the platform of Exeter Hall. (Hear, hear.) But the best proof of the real honest intention of the South on this subject may be gathered from the articles of its Constitution. Let me read to you Article 9 of the Constitution:—"1. The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than that the slave-owning States of the Confederate States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same. 2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of the Confederation." This enactment was subsequently confirmed by all the States in the ratification of the Constitution. South Carolina, the State in which this subject has been most discussed, ratified the Constitution and condemned the slave-trade by a majority of 146 to 23. (Hear.) It is curious enough that precisely the same

arguments were used by those who objected to the recognition of Texas, as by those who objected to the recognition of the Southern Republic. Mr. Hoy, in August, 1836, who had introduced the discussion on the recognition of Texas, grounded his objections to it on this very point. His words were:—"The war now carrying on in Texas was a war not for independence, not for liberty, but positively for slavery. If Texas were added to the American Union the basis of the connection would be to establish the slave-trade permanently in that State. The Texans were men of the lowest morality, and their interest was, as speculators, carrying on the slave-trade." The Texans hardly deserved these compliments, for it is asserted by them that not one cargo of negroes from Africa has been landed in Texas since a fixed Government took the place of the anarchy of Mexican rule. President Houston's first Message could not have been stronger had it been composed by Mr. Wilberforce himself; in it he speaks of the slave-trade as "that accursed traffic," and calls on England "to help him to put a stop to the importation of slaves from Cuba." (Hear.) And now with regard to the slavery question, I do not hesitate to say that, looking on all that is going on with the hope of gradual diminution and ultimate extinction of slavery, every Englishman ought to wish for the triumph of the Southern separation. I contend it is the only circumstance that can contract the area of slavery and prevent its extension, whereas the restoration of the Union would confirm, stabilize, and spread it. Supposing peace were now concluded on the basis of the independence of the South, it is probable that a portion of what is now slave territory would go with the North, but I do not pretend to form an opinion as to what would be that portion. This much, however, is clear, that there would be no fugitive slave law. The consequence would be, that a slave on the border, on considering himself aggrieved, could, with very little risk, make his escape. The result of this would be, that in the Border States slavery would be pushed back and free labour would take its place, and this process would go on until slavery became confined to that portion of the South where white labour would find the climate insupportable—and bear in mind that, with the establishment of a separate Republic, the South could have no jealousy of free labour—they will then gladly welcome every accession of wealth and industry. But do you, who hate slavery in your hearts really think that the reconstruction of the Union would favour your views? Why you must be mad to think so. (Hear, hear.) Why what would be the result of reconstruction? Why that every concession on the slavery question would be offered to the South if they would only come back again, and allow the North to dip as deep as before into the pockets of their dupes. (Hear, hear.) Why what can be more lamentable and more humiliating than the conduct of the North from the commencement of these troubles till now? They come whining to the South, with patriotism in their mouths, but with protection in their pockets (Cheers), and they proffer everything, only let them return and deal with them again. For this they offer to recognize slavery by name (hear, hear), they offer to get the States to do away with Personal Liberty Bills, (hear, hear), they offer to tear up and split into toothpicks the chief plank of the Chicago platform. (Hear, hear.) Now what said the men of the Chicago Convention? That under no circumstances would they ever allow slavery to be extended to their territories. Upon this there could be no surrender—other concessions they might grant; but this, in which humanity, conscience, and all the holiest considerations were indirectly involved, this they never could surrender, no never, never, never. And what have they offered? Why to cast all these considerations of conscience and humanity and duty to the four winds of heaven, to hand over all territories south of Mason and Dixie's line, (36°30') to slavery, if only the South will return and wear bad clothing, and use inferior iron, and pay the North some 9,000,000 sterling a year for the advantages of such a connection. (Cheers.) Is not this the case at this very moment? And let me recommend the seventh resolution of the great meeting held at the Cooper Institution, New York, on the 1st of July last, to the consideration of the hon. members for Leicester (Mr. Taylor) and Bradford (Mr. Forster).—"47. That this is a Government of white men, and was established exclusively for the white race; that the negro race is not entitled to and ought not to be admitted to political or social equality with the white race; but that it is our duty to treat them with kindness and consideration as an inferior and dependent race." (Hear, hear.) A New York pamphlet was put in my hand last year by a member of this House, supposed to carry with it very strong arguments to induce the South to return and nestle again in the warm Northern bosom—and this was one of the inducements. "Slavery, as protected by the Constitution of the United States, has more friends in the North than it has in all the world beside—friends who would march by thousands for its protection and defence as it exists under the Constitution." (Hear, hear.) But to leave anonymous writers for a minute, let us turn to authorities. In December, 1860, Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, used these words—"If I were an abolitionist, and wanted to accomplish the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, the first step I would take would be to break the bonds of this Union. I believe the continuance of slavery depends on the preservation of the Union and a compliance with all the guarantees of the Constitution." (Hear, hear.) The *New York Tribune*, the recognized organ of Northern Republicanism, the unflinching advocate hitherto of immediate abolition at all risks and hazards, pipes in quite an altered and lower key, "Be it the business of the people everywhere to forget the negro and remember only the country." (Hear, hear.) But what said, last year, the man who wanted to occupy the Presidential chair, bearing on his banner two words, since rendered famous, "irrepressible conflict?"—(hear, hear)—irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom. I mean Mr. William Seward (hear); the same Mr. Seward who was lately making capital by offering to sacrifice everything to Secession except the Morrill tariff; and who proclaimed an irrepressible conflict with every one of his former convictions and expressions. (Hear.) This Mr. William Seward is the same person who only the autumn before last was stumping it throughout the North on the broadest anti-slavery principle, who at Detroit declared "that slavery was, and must be only temporary and local;" who, in European boudoirs and saloons, had been trying to play the part of Barak to the Deborah of Mrs. Beecher Stowe. (Laughter.) Prophecying woes and lamentations to the South, and singing songs of triumph on the approaching exodus of the African race from the land of Egypt, when his hands should have grasped the reins of State. Let us hear what a consistent man says of the present most influential Minister of the Washington Cabinet. The person I quote is Mr. Wendell Phillips, a man as honest as he is eloquent, fanatical, if you will, upon one subject, namely, that of slavery; a most insane fanatic, no doubt, in the eyes of New

York, because he is one of the few who regards his conscience more than dollars, and who thinks—

"To live by law,
Acting the law we live by without fear;
And because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom, in the scorn of consequence."

At a meeting in the Music Hall at Boston, on June 20, 1861, he made a speech and used these expressions with regard to his former ally, who now directs the policy of the United States:—"The Republicans, led by Seward, offer to surrender anything save the Union. Their gospel is the Constitution, and the slave clause is their Sermon on the Mount. They think that at the judgment-day the blacker the sins they have committed to save the Union, the clearer will be their title to heaven." (Hear, hear.) And again:—"We look in vain through Mr. Seward's speeches for one hint or suggestion of dealing with our terrible lust. Indeed, one of his errors of disunion is, that it will give room for a European—that is, an uncompromising hostility to slavery. Such an hostility, the irrepressible conflict between right and wrong, William Seward in 1861 pronounces 'fearful.'" Mr. Phillips adds:—"Before the Union existed, Washington and Jefferson uttered the boldest anti-slavery opinions, but their sentiments would have been mobbed this very day in every city of the North: and the proof of the soundness of these views was practically exemplified by the narrow escape of Mr. Phillips from an enraged mob, on his return from the Music Hall; so well had anti-slavery Boston given heed to the lessons of its political instructors, 'to forget everywhere the negro, and to remember only the dollars.'" (Cheers and laughter.) Nothing is so extraordinary as persons in this country persisting to look on the North as the friend of the negro. Why, it is perfectly notorious that these wretched people, when in the North are treated like vermin, and shunned like leprosy. (Hear, hear.) Look at the course pursued towards them by Northern legislation, and then believe if you can, in the regards of the North for the African. If you refer to the Legislatures of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, it will be seen that every sympathy seems to have been enlisted in favour of the negro while in bondage, every hand raised against him in the North when once enfranchised. In Indiana, 1831, 'Free Negroes' and Mulattoes' Act; none of these persons to be admitted unless some white person should enter into a bond of \$500 for his good behaviour and power to maintain. Illinois, still more severe—1829—forbade any black to reside within the State without giving similar bond in \$1000. In Oregon—admitted into the Union in 1859—the right of voting denied to negroes, Chinamen, mulattoes; and in a clause, carried by 8640 votes to 1081, free negroes are in future denied admittance to the State:—"No free negro, or mulatto, not residing in this State at the time of this Constitution shall come, reside, or be within this State, or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any suit; and the Legislative Assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal by public officers of all such negroes and mulattoes, and for their effectual exclusion from this State, and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the State." In 1862 similar enactments have been passed in Illinois—the President's own State; and yet General Hunter offers to raise 40,000 negroes to fight for the Union against their masters, he knowing well that when the war is over not one of these people will be allowed to enter those States for whose love of empire they have shed their blood. (Hear, hear.) I have been obliged to enter at this great length on the slavery question; for, though it is now beginning to be well understood, at the commencement of this conflict the issue sought to be raised by the advocates of the North was, whether the country was prepared to advocate or to disapprove of the encroachments of slavery. This shallow device has become appreciated, and the result is the utter want of sympathy which the North experiences in Europe, and which it resents by menace and abuse. (Hear, hear.) Now, I contend, if you wish to put an end to this lamentable war, if you wish at once to avert that terrible calamity which is daily increasing in intensity throughout Lancashire, you will accept the resolution before you. It has been said, if the mediation of Europe be refused, what then? Why then the next step must be the immediate recognition by Europe of the Confederate States. But it has been asked during this debate, will recognition give you one bale of cotton, and will it not entail war? I answer, it will give cotton, and it will not entail war. For, mind, I do not advocate isolated action on the part of England, which would, I know, be useless, and only add to the irritation against us in the United States. But it is perfectly notorious that France has long been anxious to interpose, to do something even more than mediate, and that we have hitherto discountenanced this interposition, and our thanks have been that we have so acted from our usual perfidious motives, that the United States might be exhausted and ruined by the war, and not from any desire of impartiality. (Hear, hear.) Now, I say, we shall not have war; for though there is hardly a folly that has not been committed by the United States, yet it is not conceivable that, hard pushed as they are by the South, they should, in addition, bring on themselves the hostility of the most powerful European nations—and for what? Why, for doing that which every State has a perfect right to do according to all received international law, namely, to recognize any Government as independent, as was clearly shown by the right hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Whiteside). (Hear, hear.) But I go further, and I say that the day when the interposition of Europe is announced, the war bubble in America will burst. It will be a day long remembered in Wall-street and by the speculators of New York. It is these speculators, and contractors, and manufacturers, aided by a very small minority, who are thoroughly honest in the matter, namely the ardent abolitionists, who are urging on and influencing their countrymen in this war. (Hear.) Let but the great mass of the nation once see that Europe dispassionately believes the war to be hopeless, let them see that this mediation is offered without menace, but in a frank and friendly spirit, and I am confident that very soon it will be cordially grasped at. I look on the North hitherto as being in a state of hallucination, bewildered by the din of clamour, and boasting all around and everywhere. (Hear.) It seems to have been bitten by a tarantula, and drifted into a kind of monomania; that monomania is a craving that everything about it should be vast, vaster than anything elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) It seems to reconcile itself to every privation and sacrifice, so that all about it be on the most gigantic scale. It boasts that it has the largest army in the world; it cares nothing for the cost. (Hear, hear.) It consoles itself by the reflection that if plundered its speculators are robbers of the vastest proportions. (Hear, hear.) Even Bull Run is adored for as being the greatest defeat in the memory of most living men. (Hear, hear.) And it positively exults in the reflection that within two years it will have

accumulated a public debt of as great an amount as it has taken the greatest countries of worn-out and effete old Europe, centuries to incur. (Laughter.) I will read to the House an extract, sent to me by I know not who, from the *Dubuque Sun*, a newspaper in the State of Iowa, and this is the way a national debt is treated in America:—"The man who owes nobody is a poor, miserable being; nobody manifests interest in his welfare—nobody cares a continental cent whether he lives or dies. He is lean, hungry, and generally as poor and wretched as the pin-feathers on Job's turkey. Look at our great men—they are all debtors—owe everybody; our men of science, our authors, our sensation ministers, all, the entire cohort of them, are deeper in debt than Pharaoh's army were in the Red Sea. Debt ennobles a man; gives a more expanded and liberal view of human nature; keeps him moving, especially if he never pays rent. Nothing will cure the consumption quicker than a strong course of debt, properly taken. To owe is human, to pay is divine. Therefore, till man becomes superhuman, he should not attempt to emulate divinity. The science of payment—the true modern science—is to get in debt to somebody else whom you owe. By this means, you avoid getting out of debt, and maintain a reputation of paying. The greatness of a nation increases with its national debt. Make a note of this at ninety days." (Shouts of laughter.) Surely no one can believe that this state of things can continue in a country of prudent, educated men; and every mail brings us intelligence that moderate counsels are beginning to make themselves heard. If the great Powers of Europe offer their mediation in respectful and friendly terms, it will arouse thousands who are desirous of peace, but who have hitherto been crushed and kept down by violence and the intoxication of success. (Hear, hear.) It will have this good effect, too—that it will permit the impulse for peace to arise among the Americans themselves. It can inflict no wound on their pride and spirit of independence. It asks them to do nothing more than what their wisest and best citizens have advocated in the days when the Union was yet unthreatened. I would that over every door-post in the United States were graven at this moment the eloquent words of Mr. J. Quincy Adams, once a President of the United States, who, at the New York Historical Society, at the jubilee of the Constitution, 1839, expressed himself in this noble language:—"But the indissoluble link of union between the people of the several States of this Confederate nation is, after all, not in the right, but in the heart. If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it!) when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other; when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, the bands of political association will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship from each other, than to be held together by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to the precedent, which occurred at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more perfect Union, by dissolving that which could no longer bind, and to leave the separated parts to be reunited, by the law of political gravitation, to the centre." (Cheers.) There will shortly be a lull of arms when the great heat prevents military operations; therefore I pray you to avail yourselves of this opportunity. Give us peace for a little, even though it be but an armistice, and all may yet be well. The hon. member for Leicester (Mr. Taylor) says peace can be but a hollow truce. That I utterly deny. (Hear.) Fierce and vindictive as may be now the passions of both combatants, yet time, the healer of all things, scars over the deepest wound. Give us peace, and I do not despair, even in this darkest hour, that though the United States of Washington be no more, yet that the traditions of Washington may prevail on both sides of the boundary, and a great future yet be in store for those two vast Republics. If monarchies can exist side by side of each other, without strife and variance, why may not Republics? Rivalries there may be, but rivalries in progress, and in the arts of peace. I contend, if you will only help, that there is still hope that less hot and more Christian counsels may prevail, and that these two Republics may take their onward course, diverging, but not hostile, independent, yet not forgetful of their common origin, bidding each other farewell, in the language of Abraham to Lot—"Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; let there be no strife between me and thee, for we are brethren." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. FITZGERALD moved the adjournment of the debate. Lord PALMERSTON.—I should hope, after the length to which the debate has gone, that the House will be disposed to come to a division to-night (cheers) on the motion of the hon. member for Sunderland. The subject which we have been debating is one of the highest importance, and one also of the most delicate character (hear, hear), and I cannot think that the postponement of the conclusion of this debate till next week can be attended with any beneficial result, either one way or other. (Cheers.) I confess I regret very much that my hon. friend has thought it his duty to bring this subject under discussion in this House in the present state of things. (Cheers.) There can be but one wish on the part of every man in the country with respect to this war in America, and that is that it should end. (Hear.) I might doubt whether any end which can be satisfactory, or which could lead to an amicable settlement between the two parties, is likely to be accelerated by angry debates in this House. (Cheers.) We have had to-night the American war waged here, in words, by champions on both sides. It is quite true that many things have been said which must be gratifying to the feelings of both parties now fighting in America; but, on the other hand, things have been said in the warmth of debate which must tend to irritate and wound the feelings of both sides, and it is in human nature to think more of things that are offensive, than of things which are gratifying and friendly. I confess, therefore, that I regret that the debate has been brought on, and I should earnestly hope that the House would not agree to the motion of my hon. friend, but would leave it in the hands of the Government, to deal with the future, content as I believe the country is with the manner in which the past has been conducted by them. (Cheers.) I don't ask this upon the ground of confidence in the Government of the day, because I think that whatever party might have the rule in this country—whoever might sit on these benches—it would be wise and expedient in the House to leave a matter of such difficulty, of such delicacy, and of such immense importance in the hands of the responsible Government of the day (hear, hear), to deal with it according to the varying circumstances of the moment, and not by a resolution to dictate and point out a specific course, and to tie up their hands, thus taking upon the House of Commons the responsibility which ought properly to belong to the Government. (Cheers.) The motion of my hon. friend points to two courses—mediation and acknowledgment. We have heard a very learned and well-argued speech from the right hon. gentleman

opposite on the question of acknowledgment. I am not going to dispute that if this country thought it right to take that course we should be perfectly justified in acknowledging the independence of the Southern States, provided only that that independence had been—in the words which he used—"firmly and permanently established." (Hear, hear.) Moreover, I quite concur with him that our acknowledgment of that independence, if we thought right to make it, would be no just cause of war, no just cause of offence on the part of the United States as against this country. But the cases which the right hon. gentleman cited—more especially the cases of the South American republics—were totally different from that which is now presented to our consideration. (Hear, hear.) The South American republics were not acknowledged till a great many years after they had practically achieved and obtained their independence. That was a war between them and Spain—separated by the wide Atlantic from her revolted subjects—and unable with any degree of power to re-establish her authority over them; and, I believe, it was nearly fifteen years—certainly a great many years—before their independence was acknowledged. But what was the state of affairs in this case until the uncertain rumours we have received this day? A fortnight ago it was doubtful whether the Confederates or the Federals would be in possession of Richmond. It was but a few days ago that we imagined that the whole course of the Mississippi was in the hands of the Federals—we knew that New Orleans, and possibly Charleston, were in their hands, and, I contend, that up to the present moment, whatever may be the opinion which anybody may entertain of the resolution of this great determined nation of the South to fight to the last for the maintenance of its independence, practically the contest has not yet assumed the character which would justify this country in assuming that that independence was permanently and fully established. (Cheers.) But, then, many people who talk of acknowledgment seem to imply that that acknowledgment, if made, would establish some different relations between this country and the Southern States. But that is not the case. Acknowledgment would not establish a nation unless it were followed by some direct active interference. (Hear, hear.) Neutrality, as was well observed by the right hon. gentleman opposite, is perfectly compatible with acknowledgment. You may be neutral in a war between two countries whose independence you never called in question. Two long-established countries go to war; you acknowledge the independence of both, but you are not on that account bound to take part in the contest. (Hear.) The right hon. gentleman argued that we had taken a step towards acknowledgment by admitting that the South had belligerent rights, but Vattel and all the best authorities on the law of nations hold that when a civil war breaks out in a country, and is firmly established there, other nations have a right to deal with those two parties as belligerents, without acknowledging the independence of the revolted portion of the country. (Hear, hear.) Admitting that the war has been established on such a footing that each party is entitled to be regarded by other countries as belligerents, the mere fact of our having acknowledged that those two parties are belligerents in the international sense of the word does not imply a step towards acknowledging one or other of them as an independent nation. Nobody can be insensible for a moment of the vast importance to this country of a speedy termination of that war. (Hear, hear.) We all know the privations and sufferings which a great portion of our population are enduring in consequence of that unfortunate war; but, on the other hand, it has been well put by an hon. gentleman who spoke in this debate that any attempt to put an end to it by active interference would only produce greater evils, greater sufferings, and greater privations to those who interfered. (Hear, hear.) There is no instance, I believe, in the history of the world, of a contest such as that which is now going on in America—a contest of such magnitude between two different sections of the same people. The Thirty Years' War in Germany was a joke to it in point of amount and magnitude. It was but the other day that I saw a map sent by the Quartermaster-General of the Federal forces, on which were marked out the positions of 720,000 Federal troops. We now hear that 300,000 more men are to be called into the field—making 1,000,000 of men on one side and probably there is something not much less on the other. Irritation and exasperation on both sides are admitted by all who have taken part in the debate, and it is that the moment when it can be thought that a successful offer of mediation could be made to the two parties? (Hear.) My hon. friend said "I don't care for that; we had better offer mediation and let it be refused, and, if that were followed by acknowledgment, that acknowledgment would ultimately lead to a satisfactory settlement between the two parties." I wish to guard myself against anything in regard to the future. The events of this war have been so contrary to all anticipations, from time to time, that he would be a bold man indeed who should attempt to prophesy from month to month what character the war would assume. (Hear.) I believe the country and this House are of opinion that the Government has up to the present time pursued a wise and prudent course. (Cheers.) We should be too happy if any opportunity should present itself which would afford us a fair and reasonable prospect that any effort on our part might be conducive to establish peace between these two parties who are carrying on a desolating and afflicting contest, but I think that the House had better leave it to the discretion of the Government to judge of the occasions which may arise, and of the opportunities which may present themselves. (Hear, hear.) It is upon that ground that, without going into any investigation of the rights on either side as to which may be right and which wrong, without expressing any judgment—because I think it is the duty of the Government of this country to abstain from expressing any judgment upon the two parties—I ask the House not to sanction this resolution. If at any time we should be able by friendly offices to contribute to the establishment of peace, it can be only by presenting ourselves in the shape of impartial persons not tied by opinions either one way or the other, anxious only to promote that settlement between the two which may be consistent with the feelings and interests of both. It is only in that way that we can render any service, and, in order to remain in that position, to enjoy that character, it is necessary that we should avoid pronouncing any judgment or opinion. I therefore do not follow the example of those who have expressed opinions upon the merits of the two parties. I only entered the House not to adopt the resolution of my hon. friend (hear, hear), but to leave to the responsible Government the task of judging what can be done, when it can be done, and how it can be done. (Cheers.)

Mr. SEYMOUR FITZGERALD confessed that he never rose to address the House with a greater sense of responsibility than that with which he was then impressed—not because he presumed to suppose that any opinion of his was of greater weight than that of other members, but because the words of every gentleman who took part in this debate would be severely scanned in a community where the minds and judgments of men had been dis-

torted and disturbed, and their passions roused by a contest which it would be difficult to parallel in the annals of the world. (Hear, hear.) His hon. friend (Mr. Lindsay) had been found fault with for bringing forward a motion which, it was said, was likely to produce great exasperation in America. Now, it appeared to him that fault was found with the motion, not for what it was, but for what it was not. True, its wording had been altered, but that was a proof that his hon. friend desired to meet the objections which might be supposed to attach to it in its original shape; and it would be difficult to point out any particular in which the motion better deserved commendation than from the extreme caution and moderation which now characterized it. (Hear.) His hon. friend proposed that Her Majesty's Government should attempt mediation, upon the ground that the Confederate States had long preserved a separate Government, and shown a determination to maintain their independence; and he must say that until he heard the speech of the noble lord, he should have thought it difficult for any one to disagree with the terms of the resolution. The Confederate States had maintained not only a separate Government, but an established Government, with a recognized Constitution, a President, a Senate, and House of Representatives duly elected, constituencies who exercised an independent choice, and elections freely conducted. They had not only a large army in the field, but for upwards of a year had maintained and paid a body of troops numbering not less than 300,000. (Hear, hear.) When, therefore, the hon. member (Mr. Forster) advanced a policy of strict non-interference, he would ask what circumstance could possibly justify interference if these did not—not a forcible or coercive interference, but a friendly mediation, tendered in the most respectful and friendly tone? (Hear, hear.) Could anything more shocking be pointed out in history than the cruel warfare now being waged in America? (Hear, hear.) They heard of father being arrayed against son, and brother against brother; but this was not all. The contest was a sanguinary one, which it was impossible to parallel in modern times. It was said that the two armies had lately fought for seven consecutive days, and that in the last three days the killed, wounded, and missing amounted to upwards of 40,000. Numbers like these appeared almost incredible, yet there was reason to suppose that the accounts were not overcharged; and one statement in a Southern newspaper was that a Southern division, which on the fourth day went into action 14,000 strong, could next morning only muster 6000. Surely a friendly ally ought, at the earliest possible moment, to interpose, and by mediation try to stop so dreadful a contest. (Hear.) But it was not only on account of the state of things in America that we were called upon to interfere. He was struck with astonishment by what seemed the utter inability of the noble lord and other gentlemen to realize the magnitude of the disaster which was impending over us. (Hear.) That there should be a want of employment in the cotton districts for a certain time was not all. A cotton famine was not like a corn famine. When the potatoe crop failed one year in Ireland or the wheat crop in England, there was always the prospect and the hope that in the year following the kindly fruits of the earth would be enjoyed in due season. But the cotton crop required large capital combined with skill and industry. In the cotton producing States of America capital was destroyed the system of servitude was disturbed, and even if peace were brought about to-morrow it would be impossible to obtain that steady and ample supply of cotton which we had been in the habit of receiving. (Hear.) Then, again, although the patience and self-reliance of the population in the North were worthy of all praise, and though he believed that this self-respect and regard for order on the part of the bulk of the population would continue, was it quite certain that agitators might not find opportunities of spreading discontent, and that next winter might not be marked by as much social disorder as this was, unhappily, sure to be marked by social misery? (Hear, hear.) He thought, then, that we should be wanting in our duty to our own population, as well as to humanity in general, if we did not step forward and, by peaceful mediation, try to put an end to this odious contest. (Hear, hear.) He was told that this course would have no effect unless it were followed up by forcible intervention; but he did not believe that this was a fair estimate of the effect of mediation. His hon. friend proposed, not that this country should alone offer its mediation, or that we should recognize the South and afterwards call on the Federal Government to accept our good offices, but that, in concert with our allies, we should express our conviction, as the result of careful observation of all that has been passing during the last eighteen months, that it was impossible that there should be any other issue to this war than a separation between North and South. Coupled with this there would be an attempt to enforce our conviction, not by arms, but by the whole weight of our moral influence and authority. He believed that if we were to tender to the people of the United States our good offices to promote some terms of arrangement, it would have the best effect, because it would give to the sensible and moderate portion of the American people an opportunity of expressing opinions which were now overborne amid the din of war. (Hear.) A proof of this was afforded by what happened after the Trent affair, when, the first excitement having passed away, every moderate paper admitted that the North must be wrong, and must have exceeded their rights, since all the Powers of Europe declared this was so, combining for the purpose from no motives of self-interest, but merely in defence of the law of nations. Perhaps at first the North might be irritated by an offer of mediation, but he believed that they would ultimately listen with respect and deference to the collected opinion of Europe, and we should then enjoy the proud satisfaction of having contributed as far as we could to the attainment of so satisfactory an end. (Hear.) He did not know whether his hon. friend intended to take the responsibility of proceeding to a division, or the almost equal responsibility of withdrawing the motion; but in his heart of hearts he so entirely agreed with it that if his hon. friend pressed the motion he should certainly support it by his vote. (Hear.) However this might be, he was sure that in the line now taken by the Government a more weighty and serious responsibility was incurred by them than had almost ever been incurred by any other Government in modern times. (Hear.) A policy of non-interference might be the part of prudence and of wisdom. It might arise from indecision or from timid and divided councils. (Hear, hear.) He did not know what course the Government might hereafter take, but he felt assured that if they were only prepared to accept the responsibility of being the first to initiate in Europe the policy of inviting—in conjunction with the Powers of the Continent—the contending States of America to come to a settlement of their differences, they would have the satisfaction of knowing that they had taken a step which might have the effect of restoring peace to one hemisphere, and contentment and prosperity to the suffering people of another. (Hear, hear.) Thus, without the expense of a single shilling, or the loss of a single human life, might they confer a great blessing on those who were our kin-

dred; but whether they took that course or not the hon. member for Sunderland would have the gratification resulting from the fact that he had done his best by proposing the resolution which he had submitted to the House to bring about so desirable an object, while those who sat on the Opposition benches would have the satisfaction of knowing that they supported the resolution. (Hear.)

The motion for the adjournment of the debate was then withdrawn.

Mr. HORWOOD, in whose name a notice stood on the paper to the effect that it was his intention to move "that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to use every means consistent with the maintenance of peace, either in concert with the Great Powers of Europe or otherwise, as they may think it expedient, to endeavour to terminate the civil war now raging in America," said he did not feel disposed to take the course suggested for the adoption of the hon. member for Sunderland, and withdraw his motion. Very little had been said in the course of the discussion with respect to the distressed operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire, of whom 197,000 were working short time, while 58,990 were altogether without employment. (Cries of "Divide! divide!" from the benches below the gangway on the Ministerial side.) He was sorry to perceive the spirit in which those hon. members who professed to be the friends of the operatives seemed inclined to deal with their case (hear, hear); but he should implore the Government, in the name of justice and charity, as well as in the interests of humanity, to take some steps to put an end to the misery which the unhappy struggle in America was creating, not only in that country, but our own.

Mr. LYNOSAY then asked the permission of the House to withdraw his motion, observing that he would rest satisfied with the statement of the noble lord at the head of the Government, and the hope which it held out that he would take the earliest opportunity to bring about the termination of the war.

The motion was then withdrawn.

THE AMENITIES OF THE UNITED STATES' CONGRESS.

The following scene in the House of Representatives is suggestive, and, therefore, despite its coarseness, we reproduce it:—

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar.

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio, obtained the floor, and in the course of his remarks he referred to a statement made some time ago by Mr. RICHARDSON, of Illinois, relative to the cost of supporting and maintaining the negroes in the city of Washington. He was interrupted by

Mr. BLAKE, of Ohio, who said that the statement of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Richardson), was not sustained by any authentic information, and so far indeed from that statement being true, it was very wide of the truth. I do not mean to say that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Richardson) meant to represent any body, but there are no facts in any such statement.

Mr. RICHARDSON, of Illinois, (pulling up his sleeves and attitudinizing) asked menacingly, "do I understand that gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Blake) to deny that the Government was paying \$200 per day for the employment and support of the negroes?"

Mr. BLAKE—I deny that that statement in your speech is true, to the effect that there were two thousand rations per day issued to contrabands, equal to four hundred dollars per day, in this district alone, in violation of law.

Mr. RICHARDSON—That speech was made on the 19th of May, and no member in this House has dared to arise in his place and deny a single statement in it until now.

Mr. BLAKE—Because no man could get the floor for that purpose.

Mr. RICHARDSON (excitedly)—Ah! sir, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Blake), states a falsehood, when he states no gentleman could get the floor. No gentleman has risen in his place and denied the statement, when there was time to raise an investigating committee to examine into it, and I charge the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Blake), and every other gentleman who denies it, with stating a falsehood.

Mr. BLAKE—And I charge the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Richardson), with uttering what is utterly untrue and unfounded, and I am ready to back that up.

Mr. RICHARDSON (advancing menacingly)—Are you? We will see.

Mr. BLAKE—I am not to be intimidated by your threats, sir.

Mr. RICHARDSON (with another pull at his coat sleeve) advanced a few steps towards Mr. Blake, but was stopped by the Sergeant-at-arms, who kept him at bay, while he scowled at Mr. Blake, who cried out from his stand-point, "Let him come on."

Mr. RICHARDSON (at the top of his voice)—The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Blake) is a God d—n liar.

[There were not more than two dozen members in the Hall at the time, and those at once began to concentrate at hearing these words.]

Mr. BLAKE walked over towards Mr. Richardson's seat, and stooped towards him with the evident intention of explaining away the misunderstanding that had followed from the remarks, but instantly—

Mr. RICHARDSON cried out at the top of his voice, "God d—n you, get out of this—clear out!"

Finally order was restored, and Mr. ALLEN concluded his remarks.

Mr. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, whose writings are a text-book among Abolitionists, when Secretary of State under Mr. Monroe, in 1820, wrote a letter to Mr. Rush, then our minister at London, discussing the right of the British Government to emancipate American slaves captured during the war of 1812-14, in which he says:—"The principle is, that the emancipation of enemy's slaves is not among the acts of legitimate war—as relates to the owners, it is a destruction of private property, nowhere warranted by the usages of war." Again, he says:—"In the statement of the British ground of argument upon the claim in the submission, they have broadly asserted the right of emancipating slaves—private property—as a legitimate right of war. This is utterly incomprehensible on the part of a nation whose subjects hold slaves by millions, and who, in this very treaty, recognizes them as private property. No such right is acknowledged as a law of war by writers who admit any limitation. The right of putting to death all prisoners of war in cold blood, and without special cause, might as well be represented to be a law of war, or the right to use poisoned weapons, or to assassinate." So even the *Gazette's* omnipotent "war power" confers no authority, according to Mr. Adams, to emancipate slaves.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE, Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consignors of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN, Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN, Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO., Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA. Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumford-place, Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO., Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW ORLEANS. Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool. Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER, Commission Merchants, NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.

Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO., South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO., Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE, GALLEGOS FLOUR MILLS. This immense establishment of capacity to manufacture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON, TREDEGAR IRON WORKS. Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines, all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c., RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO., General Commission Merchants, RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO., Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton, Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE, Commission Merchant, ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer, MANCHESTER. Three and Six Cord Spool Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE, Serpentine, &c.; F. RINALDO AND NEAVEY, New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM, Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON, Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND. American Drills of all kinds, Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Manchester Goods.

SEARING AND CO., Commission Merchants, MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A. Represented by R. G. BEELEY, Cotton Broker, 2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY, Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY, Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN, Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly attend to all orders from or for the Continent of Europe and the States. Commissions for books and goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms. 102, Fleet-street, London.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, 14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and French Books.—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature, History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature, History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Languages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages, History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodically, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London, and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to effect a direct trade alliance between the European and the Southern Press, through the medium of advertising. The most practicable mode of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Capitalists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Countries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organized, classified, and liberal SYSTEM OF ADVERTISING. Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous inaction, but will commence its irresistible ebb and flow the moment peace is established. One of the most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to be used by the North will be the medium of advertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies are already organized in every Northern city, and only bide their time. We must see to it that our papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements and the advertisements of Southern Importers, Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be space left in any Southern newspaper for the advertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will our papers present to their readers a faithful mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old World, and of our business men at home, and thus attach to Southern interests that mighty lever "the Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of Northern advertising, has had so much influence in binding the South to dependence upon its enemies. Through the medium of a liberal advertising patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained against the stagnation in their business, which proceeds from interrupted or disorganized trade. The object of this Agency is threefold:—

- 1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manufacturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c., &c., in Southern papers.
- 2nd. To advertise Southern business, property, &c., in European journals.
- 3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, accompanied by a private letter (which shall be strictly confidential), stating your terms of advertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is selected for the Central Office, on account of its geographical position. We respectfully ask for this enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance, and guarantee a return, strict integrity in all business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with her mother and her daughter in a pleasant location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the comforts of a home and motherly care and attention, together with the advantages of the best education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier, 17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

GENTLEMEN requiring an excellent Tailor are recommended to the establishments of **A. M. GAUTIER,** 229, Regent-street, London (above Verrey's Restaurant), and 20, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. On Wednesday, the 30th, will be published, in 1 vol. 8vo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an Historical View of Democracy in America. By CORNELIUS DE WITT. Translated, with the Author's sanction, by R. S. H. CHURCH. London: LONGMAN, GREEN, AND CO., 14, Ludgate-hill.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company. The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay an interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the outstanding certificates of profits to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after the second Monday in February next; also, to declare a dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the net earned premiums of the Company, for the year ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates will be issued on and after the second Monday in February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-President.
D. Jamison.
J. R. Miltenberger.
J. R. Miltenberger.
J. A. Bohn.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE:..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending 31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st December, 1861..... 262,008 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December, 1861..... 1,338,306 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on and after 10th February next.

Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable on and after 1st January, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.

JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE: Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year ending 25th February, 1861..... 609,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending 25th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending 25th February, 1861..... 866,420 98

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem the Scrip of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable on and after the second Monday of May next.

Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BIGGS, President.

H. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned premiums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent. interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Company. Scrip certificates to be issued on and after the first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poutz.
C. Honold.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
R. F. Voelker.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE: Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months ending 30th April, 1861..... 801,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April, 1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 59

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent. of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861;
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Boston, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent. prime.

PATENT PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of Goods on board will be taken free of freight by the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, according to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made up into Packages, addressed to one party for delivery in America, or for the purpose of evading the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in America by the Customs, be charged with the proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company draw the attention of Shippers and Passengers to the 329th section of the new Merchant Shipping Act, which is as follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship, or to require the master or owner of any ship to carry, or to permit to be carried, in any ship, or any other goods which in the judgment of such master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and if any person carries or sends by any ship any goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly marking their nature on the outside of the package containing the same, or otherwise giving notice in writing to the master or owner, at or before the time of consigning or sending the same to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or owner of any ship may refuse to take on board any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a dangerous nature, and may require them to be opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum Stamped. Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XIV. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free speech and a free press, every interest—political, social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent, commercial, however remote, however small the class to which it addresses itself—has long had its recognized representative in Journalism, through which it seeks to obtain a share of the public attention. The one solitary exception has heretofore been in the case of the Confederate States of America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far West and of Mexico as by the enemy's armies and navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual blockade which excludes them from communion with the rest of mankind, than from the commercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed supplies. The disruption of the American Union—despite repeated warnings—started Europe, without at once awakening it to a full consciousness of the reality and importance of the event. So little had the internal politics of America entered into the routine of European thought, that even now—when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by far the greater portion of the intelligent European public. When the catastrophe occurred, the Northern States had the ear of the governments and of the peoples; and so zealously have they retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and distorting was the medium through which alone the South's voice could be heard, that Europe may fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of the English press has treated the weaker party in that spirit of fair play upon which every Englishman prides himself; and, as the struggle progressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a perplexing subject, which stands in honourable contrast to the flippancy and indecorum of American Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern interests and Southern opinions, to which the Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the public at large might look for reliable intelligence of the progress of events, and for valuable indications of the manner in which the South itself views and weighs the importance and bearing of those events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX" to supply, so far as possible. The measure of success which may reward the effort will necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the friends, and of the private, as well as official, representatives of the South in Europe. This co-operation has been most generously accorded us. There is a large amount of Southern intelligence which reaches Europe through various private channels. Still more important information is obtained from Northern sources, which finds no outlet through the muzzled press of those States. Much of such valuable material has already been placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our arrangements are such that our friends may rely in this respect upon a scrupulous and sound discretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible misapprehension—that it is not the sole object. Literature and General News—in fact, every ingredient of a Weekly Journal—will command our earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that liberal patronage which is promised us in advance. "THE INDEX" will be represented by competent Correspondents at the different capitals of the Continent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of the character of a Magazine, without departing from its proper sphere as a Review of current events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and practically familiar with the subject and all questions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is necessarily committed to the advocacy of the principles of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers, and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET-ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11, Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, Fleet-street, London E.C. July 31, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 15.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 7, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	225
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	226
Manchester Letter	226
THE TOBACCO MARKET	226
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
List of Killed and Wounded	226
PRIVATE LETTERS	229
DEBATE ON LORD CAMPELL'S MOTION	230
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	230
Paris	230
LEADERS—	
The Extension of the War	232
The American Question in the House of Lords..	232
The Last Card of the North	233
British Protection	234
Editorial	234
THE CRUISE OF THE SUMTER—	
A Cruise in the Western Ocean	235
At Cadiz	235
Burning of the Neapolitan	235
REVIEWS—	
Southern Statistics—	
Crime and Pauperism	236
Short Notices	236
THE HUNT OF THE NASHVILLE	237
PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA ..	237
Do. do. LOUISIANA	238
LETTER TO THE EDITOR	237
ADVERTISEMENTS	240

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN is no longer the great man of the age. The public confidence is shaken in his generalship. His most sanguine friends admit he is not a man of action, and his strategy is not of a character to compensate for other shortcomings. We are no longer treated to any of the Young Napoleon's promising despatches, and for the time he is not the observed of all observers. But if the last reports are true, and the Confederates under General Jackson are concentrating their lines on the James River, we may shortly hear of some further strategic movements of General M'Clellan. It seems that Generals Halleck and M'Clellan have had a consultation at Fort Monroe, and, assuredly, "the wise man from the West" can tell the commander of the army of the Potomac how to capture any number of prisoners without leaving his entrenchments.

General "Stonewall" Jackson is asserted to be at four places at the same time. He is at Gordonsville; he is marching on Harper's Ferry; he is pursuing General Pope; and he is at the James River. It is amusing, as well as surprising, that the Federals are so completely in the dark as to the Confederate movements. General Beauregard, who was last week asserted to be at Chattanooga, is now said to be in command of 30,000 men on the James River, between City Point and Richmond. It is rumoured that General M'Clellan's army is very sickly, and that the reinforcements coming in are not sufficient to replace the numbers daily incapacitated for service by sickness. Another significant feature is the announcement, generally credited in Washington, that the resignations of Federal officers are numerous and increasing.

General Pope has issued orders to the military to

seize all horses, mules, and stores in their vicinity not absolutely needed by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. All the inhabitants must take the oath of allegiance, or be sent North. The inhabitants who break the oath will be shot. It is much easier to tyrannize over inhabitants of the country than to combat the armies; so General Pope has chosen the easier, if not the better, part.

The news from Kentucky is rather meagre. It is rumoured by the North that General Morgan has retired into Tennessee through Cumberland Gap. This is a proof that the reported occupation of Cumberland Gap by the Federals is false. If General Morgan has gone into Tennessee, it is not impossible that the movement is strategic, and that the object is to co-operate against Halleck. The rumours in respect to Nashville are contradictory. In one case we are informed that "the Confederates are reported to have retired from before Nashville, and the fears of an attack upon that city have subsided;" and in another telegram, that "great excitement prevails at Nashville. The Federal pickets have been driven in, and the Confederates are reported to be within five miles of that city." It is also reported that the Confederates have crossed the Tennessee River in force, under three generals; and altogether, we think it not improbable that we may shortly hear of some important movements in Tennessee. If any reliance can be placed in Northern news, the Confederates are in great force in that State; and at this distance from the scene of action, to close in upon the Federal position seems a natural and politic movement. No one can glance at a map of the Southern States without perceiving the critical position occupied by the Federal troops in Tennessee.

The Governor of Ohio finds it so difficult to raise troops, that he threatens a conscription unless the quota is forthcoming in forty days. In consequence of the Confederate capture of Greenville, the Governor of Missouri has ordered the organization of the entire militia of that State. In Kansas General Lane has been authorized to raise troops without regard to colour.

Vicksburg is not captured, and is no longer attacked. The Federal fleet has been repulsed in an attempt to destroy the Confederate ram Arkansas, and the waters of the Mississippi fell so low that the Federal flotilla could not act. Commander Porter is at Washington, "and his mortar fleet supposed to be in Hampton Roads;" and Commodore Farragut has left Vicksburg, with his fleet, and gone to New Orleans.

The following is the Confederate official report of the engagement between the ram Arkansas and the Federal fleet:—

Vicksburg, July 15.

We engaged to-day from six to eight a.m. with the enemy's fleet above Vicksburg, consisting of four or more iron-clad vessels and two heavy sloops of war, and four gunboats and seven or eight rams. We drove an iron-clad ashore with colours down and disabled, blew up a ram, burned one vessel, and damaged several others. Our smoke-stack was so shot to pieces that we lost steam, and could not use our vessel as a ram. We were otherwise cut up, as we engaged at close quarters. Loss—10 killed and 15 wounded, others with slight wounds.

ISAAC N. BROWN, Lieutenant Commanding.

The Federals have a wholesome dread of these rams. The *New York World* says there is no doubt that the Confederates have constructed a formidable iron ram at Richmond, and urges the Federal Government "to be on its guard against an attack in the James River similar to the raid of the Merrimac in Hampton Roads."

There has been a riot at St. Louis. The telegraph summary says:—

Considerable excitement has prevailed in the British Consul's office at St. Louis, through a number of persons claiming the protection of the British flag to exempt them from military enrolment. Many persons who were attempting to get protection papers were severely handled by the mob. A detachment of the provost guard was ordered out, who, by timely exertion suppressed the outbreak.

Either an attempt has been made to enlist British subjects, or the military service is so distasteful that the people resort to any extremity to avoid enlistment. Still more important is the intelligence that a plot has been discovered, in which some of the principal inhabitants of St. Louis are implicated, to seize the city on behalf of the Confederates. This, together with the intimation that "the number of guerilla bands increases in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri," shows how universal is the uprising.

General Butler has recognized Mr. Coppell, the acting British Consul at New Orleans. He did this on the request of Commander Harrell, of the British sloop Rinaldo, who acted upon Lord Lyons' instructions. Mr. Kennedy Johnson, engaged in investigating the case of the seizure of the money deposited at the Dutch Consulate, has found it necessary to suggest several modifications of General Butler's policy.

A riot has been caused in the streets of New Orleans by the arrest of a lady for wearing a secession badge. The determined loyalty and boldness of the people of New Orleans must be galling to General Butler, or, as he would express it, "more than flesh and blood can bear."

The report that the Confederates demanded the surrender of General Butler for the murder of Mr. Mumford, and that if refused they would hang General M'Call, has arisen from an article in the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, which says "that the Confederate Government has now in its hands several hundred Federal officers of high military and social rank, and thinks that the present is the moment to demand atonement for General Butler's atrocities at New Orleans. The *Constitutionalist* thinks that retribution should be demanded for the blood of the man who was hung at New Orleans for hauling down the Federal flag, and urges "that thirty Federal officers be closely imprisoned until General Butler is delivered up, or until he falls into the hands of the Confederates by the chances of war." We may observe that it is not certain that Mr. Mumford did haul down the flag, though, of course, that act, at the time of its alleged occurrence, would not justify his execution.

The appointment of General Halleck to the command of all the land forces of the United States has not given rise to much comment. His former career is not calculated to impress confidence; but

then, his administration cannot be worse than that of Mr. Lincoln and his War Secretary, Mr. Stanton.

The enlistments continue very inactive, and further inducements are offered from day to day yet labour is so scarce, that a railroad company in New York lately advertised for fifty labourers, and did not receive any applications. The Philadelphia Municipality has apportioned \$500,000 for volunteer bounty. If Mr. Lincoln raises the 300,000 men he demands, it will be by far the most costly army in the world.

By two specific and formal acts the United States Government has recognized the Confederate States as a belligerent and foreign Power. The first is a proclamation issued by Mr. Lincoln, authorizing the military commanders to seize and use for the Federal army all property, real and personal, in the Confederate States which may be necessary for military purposes. "Property may be destroyed for military purposes, but not otherwise. The military and naval commanders shall employ as many negroes for labourers as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, and pay them wages." If Secession had still been treated as rebellion, the authorization would have been limited to the property of rebels.

The second act of recognition is an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, entered into between General Dix, on the part of the Federal Government, and General Lee, on the part of the Confederate Government, upon the basis of a similar arrangement between England and the United States in 1812.

In the midst of their gloomy despair, the people of New York are clamouring for an Emancipation Act. According to the telegram—

Several Committees, composed of the Mayor and all the leading men of wealth and influence in the commercial and legal community of New York, have passed numerous strong resolutions declaring the present time to be the crisis of the rebellion—that no qualified Unionism should longer be permitted, and that it is far better that every rebel should perish than that one more loyal man should die. The Committees, therefore, earnestly call upon President Lincoln immediately to issue an Emancipation proclamation. "This," they say, "will diminish the rebel army by calling many rebel officers and men to the defence of their homes. The Free States and the whole civilized world will applaud the Emancipation proclamation."

We should be disgusted with the cold-blooded and sanguinary atrocity of the calculation of stirring up a servile war and destroying millions of our race, but the project is so futile that we can afford to laugh at it. The negroes have manifested their faithful affection for their masters, and if they take any part in the contest, would rather act against the North, that hates them so bitterly, than against those who feed, clothe, and care for them. It is not impossible that these Committees may be the tools of others, and that the object of their proceedings may be to get up a riot, and justify the placing of New York under the care of a Vigilance Committee. It is hardly credible that sane men occupying respectable positions would lend themselves to such schemes, except for some ulterior purpose.

The Secession members of the Baltimore Municipality have twice rejected a resolution for making an appropriation for volunteers; and being subjected to the threatenings of the mob, have resigned. The New York Press is certainly justified in calling Baltimore "a hot bed of Secession."

It is now officially reported that the Federal loss in the recent battles before Richmond was 16,000 men. From this official estimate we may conceive how tremendous must have been the actual loss.

Generals Halleck, Burnside, and Pope are at Washington, attending a War Council with the Federal Cabinet.

We are not surprised to hear that "much public despondency exists, and the people appear inclined to take more gloomy views of the position of affairs than at any time since the commencement of the struggle;" and further, that "for the last three days a general feeling of uneasiness has prevailed in all circles." It is impossible to imagine a more dispiriting crisis, whether we look to the military or the financial position. Coin, as a circulating medium, has almost entirely disappeared, and a total

paralyzation of trade—even retail trade—is imminent.

Three British steamers have been captured. The *Tubal Cain*, off Charleston; the *Adela*, east of Abaco; and the *Star of the East*, by the custom-house officers at New York. The last-named vessel took out a clearance for Long Cay, in the Bahamas, and it was asserted her cargo consisted of goods well adapted to the use of the Confederates; hence her seizure. Now, we should like to know what goods are not adapted to the use of the Confederates? Upon this pretence, a vessel laden with pins and needles, boots and shoes, ladies' dresses, or any other article of merchandize, might be seized. The Federal Government has thought proper to blockade the Bahamas; but even though, as in the case of Nassau, we are, according to Earl Russell, bound to submit to the blockade of a British port, the blockade ought to be announced and gazetted.

President Lincoln has issued an order forbidding military commanders from exacting the oath of allegiance from foreigners. In all cases where an alien is deprived of his liberty a full account of the circumstances must be sent to the War Department, for the consideration of the State Department. The marvel is, that military commanders should have been so ignorant or so lawless as to exact an oath of allegiance from foreigners.

It is rumoured that General Fremont is to have a command in Texas.

Mr. Lincoln has made a strong appeal to the Border States' members in favour of an Emancipation policy, and he has received an unfavourable reply.

It is currently reported that the demand of the Governors of States for 300,000 men was fabricated in Washington after the defeat of McClellan, and that the signatures of the Governors were solicited after the publication of the document purporting to have been already signed by them.

Ex-President Buren died on July 24, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

In another page will be found a report of the debate in the House of Lords, on Monday night, upon Lord Campbell's motion for the production of papers.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, August 6, 1862.

Our last report left the market very strong on the basis of 18½d. for middling Orleans, and 13½d. to 13¾d. for fair Dhollerah. On Thursday the buoyancy of the previous few days continued, the sales reached 10,000 bales, and prices of American and long-stapled cotton were rather dearer. On Friday the business again reached 10,000, and in the afternoon, on receipt of a good report from Manchester, rather higher prices were paid. The returns for the week show that the trade took 16,000 and exporters 14,000 bales; of these amounts 7000 were American, leaving the stock in port only 36,000 bales—at this rate of outgoing our little remnant of stock would be totally exhausted in five weeks!

On Saturday the sales were again 10,000 bales at ½d. to ¾d. advance, with a very strong feeling in the market.

On Monday the Europa's news came to hand, with dates from New York to 24th ult. These were miscellaneous in their nature, and contained few items of importance. Gold had receded to 17 per cent. premium, and exchange was quoted lower. Our market opened well, and the sales reached 10,000 bales at firm prices. Yesterday the Norwegian's news, by telegraph, to 28th ult., were received in the forenoon; cotton had declined 4 cents in New York, and exchange was again rather lower. The *Times* published a letter from its New York correspondent, in which he referred, in very strong language, to the gloomy feeling that pervaded the Northern people and the impossibility of obtaining the levies required, without resorting to conscription. This had a slightly damping effect on our market, and the sales only reached 5000 bales at previous prices. In Manchester the market ruled extremely firm at a further advance. The good India accounts, together with the reduced production that has now come into play, served to give confidence to holders. The City of New York, with two days' later, via Cape Race, was telegraphed this afternoon. Exchange had declined to 127, and cotton, after considerable fluctuations in price, closed at 46 cents for Middling Uplands. The market opened well this morning, but as the day advanced the demand fell off, and the sales only reached 5000 bales at slightly easier prices for *Smuts*, but very full rates for American, leaving our quotations respectively 18½d., 18¾d., and 19d. for middling Bowed, Mobiles, and Orleans; 13½d. to 13¾d. for Fair Dhollerah and Omrawatta, and 14½d. for Fair Brough.

The speculative feeling for the moment seems to have calmed down, and there is evidently a desire on the part of operators to wait for a further development of the policy which the North intends to pursue. But it is evident that our small stock of American must attract much greater attention from speculators than has yet taken place, and prices must be pushed up till the demand from the trade and exporters is reduced to one-half, or even one-third, of its present small proportions.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, Aug. 5, 1862.

From Tuesday to Friday our market was considerably better, both for yarns and goods, especially in those kinds suitable for shipment.

In yarns the German buyers have been doing business freely; and where they could meet with the following numbers spun from American cotton entirely, an advance of 1d. per lb. was paid—viz., for 4s. to 40s. male; 30s. water; 40s. to 60s. double, and 30s. pin-cops. Low numbers in warps have also partaken of the advance.

Notwithstanding this advance having been obtained for the above counts, Nos. 20s. to 24s. water, 16s. to 26s. pin-cops, although spun from American cotton, could not be got rid of by sellers at any advance upon last week's rates, as there are many second-hand lots of these qualities, in the hands of speculators, to compete with.

There being very little water-twist spun at present, especially from American cotton, this class of yarn must rise very rapidly in price, as the continental merchants are very bare of stock, having at this season of the year in ordinary times a four to five months' stock beforehand, whilst at present they have no more than a month's stock to work upon.

The later telegrams from Bombay up to the 12th, and Calcutta the 11th July, received here on Thursday, have imparted a better feeling to our cloth market in general. Some little business was done in India shirtings on Friday, at an advance of 1½d. to 3d. per piece. *Jaconets* were firm, at last week's quotations. *Printers* were more in demand; and as stocks of these goods are lighter, an advance of 3d. per piece was obtained. Long cloths, Madapolams, T-cloths, and Domestic were rather higher than on Tuesday.

Yarn agents, who supply manufacturers with material, are receiving instructions every day from their different clients to resell for them stated quantities of yarn, as they intend to close their works.

To-day our market has been very irregular in price for yarns, and the total amount of business has been small. 20s. water has advanced ¾d. per lb., 24s. 1d. per lb., and for 30s. ditto, spun from American cotton, as much as 3d. per lb. advance has been obtained. Nos. 40s. to 60s. double are 1½d. per lb., and yarns for the home trade are from ½d. to ¾d. per lb. higher than last Tuesday.

India shirtings are at about Friday's quotations. *Printers* are about 3d. per piece higher than on Friday, especially in 9-8, 16 by 16, and 17 by 17. 20 yards *Jaconets* may be quoted 1½d. per piece higher, whilst Long Cloths, Madapolams, T-cloths, and Domestic remain firm, at Friday's quotations.

TOBACCO.

LONDON, Aug. 6, 1862.

The sales last month were 3110 hogsheads in London and 1817 hogsheads in Liverpool. There was also a considerable business in manufactured tobacco, and good lots of Cavendish realized as much as 18d. and 19d. per lb.

The stock of strips in importers' hands is now very small, and the few transactions of the past week are owing rather to the indifference of bidders, and the advanced rates asked, than to any disinclination of buyers, even at some advance in price. The trade are naturally anxious in the prospect of continuance of the war; and the success of the Confederates in the Border and tobacco growing States seems to threaten still greater disturbance of agricultural interests, and diversion of labour and attention from the plantations to the war, which may again be carried on more fiercely in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. Should these States be lost to the Federals, as seems probable, Western tobacco will be as effectually blockaded in the interior as the Virginia crops of 1861, and part of 1860 have been since the spring of last year. The latest accounts from the West state the probable quantity of strips, both old remaining in the country and this year's preparation, at not exceeding 6500 hogsheads. An average crop seems to have been planted, and may perhaps be secured, but in Virginia we must calculate on a small preparation, a small crop, and probably some considerable damage, if not actual destruction of a large proportion of the old stock remaining in Richmond and the interior of the State when the blockade prevented all further export from this quarter.

These considerations have imparted strength to the market, and we quote prices for most descriptions from ¾d. to 1d. above the current rates of last month.

Stocks, July 31	Virg. Leaf.	Virg. Std.	Wstrn. Leaf.	Wstrn. Std.	Mary-land.	Manu-factured
In London.....	590	589	7831	5429	6004	2464
In Liverpool..	350	750	3889	5367	4283	1266

QUOTATIONS:—

Virginia Leaf	6d. to 13½d.
Ditto, Stemmed	15d. to 18d.
Western Leaf	6d. to 12d.
Ditto, Stemmed	12d. to 14½d.
Marylands	5½d. to 10d.
Negrohead and Cavendish	7½d. to 36d.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

THE BATTLES OF THE 27th AND 28th OF JUNE.

KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following Lists are taken from the *Richmond Dispatch*:—

List of Casualties in the 9th Alabama Regiment, Major J. H. J. Williams, commanding, in the engagement on Friday, June 27th, 1862:—

Company A.—Lieut. A. H. Hays, commanding. Killed: Colour Sergeant J. Donnelly, Corporal D. Mitchell, and Private D. Thomas. Mortally Wounded: Privates Wm. McGilvery, M. Winters, and B. McTurnau. Slightly Wounded: Lieut. A. H. Hays, Privates J. Lynch, W. Brown, A. J. Lefevre, and J. Morrissey. Missing: Private F. Kent.

Company B.—Capt. E. B. Moore commanding.—Killed: Sergeant Larkin; Privates James Gerrin, Mike Percell, Chas. Riley, H. Hulsey, Miles Cowan, and Bryan Smith. Wounded: Corporal J. Quinn; Privates F. Connell, E. Potec, P. Dromey, P. Bodkin, J. Coswell, B. Green, John Green, John Jacobs, Thomas Ready, Thomas McDonald. Missing: Private W. Hogan.

Company C.—Killed: Privates J. A. J. Sloan, Wm. Montgomery, N. C. Graham, M. M. Rodgers. Wounded: Sergeant H. V. Whitehead, Privates Jas. Brunan, G. R. Bailey, Colour

Corporal R. H. Coleman; Privates C. F. Davis, N. M. Garnett, B. C. Harrison, J. B. Windham, A. J. Watkins. Missing: Privates T. J. Riddle, M. D. Allen, T. H. Hawkins.

Company D.—Killed: Corporal E. J. Pool; Privates A. C. Thrasher, M. Perkins, D. H. Jones. Wounded: Capt. James M. Crow, slight; Lieut. James W. Wilson, slight; Colour Corporal J. E. Beauchamp; Privates D. C. Hendrix, J. Marcella, P. M. Young.

Company E.—Killed: Corporal Graves, Privates Russell, Martin, Carter. Wounded severely: Lieut. John Hart; Corporal Cooper; Privates Rothall, White, Carroll, Gassanay, Tuckett, Barnett, House, Weatherby, Booker, Thomas, McKinney.

Company F.—Killed: Private Cruse. Wounded: Privates Bracken, Bragford, Fielding, Greeson, Gilbert, Hambleton, Hagner, McDonald, Sloan, Smith, Crouch; Capt. T. H. Hobbs, severely; Lieut. W. L. Wayland. Missing: Privates Johnson, Venable.

Company G.—Killed: Capt. E. Y. Hill; Corporal H. W. Whitaker, Private J. L. Lide. Wounded: Privates A. J. Milie, mortally; J. S. Knox, do.; J. M. Morgan, severely; B. Bullock, do.; J. Watson, do.; H. L. Solomon, slight; L. S. Renfro, do.; Sergeant Files, do.

Company H.—Killed: Private S. Crabb. Wounded: Privates M. Hill, mortally; H. Watkins, J. Cline, G. Dean, G. Grisham, G. T. Graham, C. P. Lovell, L. R. Bates, J. L. Black, J. K. Patterson, W. M. Roberts, P. Henderson; Sergeants J. Hardy, in leg; W. T. Hobbs, in knee.

Company I.—Killed: Privates P. F. Marbut, W. J. Barnett. Wounded: 2nd Lieut. A. C. Chisholm, F. M. Gresham; Privates M. Richardson, N. H. Rice, S. W. Kidgeway, F. M. Wilson. Missing: Private P. S. Whitehead.

Company K.—Killed: 1st Sergeant J. C. Miller, Sergeant E. V. Robbins; Privates E. B. Offelt, Wm. Larne, A. B. Buchanan, J. S. Lawler. Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Hackney; Corporal James Burk; Privates J. P. Critchen, J. M. Critchen, Pat Hughes, M. McClendon, J. May, B. Dailey; Doctor J. Fennell.

Lieut. M. C. May, Adjutant 9th Alabama Regiment.

A List of the Killed and Wounded of the 8th Regiment Virginia Volunteers, in the engagement of June 27, 1862:—

Company A; Capt. Wm. R. Bissell.—Killed: Privates Wm. F. Janney and Robt. S. Young. Wounded: Lieut. Edward C. Gibson, severely; Corporal Albert Heaton, badly; Private Volney P. Hill, badly.

Company B; Capt. H. C. Bonic.—Wounded: Lieut. Geo. T. Allen, mortally; Sergeant Hubert Moss, slightly; Privates Geo. W. Newlon, Bushrod Carter, and Zachariah Royston, badly.

Company C; Capt. Robt. H. Taylor.—Wounded: Orderly Marcus B. Conrad, severely; Sergeant A. H. Compton; Corporal Chas. Kerus, slightly; Privates Warner Allison, slightly; Evans O. Lunford, badly; Fitzgerald Thornton, badly; Robt. Lynn, slightly; Wm. O. Haggerty, slightly; Suowden B. Martin, do.

Company D; Capt. Wm. N. Berkeley.—Wounded: Sergeant Geo. W. Moran, very seriously; Albert Morris, slightly; Corporal French Gulick, slightly; Privates Leven Luckett, very badly; David Gulick, badly; L. F. Hutchison, slightly; Francis Chicer, slightly.

Company E; Capt. John R. Carter.—Wounded: Corporal J. A. Taverner, badly; Sergeant Wm. Moon, slightly; Corporal Richd. Marshall, badly; Privates Joseph Steele, very badly; Wm. Huns, slightly.

Company F; Capt. Alexander Grayson.—Killed: Lieut. R. O. Grayson; Private Wm. T. Dickey. Wounded: Lieut. H. W. Chamblin, badly.

Company G; Capt. J. O. Berry.—Killed: Private Asa Peck. Wounded: Privates Geo. L. Williams, slightly; Armistead Thompson, slightly; Thos. Holden, badly; J. W. Butler, badly; Geo. Ghee, badly; J. W. Kidwell, badly; Robt. Wells, badly.

Company H; Capt. Fustus Griffith.—Wounded: Corporal Chas. A. Cox, badly; Private John Manett, slightly.

Company I; Captain Wm. E. Garrett.—Killed: Orderly Jas. A. Garrett, Sergeant B. W. Shillman. Wounded: Private Samuel Cole, badly.

Company K; Capt. J. J. Smith.—Killed: Lieut. E. I. Fant. Wounded: Sergeants E. M. Herrington, slightly; John N. Garrison, badly; Corporal L. M. Lawrence, slightly; Privates C. W. Farr, badly; Wm. Legg, badly.

Rev. Geo. W. Harris, volunteer Chaplain to the regiment, was badly wounded in the side while bearing off a wounded soldier.

This regiment went into action with 185 muskets, and was gallantly led by its brave Colonel, Eppa Hunton, who had just returned the day before the engagement from a severe spell of sickness, and though very weak and emaciated, never faltered in the discharge of his duty. Major Edmund Berkeley did much to inspire the men with courage.

T. B. HUTCHISON, Adjutant.

List of Killed and Wounded in the 34th North Carolina Regiment:—

Wounded: Colonel R. H. Riddick, Lieut.-Colonel C. J. Hammarskeld, and Adjutant J. W. Riddick.

Company A.—Killed: Private Green Andrews.

Company B.—Killed: Drury Haall. Wounded: Privates Wm. Wright, Adolphus Withro, William Brooks, F. M. Green, A. H. Davis, Amos Hamrick.

Company C.—Killed: Privates A. G. Wallace, G. R. Keeter, B. O. Tanner, W. H. Miller. Wounded: L. N. McBryer, L. A. Daves, H. Lumber, W. G. Conner, C. M. Crow, R. M. Harrell, A. O. Lyuch, J. W. Wilson.

Company D.—Killed: Private J. R. McNeely. Wounded: Capt. W. L. Lawrence, Sergeant T. J. Atkinson, Privates Wm. Harvell, E. Freene, F. M. Miller, R. A. Overcash, Joel Corriher, S. A. Martin, B. M. Atwell, Wilson Overcash, David Pickler, J. B. Parker, J. T. Winford, J. K. McNeely.

Company E.—Killed: Lieut. David Rhodes; Privates J. H. Hill, Dan. Wise, Dan. Perkins, Joab Moore, Cephas Hartzoge, Wounded: M. L. Heaver, Joshua, Queen, Pink Edmond, Charles Shull, Geo. Hedgpell, David Reid, Alex. Helms, Thos. Abernethy, Daniel Gilbert, Perry Carpenter, John H. Baker.

Company F.—Killed: Capt. A. G. Waters; Privates, Wm. Clay, A. G. Elam, R. H. Shields, W. L. Harden, B. K. Harden, J. A. Bryant, Samuel Akin, John White, D. A. Wilson, Solomon Carpenter, J. E. Beam. Wounded: Lieut. D. R. Hoyle; Privates Syrus Sparrow, A. H. Gault, B. M. Hoyle, Solomon Newton, Newton Wright, A. C. Irvin, Jas. Blanton, D. M. Stroup, Henry Hoyle, Presley Norman, Jacob Earls, John Newton, O. W. Felnot, H. S. Moss, D. D. Price.

Company G.—Killed: Privates Charles Anderson, J. D. D.

Alexander, J. K. P. Means, J. A. Todd. Wounded: Lieut. G. M. Norment, Lieut. Robert D. Reid; Privates W. Clerx, A. J. Phillips, J. J. Bain, Scott Lawing.

Company H.—Killed: Privates Luther Roberts, Leroy Pullman, A. P. Gool, John Howell, William Brown, Martin Earls.

Company I.—Killed: S. Cargall, G. C. Kenaly. Wounded: J. Steadman, Wm. Martin, Phillip Suttle, Jack Robbins, Jobb Huntley, W. L. Jones, M. Kimble.

Company K.—Killed: O. L. Harlie, P. G. Green, H. C. Hamilton.

E. C. McLAUGHLIN.

List of Casualties of the 20th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel R. C. Allen, in the battle of the 27th:—

Company A; Lieut. Fink, commanding, killed.—Wounded: Sergeant Joel H. Walker; Privates Philip F. Barger, J. G. Hayes, John W. Camper, B. O. Simmons, W. Ohendchain.

Company B; Lieut. Goode, commanding, slightly wounded in thigh.—Wounded: Privates W. H. Jones, Hugh M. Hill, John Abbott, J. J. Lakin.

Company C; Capt. Shepard, commanding, wounded in head.—Killed: Lieut. James H. Reynolds, Corporal George L. Kintzley—Privates John W. Givens and Philip J. Williams. Wounded: 1st Sergeant William E. Reynolds; Privates B. M. Kerr, John T. Dervin, James R. McPherson, and George L. Reynolds.

Company D; Lieut. Stewart commanding.—Killed: Corporals A. Overstreet and John W. Beard. Wounded: 1st Sergeant John P. Walrond, Privates A. L. Blankinship, Harry Barton, Thomas D. Carrol, Joel M. Franklin, Josiah Dooley, John S. L. Settle, Fielding Luck, and John T. Payne.

Company E; Lieut. Miner, commanding.—Wounded: Sergeants Kelley and James J. Ester; Corporal Patterson; Privates Alexander Farris, James G. Richardson, and William J. Simpson. Missing: E. W. Martin.

Company F; Capt. Hugh Nelson commanding.—Wounded: 1st Sergeant M. M. Lowry, Sergeant J. H. Ellis, John C. Rucker, Corporal M. V. Shelton; Privates Thomas Puckett, Thomas Monroe, J. B. Tanner, John R. Wilsoo, L. B. Wright, A. P. Wright, W. H. Mitchell, Charles Padgett, M. B. Claytor, W. E. Wright, John R. Ellis.

Company G; Lieut. Holland, commanding, severely wounded in each thigh.—Wounded: Stephen Chaffin, O. V. E. Dearing, R. A. Foster, R. M. Johnson, R. Mitchell, J. D. Williams, W. A. Walker. Missing: W. C. Creary.

Company I; Lieut. A. H. Hoge, commanding, severely wounded in the shoulder.—Killed: Privates Ro. S. Phillips, and James Murry. Wounded: Sergeant A. Lewis, in hand and arm; Corporals A. Ramsay, arm broken, W. L. Williamson, arm and leg broken; P. W. Loyd, slightly in side; Privates Samuel M. Brown, slightly in hand; David Collier, in body; Jno. W. Hix, slightly in shoulder; Jos. P. Lemon, in hand; O. J. Moseley, slightly in thigh; W. W. Meador, severely in foot; Jno. H. Persinger, severely in leg; Chas. H. Settle, severely in hand; Wm. Schoonover, slightly in hand; J. B. Thompson, severely in thigh; H. S. Trout, slightly in knee; J. W. Whitesul, in thigh; Jno. W. Carroll, in leg; Jno. R. Hardy, thigh.

Company K; Captain Robertson, commanding, severely wounded.—Killed: Corporal W. A. Peters, and Private A. S. Richardson. Wounded: Sergeants G. W. Shaver, in arm; W. D. Woodson, severely in groin; Privates L. B. Candiff, slightly; B. Painter, do.; Wm. Slack, arm and head; Wm. H. Tyler, severely in face; Wm. H. Terms, slightly in arm.

Wm. C. LEFTWICH,

A. Adjutant 28th Reg. Va. Volunteers.

List of Killed and Wounded of the 2nd Florida Regiment, Brigadier-General R. A. Pryor's Brigade, in the battles of Thursday and Friday, 26th and 27th, in the neighbourhood of the Chickahominy River.

1st Company.—Wounded: Capt. and Assistant-Quartermaster E. M. L. Engle, Corporal George R. Brow, W. E. Livingston.

2nd Company; 1st Lieut. Tillinghast commanding.—Wounded: Corporal R. Cobb, L. S. Barnes, F. A. McNelly. 3rd Company; Captain A. Mosely.—Wounded: Sergeant D. L. Dunham, Corporal Jno. Grey, E. Hull, B. E. Brown, Thos. W. Hooper, J. J. Davis, E. Bensley.

4th Company; 2nd Lieut. P. Todd commanding.—Wounded: A. J. Hogan, M. J. Fogg, J. Slager, Jno. P. C. Massey.

5th Company; 2nd Lieut. A. W. Wright commanding.—Wounded: Sergeant J. C. Gibbs, Jas. Drummond, E. Taylor, Jno. Noland, Jos. Wilkerson.

6th Company; 2nd Lieut. Parker commanding.—Killed: J. G. Grey. Wounded: 1st Sergeant J. L. Dutton, D. Dortch, Jno. McCormack.

7th Company; 2nd Lieut. Jno. W. Hall commanding.—Killed: Thos. J. Watson. Wounded: Geo. Shiver, A. Woodce, Jno. Cheshire.

8th Company; 1st Lieut. Wm. H. H. Rogers commanding.—Killed: T. J. Wilder, G. Herndon. Wounded: J. T. C. Adams, Thos. Lewis, S. W. Parker.

9th Company; 1st Lieut. Sikes commanding.—Killed: Jas. Wilkie. Wounded: Thomas Mills, Jas. White, Wm. Strobie.

10th Company; 1st Lieut. Spiers commanding.—Killed: Thos. Miller. Wounded: 2nd Lieut. Pratt, Jacob Moore, M. Craine, ——— Wilkerson, J. C. Mole, W. B. Brewer, Jno. Bonnel.

11th Company; 1st Lieut. E. C. Humphreys commanding.—Killed: Corporal T. M. Ransom. Wounded: Jas. H. Knight, Jno. L. Penny, W. B. Sills, Sam. Clifford, A. Villar, D. C. Knowles, D. H. Doer.

12th Company; Captain W. Parkhill.—Killed: Captain W. Parkhill. Wounded: Corporal R. M. Horn, Corporal R. D. Sturgess, Wm. Clair, Jno. Dobson, Albert Paine, M. Dillan, Thos. M. PALMER, Surgeon 2nd Florida Vols.

MOORE HOSPITAL, JUNE 25 AND 29.

Wm. Brown, 1st N. C.; C. A. Gregory, 12th N. C.; J. Cave, 1st N. C.; A. T. Marsh, 22nd N. C.; W. B. Hollingsworth, Ro Shipm, Wm. T. Sutton, 38th N. C.; M. Gill, 1st N. C.; J. W. Porter, 38th Ga. (dead); A. S. Hair, 38th N. C. (dead); Chas. Marshmont, 44th N. C.; M. D. Pitts, 19th Ga. (dead); Tim Wheeler, 24th N. C.; G. Osborn, 26th N. C.; J. D. Taylor, 2nd Miss. Battalion; H. B. Thompson, 12th Miss.; T. L. Hatcher, 44th Ga.; B. F. Parker, 4th N. C.; D. R. Foster, 24th N. C.; J. H. Russell, 10th N. C.; J. O. C. Barlow, 26th N. C.; W. M. Carter, 38th N. C.; J. P. Bradshaw, 13th N. C.; M. Rash, 34th N. C.; Wm. Kennedy, Moodie's Louisiana Battery; Chas. Manz, 4th

Texas; R. L. Hunter, 19th Ga.; Ro Haines, 19th Ga.; A. W. Green, 12th N. C.; R. C. Montgomery, do.; Wm. B. Powell, do.; J. T. Rice, do.; N. C. Tunstall, do.; B. F. Carter, 29th N. C.; C. F. Kingsbury, 12th N. C.; J. E. Ducker, do.; J. D. Pain do.; Henry Pitts, 12th do.; B. C. Hamlett, do.; W. E. Werner, 4th S. C.; J. Watkins, 20th N. C.; G. F. Snier, 5th S. C.; Wm. Wilson, 4th Texas; Wm. H. Ricketts, 13th Va.; T. J. Brits, 14th S. C.; Jno Harrison, do.; J. N. Phipps, 12th N. C.; William S. Halladay, do.; A. Frayser, 2nd Miss.; Wm. Wilkins, 44th N. C.; Wilbur Willis, 22nd N. C.; Wm. H. Wriging, 34th do.; J. T. Seism, do.; Jno. E. Croom, 18th N. C.; Morris Grannon, 14th La.; Capt. J. P. Brooks, 20th N. C.; J. D. Shines, Ensign, 20th N. C.; J. J. Brandhurst, Sergeant-Major 20th N. C.; Jas P. More, ———.

LIGON HOSPITAL, JUNE 28.

W. T. Sills, 2nd Fla.; Lieut. W. K. Garnet (dead); Thomas Fauthray, 55th Va.; W. T. Rigby, 13th Ala.; Milton Dulin, 18th N. C.; B. F. Morris, 22nd Ga.; W. Treppell, 1st La.; T. U. Gildard, J. C. McPherson, A. B. Gardner, 12th Miss.; W. A. Caruthers, George Brideweiser, N. A. Clarke, 11th Miss.; A. B. Green, 12th Miss.; D. J. Harralson, W. P. Robertson, H. Braunan, Jas. McGordon, J. Q. English, J. H. Monager, Wm. Rouncevall, 2nd Miss.; F. Stringfellow, J. H. Dailey, Reuben Chason, Jno. Cenny, 8th Ala.; J. L. Files, Jas. Morrissey, W. D. Rothoff, 4th Ala.; F. C. Greggs, Thos. Sullivan, J. H. Langford, 9th Ala.; James W. Wright, Enoch Harris, J. T. Willoughby, A. J. Walker, B. Steadham, E. C. Walker, J. R. Murthous, 14th Ala.; Mike Winters, 9th Ala.; A. C. Cuningham, 10th Ala.; Thomas Matfield, F. Hetherington, T. S. McDonald, 5th S. C.; B. C. Johnson, 4th S. C.; G. C. Anshersy, R. A. Gordon, 1st S. C. Rifles; J. J. Ruff, 13th S. C.; J. P. Sprinkle, 28th N. C.; J. P. Browe, 6th S. C.; J. M. Dares, J. Massey, 4th N. C.; W. Dalton, C. D. Pollard, 8th Va.; B. H. Koehle, Johnson's Artillery; G. Slavers, (dead) J. J. Davis, E. Hull, Thomas Mills, 2nd Fla.; J. J. Adams, 6th Ga.; Gabriel, Jeckin's Regt.; S. Young, 4th Texas; J. T. Mader, J. T. Butler, 5th Texas; C. B. Fontaine, 2nd Ga.

SECOND GEORGIA HOSPITAL, JUNE 28.

H. P. Thomas, 45th Ga.; P. J. Caveu, 19th Ga.; N. Ratsford, 6th Ga.; Dr. F. A. Morgan, 19th Ga.; A. J. Wigley, 7th Ga.; Jno. Hies, 7th Ga.; G. P. Elliott, 19th Ga.; G. U. Hudson, 30th Ga.; Lt. Jno. Graul, 12th Ga.; D. Stroup, 18th Ga.; Jno. Williams, do.; J. M. Rice, do.; J. B. Fuller, 23rd Ga.; J. G. Bearding, 13th Ga.; J. H. Edwards, 44th Ga.; H. S. Gregory, 14th Ga.; W. R. Milwood, 2nd Ga.

THIRD GEORGIA HOSPITAL, JUNE 28.

Asa Newsome, 48th Ga.; Jas. Wright, 15th Ga.; J. M. Clary, 5th Ga.; Jno. Kennedy, 2nd Ga.; H. L. Smith, 9th Ga.; H. Oliver 2nd Ga.; O. H. Bentley, 22nd Ga.; W. W. Kendrick, 49th Ga.; J. A. Smith, 35th Ga.; T. W. G. Inglett, 28th Ga.; W. G. Gresham, 18th Ga.; ——— Dumphrees, do.; J. A. Dunn, 22nd Ga.; J. M. Fletcher, do.; T. J. Elliott, 19th Ga.; Wiley Parker, 14th Ga.; Curtis Butts, 19th Ga.; Jessie Knight, 35th Ga.; R. W. Knight, do.; M. N. Minor, do.; J. L. Brown, do.; B. M. Ferrell, do.; Thos. C. Owens, 2nd Ga.; E. Adams, 6th Ga.; G. N. Armchbacher, 2nd Ga.; W. Finker, 15th Ga.; Samuel Hill, 15th Ga.; E. C. Hays, 20th Ga.; John Craig, do.; J. A. Waych, do.; E. Johnston, do.; Nath. Brown, 15th Ga.

HOWARD'S HOSPITAL, JUNE 28 AND 29.

J. B. Merritt, 8th Va.; J. B. Martin, 10th Ala.; J. L. Hearn, 35th Ga.; Wm. Haggarty, 8th Va.; E. A. Lunsford, 8th Va.; R. S. Lynn, 8th Va.; A. Compton, 8th Va.; G. Oglesby, 15th Ga.; N. Royals, 20th N. C.; M. Royals, 20th N. C.; J. B. Pitman, 2nd Miss.; R. L. Turner, 2nd Miss.; A. J. Woodward, 12th Ala.; W. W. Graves, 12th Ala.; D. S. Settlement, 4th Ala.; J. M. Mauck, 10th Va.; J. T. Bowers, 10th Va.; H. B. Jones, 8th Ga.; M. Crane, 2nd Fla.; C. T. Gallagher, 7th Ga.; M. Fitzgerald, 14th La.; W. Calhoun, 45th Ga.; A. T. Brown, 4th Texas; J. S. Spidey, 4th Texas; S. G. Courtney, 4th Texas; J. Franklin, 4th Texas; W. E. Carroll, 4th Texas; W. G. Platt, 4th Texas; J. Morrison, 16th N. C.; F. M. McClendon, 10th Ala.; A. Bruce, 14th Ala.; A. J. Hogan, 2nd Fla.; M. Toole, 14th S. C.; J. W. Smith, 14th Ala.; M. E. Lewis, 1st S. C.; Wm. A. Copeman, 2nd Ga.; J. N. Mason, 29th Ga.; W. Mc Goner, 7th N. C.

FOURTH GEORGIA HOSPITAL, JUNE 28.

A. C. Osborn, 44th Ga.; C. A. Bell, 49th Ga.; J. R. Roby, 44th Ga.; Jno. Sloan, 44th Ga.; C. W. Chivers, 6th Ga.; J. R. Puckett, 19th Ga.; J. T. Smith, 48th Ga.; W. W. Fisher, 3rd Ga.; N. D. Nicholson, 23rd Ga.; J. T. Lane, 45th Ga.; W. Blackman, 45th Ga.; J. A. Gaines, 15th Ga.; Wm. Brown, 45th Ga.; J. H. Dickerson, 45th Ga.; C. H. Pierce, 2nd Ga.; G. W. Pierce, 2nd Ga.; A. H. Watson, 2nd Ga.; E. Pullen, 15th Ga.; E. W. Barker, 7th Ga.; E. W. Davis, 8th Ga.; G. W. Philpott, 7th Ga.; A. J. Sorter, 15th Ga.; ——— Douglass, 27th Ga.

SEABROOK'S HOSPITAL.

Corporal Jas. M. Tynes, 19th Miss.; Bugler Thos. H. Brown, 14th La.; Philip Dunnivant, 7th N. C.; W. R. Jester, 44th Ga.; Sergeant R. Irby, 17th Tenn.; Lieut. G. O. Crawford, 19th Ga.; Sergeant R. R. Revels, 34th N. C.; J. W. Shields, do.; J. H. Roberts, 12th Miss.; B. F. Hastings, 19th Miss.; Wm. Mulaskin, do.; G. N. Clark, do.; D. T. Wyatt, do.; W. T. Scott, do.; John Nutley, 5th Ala.; John Dance, do.; J. T. Lancaster, 12th Miss.; J. W. Smith, 20th Ga.; Henry Moss, 34th N. C.; Andrew Kane, 4th La.; Alphonso Enrique, 7th Tenn.; Lieut. Jas. E. Reese, 5th Ala.; Corporal Jos. H. Meeks, 44th Ga.; S. Nowels, do.; N. M. Shaw, do.; S. Bailey, do.; Lieut. S. H. Johnston, do.; John B. Raffenas, 2nd Miss.; Sergeant Wm. McField, do.; M. Harsham, St. Paul's bat.; J. P. Foreman, 40th Ga.; L. A. Ford, 23rd N. C.; John Mullen, 2nd Miss.; Sergeant R. W. Robins, 22nd N. C.; Hendley Duke, 12th N. C.; S. S. Davenport, 35th Ga.; Jno. R. Chessier, 2nd Fla.; C. W. Jordan, 45th Ga.; C. C. Davis, 12th Ala.; B. F. Hodges, do.; five unable to give their names; J. L. Tanner, 44th Ga.; D. Rawles, 2nd Miss. bat.; Jos. J. Carner, 4th Va.; ——— Hollaus, 14th Ga.; W. Alders, 19th Ga.; Chas. H. Macey, 19th Miss.; Jno. Soule, 1st S. C.; F. Smith, 2nd Miss. bat.; B. A. Hill, 15th Ala.; W. H. Moore, 16th N. C.; Sergeant Jas. A. Thompson, 7th Tenn.; Geo. Torrence, 37th N. C.; David Ray, 38th N. C.; Calvin Pierce, 37th N. C.; Stephen Lullian, 38th N. C.; K. M. Covington, do.; Wm. Meyers, 44th Ga.; Abner Reeves, do.; Wm. M. Elder, do.; Geo. Nolan, do.; Jas. C. Surickland, do.; Jno. C. Rogers, do.; Joseph Grant, do.; Ensign T. J. Denso, 1st Tenn.; L. E. Taylor, 44th Ga.; Daniel Braton, 1st S. C.; M. F. Seabrough, 1st N. C.; G. P. Bryans, 44th Ga.; S. S. Lindford, 1st N. C.; James Heard, do.; Corporal H. J. Williams, do.; W. A. Newby, 38th N. C.; D. T. Yates, 12th Miss.; Sergeant T. L. Russell, 34th N. C.; H. N. Tomlinson, do.; Jesse Grant, do.; John Brown, 1st N. C.; Albert Shaw, do.; T. S. Speed, Marshall's bat.; C. H. Arnold, 19th

Miss; F. Draper, 12th Miss; Philip T. Bishop, 44th Ga.; F. M. Lipsy, 19th Miss; Wm. Henry, do.; Sam Kendrick, 44th Ga.; Geo. R. Oilor, 60th Va.; J. A. Crouch, 35th Ga.; Ellis Hutchin, 38th N. C.; H. H. McCoskill, 38th N. C.; Corporal Jno. D. Shaw, 1st N. C.; Jno. Jenkins 1st N. C.; H. G. Wiggins, 38th N. C.; Sergeant E. J. Garrison, 3rd N. C.; Corporal Jno. H. Brandy, 1st N. C.; W. W. T. Beasley, 44th Ga.; J. C. Lackey, 38th N. C.; A. Harney, 16th N. C.; Henry Evans, do.; John Flen, 2nd N. C.; Adjutant J. S. R. Miller, 1st N. C.; Capt. R. W. Rivers, do.; R. Farris, 1st Tenn.; S. M. Elliott, 19th Ga.; S. O. Reid, 11th S. C.; Wm. A. West, 12th Miss; E. Corner, 28th Ga.; Sergeant F. G. Roberts, 1st Tenn.; J. R. Eogland, 23rd Ga.; J. H. Hamley, 13th Ala.; Sergeant E. W. Smith, 19th Miss.; J. P. Wagner, 14th La.; Dan. S. Andrews, 2nd N. C.; John M. Peasley, 44th Ga.; Corporal Michael Keating, 14th La.; Andrew Lasting, 1st N. C.; Jas. T. Baggatt, do.; E. D. Johnston, do.; S. R. Woods, 12th Miss.; E. E. Woods, do.; Thos. O'Brien, Purcell Battery; Corporal Michael Egan, Johnson's Battery; Gustave Letellier, St. Paul's Battalion; John Canzary, 7th Tenn.; Corporal J. P. Bosham, 7th Tenn.; H. A. Holland, 19th Ga.; Jno. J. Turner, 44th Ga.; E. S. Gray, 45th Ga.; James H. Jackson, 22nd N. C.; Lieut. T. C. Hendrick, 44th Ga.; M. Chappell, 38th N. C.; C. Crouch, 38th N. C.; John Burnell, 2nd Fla.; Corporal E. W. Saunders, 34th N. C.; Sergeant R. F. Newmad, 1st Tenn.; J. H. Goode, 55th Va.; H. T. Bowbo, 2nd Miss. Battalion; M. F. Ross, 45th Ga.; Corporal John Brown, C. L. Mathune, T. J. Gordon, 3rd La. Battalion; William Bell, 24th Va.; H. A. Mullens, 19th Miss.; M. B. Herch, 3rd La. Battalion; Sergeant G. N. Edmondson, 55th Va.; John Means, 3rd N. C.; J. W. Blake, 2nd Va. Battalion; Sergeant W. H. Dikes, 44th Ga.; W. Taffar, 22nd N. C.; Jesse Scarlet, 38th N. C.; Wm. P. Lewis, H. H. Whaley, 44th Ga.; W. R. Oldridge, James Mills, W. Bolen, John Jones, J. M. Alderred, G. P. Able, R. Jamison, Corporal R. James, G. B. Swanger, J. A. Blair, J. A. Rhea, 16th N. C.; William Williamson, 2nd Ark. Battalion; Jas. W. Powell, 1st N. C.; A. Jones, 19th Miss.; J. Atwood, 38th N. C.; Corporal M. R. Grabill, 44th Ga.; Thomas L. Stanfield, 16th N. C.; Calvin E. Buck, 7th Tenn.; D. D. Price, 34th N. C.; W. Hilson, 48th Ga.; one name unknown; H. C. Dunning, 2nd Miss.; A. M. Anthony, 16th N. C.; P. B. Bailey, 3rd N. C.; Lieut. D. Roberts, 44th Ga.; Sergeant W. G. Stikey, 1st Ala. Batt.; Jno. G. Phillips, 19th Ga.; Eugene Boofter, 14th Tenn.; Rufus Hester, 7th Tenn.; Wm. McManus, 14th Tenn.; R. D. Smith, 1st Tenn.; Wm. Shoemaker, Jas. K. Elliott, and Corporal Henry Abbott, 7th Tenn.; Enoch Signman, and Sergeant T. B. Regh, 16th N. C.; E. Zimber, and H. H. Walls, 19th Miss.; C. H. Long, 22nd N. C.; J. B. Bowers, and N. F. McCollum, 1st Tenn.; G. W. Hicks, 12th Miss.; J. R. Perry, 45th Ga.; W. Newman, 1st Tenn.; S. A. Hancock, 14th Ga.; W. A. Millan, 16th N. C.; P. A. Frickett, and H. W. Lee, 44th Ga.; J. Alwyn, 16th N. C.; J. M. Miller, 60th Va.; Corporal J. P. Bungurner, 16th N. C.; C. G. Barton, W. L. Bynum, J. A. Bynum, 2nd Miss.; J. J. Bishop, 56th Va.; Daniel Burford, 19th Va.; James Beacham, 2nd Miss.; William Ballam, Johnson's Battery; James Bain, 34th N. C.; Corporal J. A. Clark, 5th S. C.; P. H. Cristy, 14th La.; J. S. Cantree, 5th S. C.; Sergeant D. J. Casbrini, 12th Miss.; H. A. Clark, 22nd N. C.; W. H. Casey, 19th Miss.; J. R. Chambers, 16th N. C.; Lieut. A. H. Condon, La. Battery; F. W. Cox, 12th Miss.; McCoffey, 2nd N. C.; William Chambers, 19th Ga.; B. Carter, 8th Va.; Jno. W. Atkins, 2nd Miss.; Jno. Abbott, 8th Ala.; J. A. Acker, Hampton's Legion; H. C. Burgay, 44th Ga.; Henry Brady, 14th La.; Thomas J. Bell, 11th Miss.; Corporal M. C. Barnett, S. C.; William Barny, 4th Texas; Capt. James E. Blair, 19th Va.; Adam Beveridge, 3rd La.; Dan Brown, 11th S. C.; J. Bell, 1st N. C.; Corporal R. C. Bruns, 3rd Va.; J. W. Bowman, 35th Ga.; J. M. Badger, 22nd N. C.; J. H. Boon, 38th N. C.; J. P. Courtney, 55th Va.; D. C. Crites, 16th N. C.; G. P. Cox, B. F. Cox, E. M. Catler, 19th Va.; Corporal W. H. Cashing, 1st Tenn.; Sergeant Alexander G. Canwell, 20th Ga.; John T. Coker, 44th Ga.; H. H. Dobbs, 19th Ga.; Henry Doran, 2nd Miss.; James Diamond, 8th Va.; Benjamin Donnell, 12th N. C.; C. H. Davis, 37th N. C.; P. P. Derrick, 13th S. C.

BANNER HOSPITAL.

P. M. D. Rope, 44th Ga.; W. G. Mann, 44th Ga.; F. M. Hester, 44th Ga.; M. H. Hubbard, 44th Ga.; A. G. Mithum, 13th Ala.; James H. Battle, 12th Miss.; R. H. Cross, 14th Ala.; George C. Nex, 19th Ga.; R. C. Lackey, 38th N. C.; George Freeman, 44th Ga.; E. Sparkman, 3rd N. C.; P. Loving, 19th Miss.; S. M. Hines, W. C. Meacham, 38th N. C.; J. W. Butler, 19th Va.; Jacob Childers, 38th N. C.; D. W. Knight, 13th Ala.; J. W. Griffin, 47th Va.; W. T. Herndon, 7th N. C.; Isaac Priddy, 2nd Miss.; A. W. Mervin, 19th Miss.; J. D. Warwick, 40th Va.; Hiram Jarrell, 3rd N. C.; L. P. Carruth, 19th Miss.; William Melvany, 3rd La.; Lieut. Isaac L. King, 22nd N. C.; Martin Earles, 24th N. C.; Sergeant John Wynn, 1st N. C.; John J. Lynch, 14th La.; Henry Aber, 3rd La.; John B. Dean, 13th Ala.; J. V. Fields, 48th Ga.; J. Neal, J. Roberts, 3rd La.; J. N. Flick, 24th Va.; M. Riley, 6th La.; L. F. Maynor, 6th Ala.; J. Smith, D. G. Clemens, 18th Ga.; Junius J. Albury, 21st N. C.; Balaam Moore, 21st N. C.; Joseph W. Walker, 6th N. C.; J. P. Mimms, 15th Ga.; Seaburn Spradling, 13th Ala.; M. P. Pittman, 13th Ala.; James H. Mickle, 13th Ala.; Sergeant W. J. Cambron, 5th Ala. Batt.; E. J. Cambron, do.; W. H. Blackburn, 19th Ga.; Corporal William A. Cox, 6th N. C.; Wm. J. Hart, 6th N. C.; J. W. Emerson, 16th Miss.; George H. Smart, 28th N. C.; John D. Hudson, 28th N. C.; Wm. B. Sadwick, 17th Va.; Capt. Jos. N. Brown, 14th S. C.; Sergeant Wm. H. Franks, 14th S. C.; Albert M. Boyce, 14th S. C.; Isaac F. Fox, 14, S. C.; Jos. W. Childress, 42nd Va.; Daniel J. Phillips, 5th N. C.; J. J. Gilbert, 18th Ga.; Wm. H. Williams, 34th N. C.; E. M. L. Williams, 12th S. C.; Corporal J. H. Williams, 14th Tenn.; Corporal Daniel Daly, 19th Ga.; Thos. Dickinson, 14th Ga.; R. C. Harris, 1st Tenn.; Wm. Brown, 14th Ga.; D. M. Stroup, 34th N. C.; Wm. Harris, 34th N. C.; Wm. Harvell, 34th N. C.; N. B. Robertson, Orr's S. C.; Ellis Sartin, 22nd N. C.; Lieut. G. W. Marshall, 47th Va.; Abner Camp, 34th N. C.; Captain W. B. Valandigham, 12th S. C.; Colour Sergeant George Oordondok, 5th Texas; James A. May, 22nd N. C.; Patrick Gelday, 8th Ala.; R. A. Overcash, 34th N. C.; Benjamin Martin, 34th N. C.; Corporal William Wright, 34th N. C.; C. M. Branch, 56th Va.; A. W. Hicks, 8th Ga.; F. M. McKinney, 1st Tenn.; J. H. Critzer, 14th Tenn.; W. L. Gilliam, 11th Miss.; W. P. Rawls, 11th Miss.; O. Clark, 19th Miss.; Samuel Cunningham, 4th N. C.; J. H. Knight, 2nd Fla.; Lieut. Wm. C. Norrie, Orr's S. C.; B. J. Pace, 14th Ala.; Isaac W. Gill, 14th Ala.; Capt. D. A. Parker, 25th N. C.; John Brockwell, 28th N. C.; James L. May, 40th Va.; E. W. Chandler, 17th Ga.; Sol. W. Young, 28th N. C.; H. V. Bayne, J. V. Downing, 19th Miss.; Sergeant R. H. Teague,

W. D. Barnes, F. W. Query, 7th N. C.; J. E. Taylor, 11th Miss.; Eli Brown, J. L. M. Clemmer, 37th N. C.; J. S. Thompson, C. W. Rowland, 28th N. C.; Wm. Chapple, 6th Ga.; W. Yow, 28th N. C.; J. H. Hockaday, 40th Va.; Thos. A. Gibson, J. M. Hendricke, 37th N. C.; R. H. Bird, W. H. Statts, 28th N. C.; H. J. Pettit, D. N. Sorebe, Richard Evans, W. A. Bell, 23rd Ga.; G. J. Huntley, 34th N. C.; Levi Coley, G. A. Parker, Azaria Brown, 28th N. C.; William Massey, 1st Tenn.; J. H. Katchford, 28th N. C.; William Shumate, 4th Texas; Jesse Oliver, 4th Texas; Julius Glazer, 4th Texas; Sergeant J. W. Green, 37th N. C.; J. N. Jackson, 5th S. C.; Sergeant J. W. Almon, 7th Ga.; E. F. Almon, do.; Lieut. S. L. Dorroh, 14th S. C.; Lieut. J. B. Sillman, 18th Ga.; J. W. Farmer, 49th Ga.; W. H. Gibson, 7th N. C.; J. F. Jones, 14th Ga.; Jesse Plinn, 2nd Miss.; Thos. Tailor, do.; John J. Patton, 5th Ala. Batt.; Joel Roberson, 13th Va.; E. J. L. Dorset, 21st La.; D. H. Mayes, 5th Texas; M. W. Ethredge, 45th Ga.; W. W. Vcal, 49th Ga.; Elijah Wheeler, do.; J. J. McMichael, 14th Ga.; Angus Bailey, 18th Ga.; W. A. Myers, 1st Tenn.; N. Land, 48th Ga.; J. D. Nebitt, 14th Tenn.; D. W. Nebitt, do.; Corporal H. A. Causey, do.; A. D. Mott, 2nd Fla.; T. M. Belt, 12th S. C.; W. W. Houston, 2nd Miss.; William Hutchison, 1st Tenn.; William S. Littleton, 4th Ala.; James H. Watson, 8th Ga.; Tim Sullivan, do.; Alex Reeves, 20th N. C.; E. F. Kemp, do.; Thomas Bullard, do.; William C. Smith, 2nd Miss. Batt.; L. Bodenheimer, do.; Corporal James Aubry, 8th Ala.; Hugh B. Harrison, 14th S. C.; G. W. Harris (chaplain), 8th Va.; Lieut. J. G. Willis, 1st Tenn.

CHRISTIAN AND LEA'S HOSPITAL.

Hooper Harman, 14th Ga.; Sergeant J. B. Angley, 1st N. C.; G. W. Jones, 12th Miss.; E. H. Miller, 6th S. C.; J. A. Moore, Palmetto Sharpshooters; Wm. Simmons, 56th Va.; E. M. Walter, 4th N. C.; L. B. Smith, 5th Texas; D. M. Jackson, 6th Ga.; Wm. Barlow, W. M. Chaney, Lynch Burton, E. P. Willis, J. W. Biggers, Dr. J. S. Stevenson, W. B. Seay, H. C. Moore, W. S. Simms, 2nd Ga.; J. T. Bowen, 17th Ga.; T. R. White, 15th Ga.; T. J. Millbrook, J. W. Wheeler, Jos. Rice, 2nd Ga.; J. B. Jones, 9th Ga.; R. H. Griffin, J. O. Jones, 2nd Ga.; O. Barr, J. N. Bimms, 15th Ga.; W. P. Stanley, 18th Ga.; Sergeant T. J. Harris, J. L. Neal, 9th Ga.; James B. Newman, 2nd Ga.; S. W. Hunt, 15th Ga.; Lewis Harris, 2nd Ga.; L. Deun, J. H. Mallory, 17th Ga.; David Hudson, 13th Ga.; H. L. Kirk, W. M. Nash, D. S. Musc, 7th Ga.; C. H. Heath, Corporal R. M. Andrews, 14th Ga.; S. J. Pennington 31st Ga.; Thomas Slack, William A. Tyler, 28th Va.; Uriah Etheridge, J. J. Chapman, 14th S. C.; H. F. Pridgea, 4th N. C.; J. W. Joliffe, A. B. Cross, 3rd Va.; H. Bradbury, 1st Tenn.; J. M. Jones, J. W. Carter, Jeff Davis Artillery; John Moore, H. C. Watts, Horace Windsor, J. D. Strickland, 2nd Ga.; Peter David 15th Ga.; James W. Dye, 15th Ga.; J. B. Watkins, 2nd Ga.; Lieut. William Jones, 18th Ga.; J. A. McCrery, 2nd Ga.; Jos. Allman, 6th N. C.; W. M. Tidd, 2nd Ga.; S. J. Pitts, do.; J. T. Jones, do.; W. A. Brown, 7th Ga.; W. J. Davis, 2nd Ga.; W. H. Nelms, do.; H. P. Shultz, 1st Texas; H. P. Freeman, 2nd Ga.; J. W. Edwards, 8th Ga.; C. G. Gray, 6th Ga.; L. R. Ragsdale, 8th Ga.; Jesse E. J. Leigh, do.; C. C. Bear, 15th Ala.; J. A. Hill, 7th Ga.; J. J. Patterson, 2nd Ga.; J. E. Maguire, 8th Ga.; D. W. Croft, do.; E. A. Crew, 2nd Ga.; E. A. Shepherd, do.; S. E. Goss, 17th Ga.; J. D. Hale, 9th Ga.; L. C. P. Jones, 8th Ga.; F. B. Scarborough, 15th Ga.; J. L. Hopkins, 2nd Ga.; Lieut. W. W. Williamson, 8th Ga.; W. D. Lewis, 2nd Ga.; Jacob A. Albright, do.; J. L. Barks, W. Roby, do.; Lieut. J. B. McCollum, do.; J. McCusters, do.; J. R. Manning, 8th Ga.; J. B. Reese, 8th Ga.; Jas. Lyle, 17th Ga.; E. P. Pearson, 2nd Ga.; A. H. Smith, 8th Ga.; J. T. Lewis, do.; R. A. Gentry, do.; James M. O. Shields, 2nd Tenn.; P. H. McDowell, Orr's Regiment; Lieut. A. J. Robertson, 19th Va.; D. A. Mann, 34th N. C.; C. D. S. Wilkins, 4th Texas; E. C. Riley, Orr's Regiment; George W. Newlin, 8th Va.; J. T. Freeman, 22nd N. C.; Thomas Rutherford, 14th Ala.; James E. Worthy, do.; Capt. J. J. Walton, 16th Miss.; M. W. Colder, do.; John F. Watson, 9th Ala.; Pat Dromay, do.; Fred. Miller, do.; Peter Casey, 11th Ala.; E. W. Pierce, 4th Texas; M. Rossam, 8th Ala.; Richard Row, 9th Ga.; Joel Avery, 45th Ga.; Charles Pool, 44th Ga.; Sergeant T. J. Parsons, 49th Ga.; P. W. Bashaw, 7th Tenn.; Jones Peterson, 10th N. C.; W. J. Smith, 5th Ala.; H. D. Benton, 8th Ga.; C. A. Kennedy, 20th N. C.; S. M. Roberts.

GLOBE HOSPITAL.

David N. Puckett, 35th Ga.; Dolphin T. McKenzie, 35th Ga.; George W. Bowen, 40th Va.; W. M. Bond, 35th Ga.; Corporal William Londenwick, 19th Miss.; J. D. Smith, 22nd Ga.; W. N. Tarpley, 44th Ga.; Corporal A. W. Baker, 12th Miss.; E. G. Randle, 2nd Miss. Batt.; J. S. Morrow, J. G. Duncan, 19th Miss.; John Woole, 19th Miss.; J. T. Wagner, 14th La.; Sergeant Henry Cines, 14th La.; M. McEvoy, 14th La.; William Cooke, 35th N. C.; John King, 1st N. C.; E. J. Hubbs, 3rd N. C.; Aug. Reese, 38th N. C.; Thomas Strickland, 1st N. C.; Captain H. C. Worley, 16th N. C.; H. C. Powell, 1st Texas; A. Baudaux, 3rd La. Batt.; Corporal James Glass, 2nd Miss. Batt.; Joshua Shepherd, 49th Ga.; N. Hollman, 44th Ga.; Lieut. T. S. Tatam, 44th Ga.; Sergeant G. W. Sullivan, 44th Ga.; Corporal Sandford Watson, 19th Ga.; J. B. Robertson, 19th Ga.; J. G. Sibley, R. H. Shoop, 19th Miss.; Joshua Culpepper, 3rd Va.; Lieut. Henry C. Michie, 56th Va.; Thomas Harmon, 58th Va.; J. S. Harlow, William G. Brown, 56th Va.; D. E. Campbell, William H. Felts, 38th N. C.; Sergeant T. J. Atkinson, Corporal J. B. Parker, 34th N. C.; H. H. Alived, 16th N. C.; James Floyd, 13th Ala.; Nickleson Adams, George W. Horn, William Shepherd, Pleasant Spaur, Sergeant George Horn, P. H. Kriele, J. W. Hall, William H. Page, 14th Tenn.; Thomas J. Foster, 1st Tenn.; John Myers, 14th La.; Albert Johnson, 11th S. C.; Sergeant B. M. Stone, 4th S. C.; J. W. Campbell, 2nd S. C.; J. L. Smith, 12th S. C.; F. W. Vonhadel, Henry H. Skamp, 11th S. C.; D. W. Montgomery, 12th S. C.; Thomas J. Knight, 22nd N. C. (one name unknown).

MOORE HOSPITAL.

J. W. Calder, Company E, 26th N. C.; Capt. Eugene Grissom, Company D, 30th N. C.; J. B. Shcats, Company A, 34th N. C.; Wm. R. Floyd, Company G, 16th N. C.; Wyley Green, Company H, 44th Ga.; George W. Shafer, Company H, 22nd N. C.; John W. Hutelins, Company H, 22nd N. C.; Thomas Crabtree, Company D, 22nd N. C.; Thomas E. Kates, Company D, 1st N. C.; John W. Pugh, Company F, 3rd N. C.; Wm. R. Robinson, Company C, 16th N. C.; Jesse Young, Company C, 16th N. C.; John Tachyfill, Company C, 16th N. C.; A. O. Lynch, Company C, 34th N. C.; Allen M. Melness, Company K, 34th N. C.; D. A. Wilson, Company G, 38th N. C.; Gilbert Arwood, Company F, 38th N. C.; Calvin J. Deal, Company G, 38th N. C.; G. B. Powell, Company I, 38th N. C.; Margania Jones, Company I, 38th N. C.; L. J. Wells, Company E, 38th N. C.; Dan Hoffman, Company F, 38th N.

C.; John D. Hoke, Company F, 38th N. C.; Alf Gross, Company G, 38th N. C.; Daniel M. Matthews, Company G, 38th N. C.; Wm. L. Lackey, Company G, 38th N. C.; James W. Lackey, Company G, 38th N. C.; D. B. Talley, Company B, 38th N. C.; Y. Brewer, Company C, 38th N. C.; H. Young, Company F, 16th N. C.; K. A. Painter, Company A, 16th N. C.; P. L. Edwards, Company L, 16th N. C.; E. M. Hunnicutt, Company C, 16th N. C.; Dallas James, Company F, 16th N. C.; Jos. B. Green, Company F, 16th N. C.; John M. Snelson, Company F, 16th N. C.; John K. Hall, Company A, 16th N. C.; John Gellick, Company A, 2nd Miss. Battalion; Levy C. Cooper, Company C, 44th Ga.; A. H. Jones, Company I, 1st N. C.; Thomas J. Roland, Company F, 48th Ga.; Benjamin F. Harrison, Company G, 3rd Va.; Robert M. Scott, Company D, 12th Miss.; Seth S. Martin, Company E, 12th Miss.; William H. Lewis, Company E, 1st N. C.; Isaac Rechelle, Company K, 3rd N. C.; Benjamin J. Garrish, 3rd N. C.; Company H; John Merillon, 3rd La. Batt. Company G; Owen Quen, 14th La. Regiment, Company A; William T. Brantly, 26th N. C.; Company L (died); James H. Belvio, Elijah W. Belvin, 1st N. C. Company I; James B. Beuton, 33rd N. C.; Company B; Elias S. Bruner, 12th Miss.; Company B; John R. Ruffin, 33rd N. C.; Company B; William Moore, 1st N. C.; Company G; A. W. Saadurity, 38th N. C.; Company H; Thomas Christian, 14th Ga., Company F; Joseph Ramage, 14th Ga., Company B; Lewis Miller, 16th N. C.; Company D; William J. Nelson, drummer, 7th N. C.; Company C; John W. Yates, 22nd N. C., Company E.

HOWARD HOSPITAL.

J. E. Moss, 25th N. C.; H. Helms, 48th N. C.; W. D. Sitton, J. J. Justice, J. H. Edney, 25th N. C.; Lieut. R. H. Grier, 49th N. C.; L. J. Erwin, 25th N. C.; J. P. Keating, J. M. Johnson, 4th Ga.; W. A. Roberts, 35th N. C.; Z. F. Milbourn, 8th Va.; R. Bowin, J. A. Campbell, 24th N. C.; M. B. Wells, Jno. Jearmont, 12th Va.; W. B. Coston, M. L. Williams, J. W. King, 25th N. C.; W. H. Calahan, J. N. Hopkins, 22nd Ga.; P. Nicholson, Jas. Kelley, 1st La.; H. P. Conner, 25th N. C.; Corporal J. A. Hedrick, 45th N. C.; J. B. Berkhalter, 22nd Ga.; W. T. Horn, 26th N. C.; G. McKirby, 5th Ala.; J. P. Smith, W. S. Alexander, W. A. Millard, 1st Tenn.; J. A. Stewart, Lieut. C. J. Dickerson, A. Hall, 12th Miss.; J. M. Cox, 22nd N. C.; W. R. Haynes, 38th N. C.; D. H. Hannick, 16th N. C.

BOYSTER HOSPITAL.

J. D. Oliver, 2nd N. C.; N. Gendro, 19th Miss.; P. P. Slayd, 1st N. C.; M. Clinton, 12th Miss.; S. E. Steed, 38th N. C.; J. P. Jones, 16th N. C.; Luther C. Hale, 24th N. C.; A. Williams, 5th Ala.; J. W. Whitesel, 28th Va.; 2nd Lieut. A. C. Chisholm, 9th Ala.; Lieut. T. M. Gresham, do.; G. W. Ridgway, do.; W. G. Winchester, do.; M. Miller, 26th Ala.; J. H. Sockwell, do.; H. O. M. Garrison, do.; John H. Jenkins, 4th Ga.; Jno. T. Nolan, do.; C. F. Floyd, 4th Ala.; F. P. Cumming, 8th Ala.; Ellis Carrell, 9th Ala.

CENTRAL DEPOT HOSPITAL.

W. Elliott, 24th N. C.; W. Ceson, 55th Va.; H. Heiney, 40th La.; J. Leadford, T. Darer, J. A. Clarke, W. Painter, 16th N. C.; J. A. Newton, 34th N. C.; F. Anlow, 16th N. C.; G. S. Dawtry, 38th N. C.; R. C. Holt, 2nd Va.; A. Garner, 40th Va.

FIRST ALABAMA HOSPITAL.

Lieut.-Col. S. F. Hall, 11th Ala.; W. P. Lucas, 5th Ala.; J. T. Hardaway, do.; W. A. Dudley, do.; J. W. Joiner, do.; P. Duke, 8th Ala.; John Dely, do.; Lieut. A. A. Walden, 11th Ala.; T. Avery, do.; Luther C. Kirksey, do.; Wm. H. H. Sanders, do.; Samuel A. Blake, do.; Sergeant Martin C. Norris, do.; Henry McGee, do.; Daniel N. Cosley, do.; Ellis Woods, do.; Sergeant W. R. Garthright, do.; W. C. Allen, 10th Ala.; Jas. H. Brownlee, do.; Wm. H. Malone, do.; Jos. S. Merrill, 11th Ala.; E. C. Reeves, 13th Ala.; Wm. B. Nance, 14th Ala.; J. Strother, do.; Sergeant W. Dozier, do.; J. J. Ogle, do.; Jasper O'Neil, do.; Corporal Jas. W. Garnett, do.; A. L. Kauffman, do.; J. J. Weaver, 26th Ala.; Corporal Benjamin Papsen, do.; Wilbur F. Claughton, Jeff. Davis Artillery, J. M. Jones, 3rd Va.

THIRD ALABAMA HOSPITAL.

Corporal W. M. Heath, William Harper, W. W. Cauthen, Israel Cottle, Sergeant C. M. Eden, J. R. Collyer, W. Johnson, R. A. Barker, S. P. Diliard, C. F. Shaw, 14th Ala.; A. A. Greer, G. M. Boyd, 5th Ala. Battalion; Lieut. J. B. Eamer, Lieut. J. B. Martin, W. W. Moragne, W. W. Burgess, H. H. Wood, 10th Ala.; W. W. Ellington, 11th Ala.; M. J. Boyle, John Mullard, Corporal, W. Matthews, 8th Ala.; H. W. Avery, Sergeant E. C. Richardson, T. S. Childers, A. Dunlap, R. H. Harris, D. F. Johnson, Sergeant W. F. Kirkland, Lieut. R. H. Sheton, 11th Ala.; J. L. Bentley, B. F. Adams, Sergeant A. F. Lewis, R. M. Rogers, 10th Ala.; H. P. Johnson, 8th Ala.; Charles Ellis, 4th Ala.; Corporal E. W. Thompson, E. L. Hammond, 5th Ala.; Richard Brown, F. E. Solley, 11th Ala.; J. F. Strange, Jacob L. Green, Silas Street, S. K. Hodge, W. T. Blair, W. B. Nivins, E. L. Millician, 10th Ala.; J. E. Beauchamp, William Hogan, 9th Ala.; R. S. Jones, 15th Ala.; C. L. Lovell, J. W. Bracken, J. Clive, J. W. White, 9th Ala.; Lieut. J. A. Burns, 5th Ala.; W. A. Sims, 5th Ala.; J. R. Coats, J. R. Britt, 11th Ala.; Henry Sharp, A. J. Boyd, W. E. Bledsoe, S. B. F. Watters, R. P. Lawley, 8th Ala.; Alex McJanis, W. N. Brownlee, 5th Ala.; Capt. G. C. Whaley, 10th Ala.; W. C. Broadway, 5th Ala. Battalion; E. P. Scruggs, 4th Ala.; N. Stallworth, 4th Ala.; B. B. Little, 5th Ala. Battalion; T. J. Gilhert, 5th Ala. Battalion; T. Bradshaw, 5th Ala. Battalion; J. W. Holloway, 5th Ala. Battalion; Noah Little, W. J. King, 5th Ala.; S. E. Andrews, W. J. King, 15th Ala.; B. Titus, H. P. Barkaloo, 8th Ala.; Sergeant F. P. Miller, 8th Ala.; John Closet, do.; A. P. Mansell, 15th Ala.; G. W. Sinton, do.; W. D. Farmer, do.; E. F. B. Broughton, do.; J. C. Hendrick, 10th Ala.; M. L. Brooks, 15th Ala.; W. Lindsey, do.; A. M. Downing, do.; J. M. Daddins, 4th Ala.; Sergeant W. Hammett, 11th Ala.; J. H. Rawls, do.; J. O. Duncan, do.; T. A. Lowry, do.; J. N. Gay, 8th Ala.; P. Herran, 5th Ala.; W. H. Nix, do.; Ira Howell, 1st S. C.; Sergeant S. L. Garrett, 6th Ala.; J. H. Franklin, 4th Ala.; J. W. Taylor, do.; J. D. Adrian, do.; J. T. Smith, 8th Ala.; D. N. Wheeler, 26th Ala.; T. K. Cuthy, 1st Ala.; L. C. Meyers, 6th Ala.; W. H. Ware, 4th Ala.; J. W. Wier, 11th Ala.; Corporal S. W. Chadwick, 5th Ala.; W. H. Dankin, 3rd Ala.; C. W. Goll, do.; J. H. Brownlee, 10th Ala.; Corporal W. R. Thomas, 5th Ala.; J. E. Cameron, 11th Ala.; Sergeant W. Western, 15th Ala.; Sergeant J. O. Malloy, 10th Ala.; Sergeant Thomas Brasher, do.; Lieut. J. E. Shelley, do.; T. S. Nabors, do.; J. W. Glover, do.; J. T. McAnahan, do.; J. A. Christian, do.; Sergeant J. M. Hackney, 9th Ala.; Corporal W. M. Barron, 13th Ala.; Lieut. David Reece, 26th Ala.; R. J. Stewart, 11th Ala.; J. H. Hill, 4th Ala.; J. L. King, 4th Ala.; Mr. J. Billingsley, 4th Ala.; Corporal J. H. Lindsay, 14th Ala.; Corporal N. L. Ferguson, 5th Ala. Battalion; James M. Patrick, 10th Ala.; V. Y. Allen, 14th Ala.; N. C. Beddin-

field, 4th Ala.; John G. Ross, do.; W. H. Linebaugh, 8th Ala.; Lieut. F. C. Robins, 4th Ala.; Lieut. A. M. Moore, 10th Ala.; J. P. Clark, 11th Ala.; Capt. R. W. Cowan, 10th Ala.; Captain William Lee, do.; Corporal M. F. McClintock, 13th Ala.; S. P. Kennedy, do.; T. J. Yeatman, 40th Va.; D. L. Hodgins, 10th Ala.; Lieut. T. R. Herd, 8th Ala.; Corporal W. A. King, 11th Ala.; J. B. Cook, do.; James Brennan, 9th Ala.; Sergeant J. F. Maulitz, Jeff Davis Artillery; E. T. Saunders, 5th Ala. Battery; J. R. Stafford, 11th Ala.; George Craig, do.; B. F. R. Harris, do.; Isaac H. Reeves, 10th Ala.; Benj. Warren, do.; J. P. Campbell, 9th Ala.; J. K. Pinkston, 12th Ala.; D. Stoker, 11th Ala.; Corporal W. A. Davis, do.; W. T. Bryan, do.

FIRST GEORGIA HOSPITAL.

S. A. Willingham, Company C, 19th Ga.; J. R. Walker, Company I, 14th Ga.; R. G. Campbell, Company I, 44th Ga.; W. G. Allen, Company H, 19th Ga.; W. C. Gilmore, Company I, 45th Ga.; Sergeant W. G. Heard, Company I, 45th Ga.; G. W. Cowley, Company I, 48th Ga.; W. T. Hayslip, 55th Va.; J. T. Thompson, Company I, 22nd Ga.; W. A. Palmore, Company I, 2nd Ga.; J. O. Mulnir, Company I, 19th Ga.; A. M. Holland, Company K, 19th Ga.; A. K. Scott, Company K, 19th Ga.; S. Hemore, Company F, 19th Ga.; W. P. Parks, Company H, 19th Ga.; William White, Company F, 19th Ga.; W. H. Bednysfield, do.; William Camp, Company F, 23rd Ga.; E. D. Lane, Company D, 44th Ga.; W. B. Irby, Company I, 28th Ga.; B. H. Bragg, Company I, 25th Ga.; G. Elliott, Company G, 19th Ga.; and eleven sick men.

SECOND GEORGIA HOSPITAL.

22nd Georgia Regiment.—H. C. Broadwell, Company A; J. E. Loftis, Company E; C. W. Stewart, Company J; S. Hurst, Company A; L. N. Smith, Company E; Jno. Webb, Company E; Jesse Webb, do.; R. M. Howell, do.; C. W. Shaw, do.; W. A. Carroll, Company K; E. Tyler, Company F; J. W. Carroll, do.; Corporal W. E. Martin, do.; G. W. Barclay, Company N. 3rd Georgia Regiment.—J. N. English, Company C, 28th Georgia—S. M. Simpson, Company B, 44th Georgia—S. R. Aycock, Company C, 19th Mississippi—F. Fitzgibbon, Company B, 44th—J. Ralls, Company A; J. P. Wyatt, do. 19th Miss.—W. A. Hill, Company D, 44th Ga.—N. M. Christian, Company D; T. R. Daniel, Company D; G. W. Nunnally, Company C; B. Bachelior, Company F; Wm. W. Pascal, Company F; E. E. Macon, Company F; George W. Bunn, Company A; R. B. Richardson, Company A; W. H. Whaley, Company H, 48th Georgia—L. B. Sconyers, Company H, 44th Georgia—Wm. H. Peebles, Capt. Company A. J. R. Graham, Company H, 14th Ga.; Jas. Reed, Jno. Satterfield, Company K, 19th Ga.; Jas. McAlfey, Company B, 19th Ga.; H. M. Williams, Lt. Company H, 14th Ga.; H. B. Smith, Lt. Company H, 14th Ga.; W. P. Campbell, F. T. C. Barnes, Company F, 19th Ga.; A. C. Caldwell, Company E, 44th Ga.; S. G. Boon, Company F, 1st N. C.; T. J. Simmons, Lieut.-Col., 45th Ga.; Jno. Rigby, Company D, 35th Ga.; F. M. Stovall, Lt. Company A, 19th Ga.; J. J. Buckelerd, Company H, 44th Ga.; M. P. Sweeney, Company E, 44th Ga.; S. W. McMullen, Company I, 44th Ga.; P. W. Ward, Company F, 44th Ga.; J. P. Morris, Company I, 44th Ga.; J. V. Kelley, Company B, 44th Ga.; D. L. Hitchcock, Company F, 44th Ga.; P. M. Stewart, Company C, 44th Ga.; J. W. Lewis, Company D, 44th Ga.; C. L. Pitts, Company H, 44th Ga.; J. F. McKibben, Company D, 44th Ga.; J. W. Brooks, Company I, 44th Ga.; Samuel Milliam, Company F, 44th Ga.; J. M. Swann, Company D, 19th Ga.; L. Burroughs, Company K, 19th Ga.; E. A. Smith, Lt. Company K, 49th Ga.; J. W. Scott, Company H, 48th Ga.

THIRD GEORGIA HOSPITAL.

David Denton, 28th Ga.; J. H. Wodley, 14th Ga.; J. C. McGuigan, 38th N. C.; Wm. Derrick, 44th Ga.; A. C. Roberts, 35th Ga.; N. M. South, W. H. CLOPTON, W. H. Vaughan, 44th Ga.; F. M. Bairfield, 27th Ga.; Banks Crawford, Corporal J. Morrison, 19th Ga.; S. A. Parker, R. Chandler, E. Farrar, 2nd Ga.; J. Parker, Jno W. Jackson, 15th Ga.; H. W. Willis, 25th Ga.; J. P. S. Nash, 27th Ga.; J. H. H. Brown, 8th Ga.; W. C. Strickland, 31st Ga.; Jas. Gray, 13th Ga.; B. E. Brown, 2nd Fla.; Daniel Harris, 58th Va.; J. L. McCall, 5th S. C.

Casualties in the 40th Va. Regiment, June 26:—

Killed: M. Sibbe, Company D; S. Bell, Company C. Wounded: Adjt. Brokenbrough, shot in neck; Lieut. E. Brokenbrough, arm and leg broken; Capt. Sydnor, Company B, knee; Sergt. J. B. Williams, breast (slight); Sergt. J. R. Hall, breast (slight); Sergt. W. J. Stakes, leg (slight); J. G. Leeland, Company B, feet; R. R. Dunaway, Company H, shoulder; S. Rockwell, Company B, slightly in arm; W. H. McGowan, Company H, below knee; N. J. Saunders, Company H, slightly in hip; J. R. Cansey, Company A, thigh; Sergt. J. H. Edmonds, Company D, knee; D. D. Eford, Company E, hip; R. J. Loring, Company E, thigh; M. M. Murphy, Company K, foot; Sergt. G. W. Sanders, Company H, eye; Sergt. Geo. Walker, Company K, both legs; George Bowen, Company B, leg; C. H. Shaw, Company I, slightly in leg; E. S. Hughes, Company C, thigh; J. W. Henderson, Company I, thigh; J. B. Warwick, Company E, calf of leg (grape); N. H. Wilson, Company I, thigh; Sergt. Yeatman, Company D, knee.

List of Casualties of the 1st Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, June 25, 1862:—

Field Officers.—Wounded: Lieut.-Col. Wm. R. Shivers, commanding, arm, severely; Sergt.-Major Henry E. Entzinger, leg broken.
Company A; Capt. Barman.—Killed: J. L. Turner, J. B. Babb, L. L. Gage, Jno. Sanders. Wounded: Sergt. A. H. Leonard, Sydney Atkinson, James Blair, Wm. Youngblood, Thos. J. Dolan, W. W. Williams, B. S. Gilham, S. Sparks, Johnson P. Kelly, Peter Nicholson, W. T. Logan, Thos. McGovern, Wm. Miles.
Company B; Capt. Groves.—Wounded: Sergeant J. M. Cavanaugh, 3rd Corporal Coburn, 2nd Corporal Jackson, Privates Belvin, Cooley, Fryer, Goynes, Horner, Knight, Nichols, Peavey, Thomas, Smith, Otto.
Company C; Lieut. Woodson in command.—Killed: Corporal Jos. Campbell, Frank R. Davis, Thos. Conlan. Wounded: Lieut. Wm. Woodson, 3rd Sergeant Jos. Bernier, 1st Corporal John Ahern, Michael Cass, Dewey, David Badley, Jas. E. Gofford, B. F. Gordon, Amos B. Grahb, Chas. Harrington, Thos. Moran, Jno. O'Sullivan, Richard Reiley, John Taylor, Chas. Taylor, Chas. Walters, Wm. Edgely.
Company D; Lieut. Buckley in command.—Killed: T. Pilkington. Wounded: Capt. Jas. Nelligan (acting Major), 1st Lieut. A. N. Cummings (acting Adjutant), 2nd Lieut. T. J. Buckley, 1st Sergeant R. McKeown, 4th Sergeant John

Kelly, J. Cain, T. Divine, T. Doyle, M. Golden, M. Kennedy, M. Mullias, J. White, O. Cole.

Company E (Montgomery Guards); Lieut. Gilmore in command.—Killed: 1st Lieut. Michael B. Gilmore, 2nd Lieut. Joseph Murphy, Michael R. Dwyer, Archy McDonald. Wounded: Sergeant James Barnwell, Corporal Michael Dwyer, Thomas Gleason, Michael Flannery, Jno. J. Sealler, Henry Heinmetz, William Powers, B. O'Connell, Pat Dorr, Jno. Berogan, Peter Keating, James Kelly, Tim McDermott, Michael J. Murray, Edward Whitbread, Jno. Fogarty, Martin Freeman, James Hanley, Thomas Eagan, William Buckley. Missing: Thomas Medley. Total—killed 4; wounded 20; and missing 1.

Company F; Captain Snowden.—Killed in skirmish of 23rd, Henry Meyers; in skirmish of 25th, Robert Williams and Thomas Bratcher. Wounded: Lieut. James Dillon, Corporal Jno. Grey, L. Callott, Henry Clark, Edward Hoffman, J. W. Spencer. Total—killed 3; wounded 6.

Company G, Capt. Willett.—Killed: Sergeant John McDonald; and Colamas W. Read. Wounded: 1st Lieut. W. D. Hendricks, 2nd Lieut. Mark O'Rourke, 1st Sergeant Philip H. Raymond, Sergeant J. T. Kelly, Samuel Kells, Samuel Brown, W. C. Lee, William Hensig, David H. De Silva. Total—killed 2; wounded 9.

Company H (Shreveport Grays); Lieut. Lamkin in command.—Wounded: Robert Johnson, A. B. Spell, J. E. Youngblood, L. Loeb, R. T. Mansfield. Total—wounded 5.

Company I; Lieut. Trott in command. Killed: Lieut. George L. Trott and Jno. Bain. Wounded: Capt. Charles E. Cormier, 1st Lieut. Jos. Taylor, Jacob Euredorf, George Almindinger, Avery Breed, Nat Barnes, Henry Coleman, William Hunter, J. T. Lorains, Robert Jackson, William Triple. Missing: Robert Garraway and James M. Grant. Total—killed 2; wounded 12; missing 2.

Company K; Capt. William L. Randall.—Killed: Pat Moran and Thomas Reardon. Wounded: Capt. William L. Randall, Lieut. James Malloy, Corporal Jeremiah Keller, A. Crommeller, Jno. Doan, Philip Georges, William O'Callaghan, Charles Thiehl, George Zuger. Missing: Samuel J. Block. Total—killed 2; wounded 2; missing 1.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Colonel Starke, 60th Virginia, left hand shattered.
Colonel Johnson, 13th Georgia, mortally wounded.
Major Burke, Capt. Brooks, Capt. Street, Capt. Jett, wounded; Lieut. C. T. Goodrick, wounded in leg, 55th Virginia, all at Mechanicsville, Thursday night.
Adjutant Brokenbrough, wounded in neck; Lieut. Brokenbrough, arm broken and wounded in hip; Capt. Sydnor, shot through the knee, 40th Virginia.
Adjutant Holcomb, killed; Capt. Vandergraft, wounded in foot, 5th Alabama Battalion.
Capt. Geo. C. Lewis, Company K, 12th North Carolina, slight wound in thigh.

THE following despatch of General Lee, addressed to President Davis, and written in the flush of victory, is in marked contrast to the arrogant, boastful despatches of General McClellan.

Headquarters, June 27, 1862.

His Excellency President Davis:—

Mr. President,—Profoundly grateful to Almighty God for the signal victory granted to us, it is my pleasing task to announce to you the success achieved by this army to-day.

The enemy was this morning driven from his strong position behind Beaver Dam Creek, and pursued to that behind Powhite Creek, and finally, after a severe contest of five hours, entirely repulsed from the field.

Night put an end to the contest. I grieve to state that our loss in officers and men is great.

We sleep on the field, and shall renew the contest in the morning. I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

(Signed) R. E. LEE, General.

The *Richmond Dispatch* has the following in reference to the flight of the Federals on Sunday, June 29:—

About one a.m., Sunday morning, our pickets down the Nine Mile Road were fiercely attacked by the enemy, and a severe and lively fight ensued. The enemy were easily driven back with loss, many prisoners falling into our hands. Many of the Federals threw down their arms and surrendered voluntarily. Sunday morning, about six or seven o'clock, another fierce picket fight occurred. General Griffith's Mississippi Brigade moved down and pursued them past their fortifications, which were found for the most part deserted. It thus became a matter of fact that the enemy were in full flight.

Pursuit was instantly made, and several fights ensued. All their camps—waggons, commissary, and quartermaster camps, also—were totally destroyed. Immense piles of stores were blazing at the moment of our visit, the Mississippians pursuing over the red ashes of the camps and stores. Our army is following close at their heels, and many prisoners are hourly arriving. Loud explosions were heard during the afternoon, caused by the destruction of vast quantities of ammunition. Dense columns of smoke darkened the sky. The railroad Merrimac was far in advance of our men, and was vigorously shelling the enemy at every turn. They are endeavouring to reach James River, but are totally cut off therefrom. Their loss must prove fearful.

General Griffith was mortally wounded by a fragment of a shell, whilst standing near the Merrimac, on the railroad. Col. Bartsdall, of the 13th Mississippi, now commands the Mississippi Brigade. The *Richmond Dispatch* says:—

The Federal flag made by the Yankees to float over our Capitol, was captured by Major Bloomfield, of General Magrader's staff, in the Federal camps, and was exhibited, with great applause, to our troops. It is an immense piece of work, fully twenty feet long, having thirteen stripes and thirty-two stars thereon! We understand McClellan received it as a present from the ladies of the city of Boston, and promised to plant it on the veritable "last ditch" to which the rebels should be run, and afterwards would elevate it, with all military honours, on our Capitol at Richmond. How are the mighty fallen!

PRIVATE LETTERS.

Extract from a letter from a Southern lady:—

One of my brothers from New Orleans is here now; he left on July 11, and brings accounts of General Butler and his brutality, which are beyond recital. There is no Union feeling in New Orleans—nothing but coercion, with the pistol pointed

at the victim, or the prison open to receive him, produces submission. Butler's serenades are by his own order, and the bands of his own regiments. He is encased in mail up to his chin, and sits with a table before him, upon which lies a loaded pistol. He pronounces sentences with a diabolical scowl, and grating his teeth. He says he wishes to have nothing to do with ordinary persons, but desires the handling of the first people of the community, that he may make an example of them. Dr. Stone was arrested, no reason being given, and was told to go to Fort Jackson, or pay a fine of \$500. The latter he refused to do, saying that if he did, every one in the community who had that sum might be subjected to the same imposition; whereupon he was taken to prison; Mrs. Stone approving his course. Butler has organized a system of secret police, whose emissaries stand at the corner to overhear remarks made by one friend to another. Dr. McPherson was imprisoned for saying that Butler's proclamation regarding the ladies of New Orleans was an "infamous paragraph."

My brother will soon start for Europe, but my other two cannot leave New Orleans, as Butler has issued another proclamation, which requires all who leave the city to take the oath."

The following is an Extract from a letter written by a lady residing in Louisville to her brother in London:—

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, July 23, 1862.

Since writing the above, this city has been thrown into the greatest commotion by the news that the guerillas had attacked Lebanon, and were marching on Louisville. I cannot describe to you the excitement of our citizens. Meetings have been held calling on every man who can shoulder a musket to prepare to defend the city. Morgan's name has struck terror into the hearts of some of the people here. Quiet, peaceable citizens are arrested daily, and the military prisons are crowded. No mails have been sent to Nashville for several days; they are afraid to trust the cars on the road, and are expecting that city to be attacked daily. We are in the midst of a most terrible state of affairs, hearing of nothing but blood and carnage on all sides; people seem to think the loss of life a mere trifle, and talk of the loss of thousands of precious lives with perfect indifference, seeming not to think of the hearts rent and torn with grief, or the many happy homes made desolate. Such is human nature, we get used to anything. Last 4th July was celebrated here with more festivity and boisterousness than for several years past. I felt more than usually sad that day, as it brought back happy days gone for ever, and dear forms never more to be seen in this world, thanks to this horrid war, the existence of which, curiously enough, seems to have added fresh lustre to that glorious day, once so proudly boasted of.

The sad condition of our country is enough to cast a gloom over every thinking mind, and now the Reign of Terror seems to have commenced—guerilla warfare right in our midst—God only knows where it will end—for my part, I think the war has only just begun.

All those having Southern sympathies are commanded to keep them to themselves, under penalty of being imprisoned; and—would you believe it?—they have fitted up Fanny Bullitt's fine house, in Jefferson-street, as a prison for ladies! Think of that in chivalrous Kentucky!

There is a very strong Southern feeling here, which is only waiting for a suitable time to break out. The successes of the Confederate arms in Virginia, and the dread of foreign intervention, recently has shaken most severely the faith of some of the most rabid and staunch Unionists of this State. Come what may, there never can be a Union of feeling between the North and South.

Military matters here are pretty much in the hands of the Dutch and other foreign mercenaries, and, you may judge, that they make very good use of their temporary power, by lording it over those who may fall in their way. One of them, a guard at a prison, shot a Southern man dead the other day, for waving his handkerchief out of the window at a passing friend. Union officers have been seen drinking whiskey and consorting with negro women in the filthiest and lowest precincts of the city. I was accosted in the streets a few days ago by one of these Northern hiring officers, who had the impudence to give me the military salute. I felt like spitting in the vile wretch's face. Be assured that Kentucky will yet awake from her disgraceful thralldom, and then let the Lincolnites look to it.

The following is from the letter of one of the oldest tobacco houses in Richmond, written just before the late battles:—

Some parties have removed their tobacco into the interior, since the enemy has moved closer upon us, as tobacco, as with cotton, will be burned wherever there is danger of its falling into the hands of the enemy.

Preparation has been made for applying the torch to our warehouses, if it becomes necessary, to which we are willing to submit; and our people are so firmly determined to resist to the last and bitter end, that we prefer to see the capital shelled and in ashes, rather than quietly let it fall into the possession of the enemy, as we are tired of this giving up cities to them.

We have made a great mistake in trying to defend too extended a line, but having drawn the lines in, we will fight it out, and even if defeated here, we shall never give up. But we have no fear that the enemy can ever get here with their

gunboats, nor do we believe that they will by land, if McClellan will give battle.

We are expecting a great struggle near this city, and also at Corinth, upon which so much depends; if we are successful, we hope our success will be followed up; but if defeated, it will only protract, but not end the war, for submission or reconstructing is not thought of. If we had the same facilities of procuring from Europe what we need, that are open to the North, we could have had more men in the field, and made a better defence. But by the time you receive this, probably something decisive may have occurred. We are hopeful and sanguine of success.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 26, 1862.

The violent storm that raged in Wall-street for some days has been succeeded by an ominous calm; breakers, however, are quite visible ahead, everything is drifting ashore, and there will soon be a general wreck. Mr. Chase's "card house" is still standing, but his extra story of new issues, and attic of postage stamps, will cause the paper structure to fall to pieces. The first batch of United States' demand notes merely took the place of the circulation of the country banks, leaving that of the moneyed institutions of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, as large as it was a year ago; the second instalment now being emitted will drive all bank notes out of existence, and there will be nothing left as a medium or basis for transactions but Government paper. The effect of this will shortly be apparent at the Stock boards of the three cities, where nearly all the transactions in Federal interest-paying securities take place; there will no longer be a market for them. The bulls and the bears cannot speculate for a rise or a fall, as the only margin for the exercise of such financial talent is in the trifling difference between the fixed rate of interest and the current rate of discount, which would not pay the brokerage. Such operations will be worse than barter, they would simply be swapping one article for another of the same kind. Nor is this all. The banks and bankers have been making large loans to contractors upon promissory notes, with United States' Treasury notes and certificates of indebtedness as collateral, the value of the same being dictated by the quotations at the Stock Exchange; so, as soon as they cease to be a football for those transactions, it will be impossible to borrow money upon them. The truth is, that of the \$1600,000,000 of Government debt, scrip of the various kinds has only been issued to the extent of \$900,000,000, and of this amount not over \$200,000,000 have been taken for *bona fide* investment; notwithstanding facetious economists say these securities are *permanent* in their character, the enormous remainder is floated in the manner described.

The round figures of 20 per cent. attracted many of the small holders of specie to part with five gold dollars for six paper dollars. The importers and foreign bankers, all of whom are heavily in debt to Europe, have withheld from the market in order to lower the premium, and a natural recession of 2 to 3 per cent. has taken place; but there will be an upward turn again next week. In the face of the large balances due to Lombard-street, for past business, and the limited exports of produce in comparison with the imports, it is idle to suppose that gold can be kept from rising; many of our financiers and merchants are blinded by being so near the scene of action.

The feeling in favour of a termination of the war has taken a strong hold among the masses, who, for the first time, are beginning to feel its cost in the increased expense of living; for all their requirements they have to pay an enhanced price, except house-rent, which is lower than for many years. The Washington authorities are endeavouring to rouse up the people to aid in the continuance of hostilities; on June 28, after they had heard of the first three days' fighting before Richmond, and before they communicated the same to the public, they "forged" a letter in reference to more troops, requesting permission by telegraph to use the names of the Governors of States; finding that not to answer the purpose, they are now resorting to most disreputable means, through the aid of certain officials in the North, which may soon cause the large cities to be placed under the control of Vigilance Committees. We expect some exciting times in political affairs.

PARIS, August 6.

The Secretary of the Navy has just returned from visiting in succession the four great military French ports, Cherbourg, Lorient, Brest, and Toulon. He is reported to have given at all of these maritime arsenals the most urgent directions to expedite the naval arma-

ments destined for Mexico, and the greatest exertions are made in every department to execute his imperative and pressing orders. The last accounts from that country were of a favourable character. The little French band had handsomely worsted its numerous opponents, and Zaragoza's army was reported to be in a condition of discouragement, weakened by numerous daily desertions and unable to renew their attacks. But there exists always the same conviction that the French navy must be prepared for some other work than operations against a Republic which has no ships, and the *Patrie* of yesterday had the following, under the signature of E. E. Gulland:—"A naval squadron will have arrived at the beginning of November in the Vermilion Sea. Our army *then* will march on the city of Mexico. It is important that such a demonstration should take place at that moment, in order to watch the events which may take place on the coast of Sonora and of old California."

The orders for the formation of this fleet were given simultaneously with the explanations requested from the Government of President Lincoln by our representative at Washington on the subject of the loan to Juarez, and the security thereof consisting in the pawning by Juarez of some of the provinces of the Republic which he governs.

My thoughts are principally directed to America; but I cannot help being struck with the dangers that seem to be now threatening the repose of Europe. Garibaldi was looked upon as having somewhat "*la tête près du bonnet*," but no one imagined that his restless mind would carry him to such crazy attempts against the laws and against the safety of his own country, as he has been actually guilty of. "*El re gallantuomo*," had to make proclamations to oppose those of his general, who is kind enough to continue his praise of his King, but would like, it appears, to take to himself the arbitrament of peace and war. As for Parliament, he does not care for it. Not content with endeavouring to let loose again in Italy the dogs of war, he wants to help Hungary, Poland, Montenegro, Servia, Greece, and what not, into universal conflagration. Victor Emmanuel and himself are represented as great friends, but I wonder if the former does not sometimes regret that the Red Shirt Champion has not accepted the offer of the Federals to take command of their cosmopolitan bands. It is hard to tell what he will do, and where he will go. A large number of young men from the north of Italy are joining him. Will his English friends be as much delighted if he pounces upon the Turks as if he confines himself to landing upon the Roman coast, and driving away Count de Montebello, just as if the last were a Neapolitan general, with a Neapolitan force under him? He has fought against the French, and also on the same side with them; and if his head was clear, he would know better. I have no patience with all these mob-leaders, and that part of the press who are the devotees of the mob everywhere. They are, of course, great sympathizers with the North, and bitter, venomous, lying opponents of the South. But they will learn before long that no numbers, no wealth, no brutal strength, no despotism, no embodiment of all possible superior practical advantages, when under the control of a mob, can compete with the honest, patriotic, lawful, and conservative spirit of a people who defend their legitimate rights, and respect the rights of others.

The war in Montenegro, on the other hand, and the disaffection in Servia, have come to a dangerous crisis. The whole diplomatic talent of Europe are busy at Constantinople, trying to avoid, or rather to postpone, what seems threatening—the final scene of the great drama of Turkish empire in Europe. The hopes of an understanding between the Prince of Montenegro and the Government of the Sultan, on account of an armistice having been proposed, are abandoned, and negotiations are at an end. The mountaineers, under their chief, Mirko, are preparing for a desperate resistance; every boy, not under twelve years old, has joined the army.

M. Thouvenel has not enjoyed a long leave of absence, and returned yesterday to Paris. The Emperor is expected to-morrow. His Majesty will remain at St. Cloud until the 19th inst., and will then start for the camp at Châlons, whilst the Empress and the Imperial Prince will go to Biarritz. If the current rumours are to be credited, the Emperor Napoleon will make a short stay at Châlons, and will undertake a journey of several days before joining the Empress. The object of such journey will be the already announced meeting of crowned heads to take place in one of the towns of the German frontier. The above information I believe correct.

Some uneasiness had been felt about the crops, because of the late heavy rains. I am happy to say that according to the most reliable reports, the corn crop has, on the contrary, been improved by them. It is confidently

believed that there will be fully enough of wheat for the year's consumption of the nation, and a certain quantity to spare is expected.

Despite the ambiguous denials of Earl Russell, the belief is unshaken that an amicable advice is on its way to the Government at Washington from the great Powers of Europe. But the news of Mitchell's and Turchin's conduct in Alabama has aroused the unqualified indignation of every French gentleman. In the bloodiest times of civil wars, a school containing young ladies has always been held sacred by the most savage combatants.

True, such infamy incidentally helps the Southern cause; but better to sacrifice the lives of thousands of men on the altar of Liberty, rather than be benefited by such crimes. The outrage will be revenged, though not on the women or children of the Northern brigands; but the crime shall be washed out in the blood of the monsters themselves. There is not a Southerner, native or adopted citizen, who, at any time, at any place, and to his last day, will meet one of Turchin's command, and not kill him as a mad dog.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

On Monday, in the House of Lords, Lord CAMPBELL rose to move for copies or extracts of any correspondence which Her Majesty's Government had received from Mr. Mason, the Southern Envoy, relating to the acknowledgment of the Confederate States of America by Great Britain. He said, as the Government had already laid before Parliament, in the first number of the papers on America, the despatch of Colonel Mann and Mr. Yancey, demanding the acknowledgment of the Southern Confederacy in 1861, and had also laid before Parliament a despatch of Mr. Mann at the beginning of the present year on the blockade, there could be no technical objection to present any correspondence of a later period. It was well known that the Southern envoys, both in London and in Paris, had recently demanded the acknowledgment of the States they represented, and of which the power to defend their capital against an invading force, was in the last days of June triumphantly asserted. In one sense, indeed, the papers would be useless; they could do little to enhance—so strong was it already—the conviction which appeared to pervade society and Parliament, that the war ought to end in separation of the Northern and the Southern Powers. It was not too much to say that no class or party in the country any longer desired to see the reconquest of the South and the reconstruction of the Union. The unanimity might be traced to many different causes. It was owing in some measure to the seasonable flood of light which Mr. Spence, in his well-known work, had thrown upon the subject; it was owing in a still greater measure to the speech of the noble lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the 10th of March, in which he told the world that separation was the issue of the struggle which he contemplated, and that at a period not distant from the time when he was speaking. It was owing also to the labours of enlightened men in the House of Commons, of whom Mr. Gregory had been the most conspicuous. But still more should the unanimous desire for separation and aversion to reconquest in this country be traced to the conviction that the interest of the negro race would be promoted by the former and retarded by the latter; that the area of slavery must be limited when separation happened, and would most likely be extended if reconquest unhappily occurred. It was further strengthened by the fact that the limited advance of the invaders had, during part of the year, and the capture of New Orleans, disproved the existence of any Southern party, for the Union, had revealed in the South a self-sacrificing heroism and inexhaustible endurance which could not have been counted on before; had shown, in point of fact, that the South could only be restored to the Government which formerly possessed it, by an exterminating war, as well as an aggressive one. Besides the devastation and destruction it would bring upon the South, it was generally seen that reconquest of the Union threatened the North with military despotism, trade with insupportable restrictions, and Europe with prolonged uneasiness. These papers were not wanted to give new force to a conviction so prevailing, but they might throw light upon the course which Great Britain ought to follow amid the dangers which surrounded her in consequence of this civil war. The first danger of Great Britain—viz., the possibility of Southern subjugation, and all the evils it involved, might be, perhaps, dismissed as a remote one. The second danger, which arose from the continuance of the war—the manufacturing distress it must occasion—was far more serious and imminent. So long as the war continued, a scarcity of cotton must be apprehended. If, indeed, the American supply were utterly and finally extinguished, the means would not, perhaps, be wanting to replace it; but so long as the American supply was constantly impeding on the market they could not hope to gain a large amount from Africa or India. And who should say what degree of social or political disorder might not follow manufacturing distress if it extended over four years or upwards? Another danger for Great Britain, more likely to remain unnoticed, but not less easy to describe, was that, if the war should end in separation before this country had merited alliance from the Southern Power, Canada was exposed without an adequate defence to at least a possible invader. If Canada was unable to support a numerous militia, if Britain was unable to send large armies to her succour, what defence could they rely on except a firm ally upon that continent, prepared at any moment to cross the frontier of the Power by which an unjust attack was made upon our dependency? It should never be forgotten that we were not able to secure the duration of the contest—that after the exhaustion of the combatants, we could not prevent other Powers by their influence from bringing the war to a conclusion, although we might refuse to share so great and meritorious an effort. Some persons have ingeniously contended that, looking to British objects, we ought not to bring about or to desire a termination of hostilities; that the evils arising from such a termination were greater than the evils which the war itself inflicted on us, and that our policy and business was to stand still and let it rage as long and burn out as gradually as possible. Such counsels

might be just if we had any guarantee for its continuance. But we clearly had not. Suppose Great Britain held aloof completely in the present autumn, while the other Powers of Europe, swayed by the French Government, employed their moral force to terminate the war in Southern independence. In two months Canada might be assailed and Great Britain be without the least support on that continent. If, however, Great Britain had united with the other Powers of Europe (after showing every observance to the Government of Washington) in acknowledging the independence of the South, she would not be unsupported in America when separation happened. Such a mode of acting, if it did not at once remove the chance of Southern subjugation, was calculated to remove it. If it did not at once arrest the civil war, it was calculated to arrest it. Of the three dangers, therefore, he had ventured to enumerate, it provided against one, and had a tendency, at least, to neutralize the others. But if no one could allude to the line of action which became us, without the greatest caution and reserve, there was one point on which any man might speak with openness and firmness. Recognition being put out of the question, the civil war could never end until foreign Powers had recognized the Government of Richmond. Since modern Europe came into existence no civil war had ended in the sovereignty of the insurgent Power until that Power had been recognized by neutral States, giving an example to the State which aimed at its reconquest. It was not till Portugal had been acknowledged by Great Britain twenty-five years, that Spain consented to acknowledge her existence as an independent Power. It was not till long after nearly all the Governments of Europe had acknowledged the United Provinces of Holland, that Spain gave up the hope of re-absorbing them. The same circumstance applied to the United States, the South American Republics, to Greece, to Belgium, and to Italy. The acknowledgment by neutral Powers had always preceded the acknowledgment by the Power which first endeavored to control the insurrection. It was not too much to lay down as a principle, that war must go on against an insurgent State until neutral Powers had acknowledged it. The war for a reconquest could not be abandoned while neutral Powers sanctioned its continuance. At least it never had been. And that principle would have the strongest application to the Government of Washington. However sickened of the war, it was only by the voice of Europe they could be delivered from the horrible necessity of waging it. Some new and powerful authority was requisite to pave the way for so great a change of system upon their part. Having undertaken to coerce the Southern States; having drawn 500,000 men from peaceful avocations; having sent the tax-gatherer to range among homes which he had never darkened; having ensnared the people of the North into unprecedented sacrifices by a vision which ninety days would always enable them to grasp; but which after two campaigns remained impalpable as ever; with what face could they recede from their engagements, renounce their aspirations, avow at once their error and their guilt, while Europe still declined to acknowledge Southern independence. Separation was impossible, until the effort to reconquer was discarded. The effort to reconquer must go on, until foreign Powers granted to the South the recognition which it asked for. So long as they withheld it, they compelled the Government of Washington to persevere in its unnatural and sanguinary labours. The whole question as regarded acknowledgment appeared to turn upon the moment. If other Powers of Europe were prepared, had England a right to count upon a better one? Operations of gunboats were retarded by the dryness of the navigable rivers; operations on land, by the fearful heat and the diseases it engendered. Richmond was no longer menaced. Securities at New York had undergone a great depreciation. The war, as far as they could judge, had lost its hold on popular opinion. The Abolitionists who followed Mr. Sumner had ceased to give it their support. Mr. Lincoln in vain endeavored to raise 300,000 men. The invading army, under Halleck, near the Mississippi was not able to advance. And if many of the most reflecting men believed that in December and January last Europe lost an opportunity of taking that step without which the war could scarcely end, and which would then, perhaps, have closed it, with what decision and despatch ought not a new conjuncture which invited to such a mode of acting be made use of? There was this difference between the present and the former opportunity. In January the Federals had never been victorious in battle, and, however resigned to separation, however hopeless of reconquest, might still prolong the war in order to recover their prestige, and repair their military losses. Now the greater balance of success was likely to extinguish such a difficulty. But if the present moment is abandoned what are we to wait for?—not for Northern victories. Such victories would closely limit our capacity to acknowledge Southern independence, as it was limited from the defeat and death of Zollicoffer in the winter down to the events which have lately driven General McClellan to the river. We are to wait, therefore, for new misfortunes to the Government of Washington before we grant to this unhappy strife the possibility of closing. If so, how hard a situation do we place them in. The language of the noble lord in March, the tenor of events, and the impressions of the world, forbid them any longer to aspire to reconquest. But yet until their prospects are more dark and their embarrassments more fatal, we will not help them to conclude the war by separation. Is it not enough to see their armies driven back, their capital alarmed, their spirits gone, and their finance exhausted? Before we grant the extrication they must owe to neutral Powers, are we to wait until the Southern forces are again aggressive and triumphant; until the invaders are invaded, until the avengers are the victims, until the Northern States are overrun, until Washington is occupied—until, at least, its Government has encountered new humiliations, losses, and disasters at the hands of the people whom they had rashly undertaken to chastise and to subdue? At least, England is hardly justified in waiting for new reverses to the Federals, unless it is the only conduct in which the other Powers of Europe would support us. In that case no doubt we are entitled to pursue it. Perhaps the noble lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs would describe such a case as being the real one. If not, his silence would explode it. The noble lord concluded by moving for the correspondence.

Earl RUSSELL said, I am sorry that it is not convenient to give the papers which have been moved for. The Envoy of the Southern States has never been officially received here, and, as the correspondence has been entirely of an unofficial character, I do not think it would be advisable to produce it. There is, however, a despatch of Mr. Seward's, communicated to me by Mr. Adams, and another to Mr. Seward in reply, in which the views of Her Majesty's Government are stated. We remain as we were a few months ago—we have not altered our position, and there is little more than that fact contained

in the despatch. In the event of adopting any new line of policy, I should think it necessary to communicate with the maritime Powers of Europe before taking any steps. My noble friend seems to understand that the maritime Powers wish to recognize the Southern States, and that some objection on our part has prevented the recognition. Now, I have had no communication from any foreign Power stating any wish or making any proposition with regard to the recognition of the Southern States of America. Under these circumstances, I hope my noble friend will not press his motion, as it would not be convenient to give the papers now, though I may produce them hereafter. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of MALMESBURY said the noble earl had used a wise discretion in not producing communications from a person who was not officially recognized. He did not know whether the noble lord would give some information to the House on one or two points at this time of the Session. They were now, at a most anxious moment, about to separate for five months, and the country was very ignorant of the state of affairs, and felt a great anxiety to know a little more, if the noble earl thought it within his duty to give the information. He (the Earl of Malmesbury), from the first day of the Session, had always said that the whole question of the blockade, or of interference by way of recognition or mediation, was one of time, and must be left to Her Majesty's Government, who alone were responsible for choosing the proper time for acting. It would, however, be very interesting to know whether, when that time did arrive, the noble earl had ascertained that he would be assisted in a policy of recognition or mediation by any or several of our allies. He did not think it possible that anything could be done by this country alone. We should be doing more harm than good if we were to attempt it, in consequence of the very unjust feeling which seemed to exist in the United States. But he could not but hope, when the moment arrived for something to be done, that we should be backed by our ally on the other side of the Channel, by Russia, and by other Powers of Europe. He should be glad to know if the noble lord had some hopes of bringing the opinion of those Powers to bear on the question. He could not help feeling that this country had some confidence in such a question being discussed. He thought the time, moreover, was approaching when it might be discussed with the United States if Lord Lyons were at his post, but he feared that Lord Lyons's absence, if it were much prolonged, would, besides being a disadvantage to the noble earl's policy, make it appear to many persons that the time when Her Majesty's Government could interfere was not very near at hand. He did not believe that Lord Lyons had been recalled by anything but very pressing business of his own. He should be sorry to interfere with any pressing concerns on the part of Lord Lyons, but the noble earl would agree with him that for the sake of appearances, as well as on other considerations, it was not desirable that Lord Lyons should be very long absent from his post.

Earl RUSSELL.—I will answer as well as I can the questions put to me by the noble earl. With regard to the first question, I agree with the noble earl that if any steps are taken it would be desirable that they should be taken by all the principal Powers of Europe. I do not doubt that the opinion of the maritime Powers of Europe would carry much weight with the Government of the United States; but it is very desirable that all the great Powers should join in any representations that may be made. With regard to France, all I can say is, that hitherto there has been an intimate and unreserved communication between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Emperor of the French, and I do not recollect any instance in which a difference of opinion has arisen between them on this subject. With regard to the Government of Russia, I am not in the same constant communication with that Government, but, if I were to state the inclination of my mind, it would be that Russia would be ready to consider any step that might be thought necessary, and that both Russia and France would weigh in a most impartial spirit any proposition that might be made to those Governments. With regard to the other Powers of Europe, I should say that they are disposed to take the same view. If, however, I thought it my duty, and if Her Majesty's Government thought it their duty, to make any such communications they ought very deliberately to consider the matter before any such step is taken. Unfortunately, an opinion prevails in the United States with regard to this country which is not justified by any conduct on our part, because it has been as friendly and as straightforward as possible. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the second question, as to Lord Lyons, I would say that no man ever attended more assiduously to the duties of his mission than Lord Lyons, and those duties have been not only onerous, but have caused him great anxiety from time to time. Lord Lyons has acted with perfect discretion on every occasion, but after two or three years' discharge of the duties to which he was recommended by the noble earl, and after filling the position he occupied at Washington, his health gave way. We felt that we could not expect to obtain the full benefit of his advice and assistance if he were in a bad state of health, and when Lord Lyons asked for a short leave of absence, to spend the summer here, his request was granted. About the beginning of October he will return to his post, and in the meantime the duties of the mission will be adequately and effectually performed by Mr. Stuart, who is in friendly communication with the United States' Government.

Lord Kingsdown said that their lordships had reposed a most unusual confidence in the Government, for during the whole of the Session, with perhaps, only a single exception, matters of extreme nicety and importance had been left to the judgment and discretion of Her Majesty's Government. He did not complain of this, but one reason for abstaining from discussing this subject had been that the noble earl (Russell) had entertained and expressed a more sanguine view of the termination of this dispute than the event had justified. The noble earl had expressed a confident belief that in the space of two or three months the dispute between the North and the South would be so far settled that any interference on the part of the Legislature in the meantime would be prejudicial rather than advantageous. He did not blame the noble earl for being mistaken, for it was impossible to anticipate the course of events in the United States. At that time a question of very great moment, and one which well deserved the most serious consideration of their lordships, was at issue—namely, the principle of the efficiency or inefficiency of the blockade of the ports of the Southern States. It was now perfectly useless to enter upon this question. If this country were to recognize the independence of the South the right to blockade the ports of the South would remain, and any interference on our part with that blockade would probably be followed by a war with the Northern States. He trusted that the noble lord would withdraw a motion which could not be attended with any good results.

Earl RUSSELL said he felt very grateful to their lordships for abstaining from interfering with the discretion of Her Majesty's Government, which he trusted had been wisely exercised in this matter.

The motion, after a few words from Lord STRATHEDEN, was then withdrawn.

The *Albany Argus* has the following reply to a recent article in the *New York Tribune* :—

THOU ART THE MAN!—We defy any person to name a partizan of the rebellion, North or South, who is not also a partizan of slavery. And mountains of obloquy heaped on Abolitionists will not obscure the fact that ninety-nine of every hundred of those branded Abolitionists have ever been for the Union, and are now the most determined foes of slaveholding treason.

The *Tribune* need not go far to find the character it "defies" any one to discover. Certainly the *Tribune* would not desire to be regarded as "a partizan of slavery," yet that it has been one of the strongest partizans of the rebellion in all that it seeks and maintains—to wit, a separation of the Confederacy, and the right of the seceding States to withdraw from the Union and set up an independent Government—is clearly established by the following extracts from its own columns:—

(From the *Tribune* of November 9, 1860.)

"If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists, nevertheless. * * * We must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof. To withdraw from the Union is quite another matter, and whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a Republic whereof one section is pined to another by bayonets."

(From the *Tribune* of November 20, 1860.)

"If the Cotton States, untidely and earnestly, wish to withdraw peacefully from the Union, we think they should and would be allowed to do so. Any attempt to compel them by force to remain would be contrary to the principles enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence, contrary to the fundamental ideas on which human liberty is based."

(From the *Tribune* of December 17, 1860.)

"If it (the Declaration of Independence) justified the secession from the British Empire of 3,000,000 of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it should not justify the Secession of 5,000,000 of Southerners from the Union in 1861."

(From the *Tribune* of February 23, 1861.)

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, is sound and just; and that, if the Slave States and Cotton States, or the Gulf States only, choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so. * * * Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of the Southern people have become conclusively alienated from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views."

But not only is the *Tribune* in its dull prose a partizan of the rebellious States in their struggle for the "clear moral right to secede," as a poet, it brings its genius and its eloquence to the aid of the traitors' cause, and thus applauds in stirring song the acts of those who "tear down" and "destroy" what the *Tribune* poetically designates "Hate's polluted rag," but which, in sober prose, is known as the National Ensign:—

"Tear down the flaunting Lie!
Half-mast the starry flag!
Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag!
Destroy it, ye who can!
Deep sink it in the waves!
It bears a fellow-man
To groan with fellow-slaves."

It is unnecessary to enter upon an arithmetical calculation to test the assertion that "ninety-nine out of every hundred branded Abolitionists" have always been true to the Union, which, for a quarter of a century, they have denounced as "a covenant with sin and a league with hell," but certainly if the *Tribune's* figures are correct, it is itself the "one in a hundred" that forms the exception to the rule.

THE NIGGER AGAIN.—The Indiana State *Sentinel* says:—"The 7th Indiana Regiment marched from Fredericksburg to Port Republic in a destitute condition, a large number without shoes, and their route could have been traced by the blood which marked their footsteps. On Saturday night last 400 wounded men from the battle-field of Port Republic arrived in Washington in box cars, and it was late the next day before they were removed to quarters where they could receive the much-needed surgical attention, and be relieved from their sufferings. At the same time the Government were supporting in comfortable quarters some 1100 lazy runaway negroes. That shows the sympathy of the powers that be. The gallant men who had been wounded while bravely fighting the battles of the Constitution and the Union must have found great consolation in this contrast in the paternal care of the governmental authorities. Buncombe resolutions of stay-at-home patriots will not avail much with the wounded and neglected soldier."

The *Richmond Whig* says:—

"General Gregg's brigade is composed of the following regiments, which average over 1,000 men each:—1st S. C. Volunteers, Colonel D. H. Hamilton; 12th S. C. Volunteers, Colonel O. E. Edwards; 13th S. C. Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel D. Barnes; 14th S. C. Volunteers, Colonel S. McGowan; Rifle Regiment S. C. Volunteers, Colonel J. Foster Marshall. To this brigade two batteries are attached—Colonel Marmaduke Johnson's Richmond Battery, and Captain Crenshaw's Richmond Battery."

Corruption in the Federal army is not confined to such high personages as General Fremont. The *Chicago Tribune* of a recent date notes the arrest of a Lieutenant Patrick Higgins, of the Irish Brigade, for conspiring with Confederate prisoners to release them from Camp Douglas for a consideration. For a certain sum, to be paid in advance by each prisoner who desired to regain his liberty, he would assist them to pass the guard and escape. One man, it is said, agreed to pay him \$150; others, smaller sums—the price of liberty having no fixed rate. Colonel Mulligan discovered the treachery of the speculating Higgins through one of the prisoners, and he was arrested.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY ROTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7, 1862.

The Extension of the War.

THE last telegrams from New York tell us of deep despondency, and that a feeling of uneasiness pervades all classes of the community. Irrespective of the impending financial collapse, the aspect of the war is sufficient to account for such wide-spread and gloomy despair. Those who looked for the conquest of the South, as well as those who thought the restoration of the Union possible, can no longer blind themselves to the fact that their expectations will not be realized. The Confederate camp has become co-extensive with the Confederate States. The North has not merely to fight gallant armies, commanded by generals who have manifested military genius of the highest order, but it has to contend against an actively hostile population. We are told by the North that Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and, indeed, the whole of the Southern States, swarm with guerilla bands. At Louisville a conspiracy has been discovered, in which the principal inhabitants were concerned, to hand over the city to the Confederates. The Governor of Missouri has found it necessary to order the organization of the whole militia of the State to defend the Federal power against Confederate aggression. In Maryland, the spirit of Secession has been rapidly developed, and at Baltimore a majority of the Municipality, after twice rejecting the proposal to vote bounty-money for volunteers, have resigned.

It has been said that the Federal authority in the South does not extend beyond the range of Federal guns; but this statement gives a flattering view of the Federal position, for even in those places where the invader has obtained a footing—even in New Orleans, for months under the cruel and despotic tyranny of General Butler—there is no submission to Federal authority; and from day to day, at every opportunity, the men, women, and children evince their contempt and enmity for those whom the fortune of war has for the time made their rulers.

Not only is the uprising in the South universal, but the movements of the Confederates are so skillfully directed that what the North is pleased to call guerilla bands are being, at available points, massed into armies for the purpose of operating against the Federal armies of occupation. We are informed *via* New York that General Morgan has retreated from Kentucky through Cumberland Gap—which, by the way, must be held by the Confederates, and not by the Federals, as reported by the North—into Tennessee; and when we consider that Nashville is threatened, and that Tennessee swarms with Confederate troops, that the army lately commanded by General Halleck must be out-numbered and surrounded, unless a retreat to the bank of the Mississippi is still open to it—the North has little cause to rejoice at the advent of General Morgan's army in Tennessee. That the Washington Government is aware of the desperate condition of its forces in the West, is evident from the order issued to General Lane, in Kansas, to raise an army irrespective of colour. We shall probably shortly hear of decisive movements in Tennessee; and since the North has no means at its disposal for checking the progress of Secession in Missouri and Kentucky,

the Federal tenure in those States is in considerable jeopardy.

Vicksburg, so often reported as captured, is not only uncaptured, but the attempt to reduce it seems for the present to have been abandoned. Commander Porter's fleet is in the Hampton Roads, and Commodore Farragut has taken his fleet to New Orleans. The Confederate ram Arkansas, and the subsidence of the waters of the Mississippi, have compelled Commodore Farragut to practise the strategy of retreat. It was supposed, and not unreasonably, that wherever the Federal gunboats could penetrate they would be victorious; but that they are not omnipotent or invincible is proved by the safety of Mobile, Charleston, and Vicksburg. And further, we may infer that should New Orleans again pass into the hands of the Confederates before the termination of the war, it could be successfully defended against the operations of Federal gunboats.

The news from Virginia, though exceedingly contradictory, shows the weakness and fears of the North. One day it is positively asserted that General "Stonewall" Jackson is at Gordonsville; next day, that he is marching on Harper's Ferry; a few hours afterwards, that he is concentrating his forces on the James River, between City Point and Richmond; and before this news is cold, indeed almost simultaneously, he is said to be in the Shenandoah Valley, preparing for an encounter with General Pope. Then, again, General Beauregard, who, a fortnight since, was reported to be sick at Richmond, and last week to be at Chattanooga, with 60,000 men, is now declared to be on the left bank of the James River, in command of an army 30,000 strong. The utter ignorance of the Federals with respect to Confederate movements is astounding; for we cannot suppose that the Washington Government, anxious to allay the alarming excitement of the people, would permit the circulation of these distracting and panic-creating reports, if it could give any true or tangible account of the Confederate position. With respect to General McClellan's army, we have to record an ominous official silence; but we gather, from rumours entitled to some credence, that it is not only hemmed in, not only paralyzed by its late defeat, but that it is daily weakened by excessive sickness, and that many thousands of the remnant of the once numerically splendid and costly equipped army of the Potomac are *hors de combat* by those fell enemies, fever and ague—enemies that cannot be held in check by entrenchments and the cover of gunboats. There are no more promises of an advance on Richmond, but at one time rumours of the preparation of an iron-clad ram, intended to replace the terrible Virginia; and at another, that the Confederates have multiplied the obstructions in the James River, so as to make the advance of the Federal gunboats a sheer impossibility. It is also known that the Confederates are throwing up earthworks and planting cannon on the banks of the James River, in the rear of General McClellan, and thus threatening to cut off his supplies. Verily the War Council being held at Washington has ample matter for grave and anxious deliberation. Verily, there is sufficient ground for the deep despondency and the feeling of uneasiness that pervades all classes.

In the midst of all this, Mr. Lincoln vainly calls for more men. Neither the offer of enormous bounties, of pay in advance, of service limited to nine months, nor the vigorous efforts of the classes who dread the conscription, can induce men to enlist. A conscription seems inevitable, but how ill-timed it will be, seeing that in many of the States it is deemed necessary to prepare for defence against the threatened incursions of the Confederates. And if armies can be raised, where are the generals to command them? The appointment of General Halleck—who has been so completely out-manœuvred by General Beauregard, and under whose auspices the army of the West has done nothing, literally nothing—as Commander-in-Chief inspires no confidence. General McDowell is looked upon as a failure; General Banks has shown his inefficiency;

General Pope, as yet, has done no more than write mendacious despatches and issue a mendacious proclamation; and General McClellan, the Young Napoleon, is given up by his friends, who now say he is not a man of action. Still, we do not deny the possibility of the North carrying on the war; but we think that the impossibility of subjugating the South must be palpable even to the Northerners.

The American Question in the House of Lords.

LORD CAMPBELL, on Monday evening last, presented to the Peers the strongest argument that has yet been urged in Parliament for the recognition of the Confederate States, as a means of bringing to a close the unfortunate war in America. He argued, and we think with irresistible logic, that, according to all modern experience, the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States by the United States, which is the only probable or possible termination of the war, cannot be expected to take place so long as neutral nations withhold that recognition. No Power, whether weak or strong, has ever been the first to acknowledge a *de facto* Government raised upon its own dethroned authority. Not Great Britain, which did not recognize the independence of her revolted American colonies until France, Spain, and Holland, her three great maritime rivals of that period, had done so. Not Spain, which refused recognition to the Netherlands a quarter of a century after all hope of reconquest had vanished, and to her former South American colonies after every other nation had treaties with them. Not Holland, which only recognized Belgium at the bidding of all the great Powers of Europe; nor Turkey, which had to be similarly forced into the recognition of Greece. Not Austria, which even yet refuses to recognize the Kingdom of Italy. Thus it is in fact, and thus it should be in theory; for neutral and disinterested nations must necessarily be the best judges of the fulfilment of the conditions on which recognition may justly be demanded, and they may also be presumed to be more ready to listen to the demands of justice than the Power which has the strongest interest in denying them. So long, then, as neutral nations withhold recognition, the Government whose authority is impugned is not only justified in urging its pretensions, but it may plead the tacit admission of its co-peers, both of the justice of those pretensions and of its ability to make them good. In other words, the non-recognition of a *de facto* Government by neutral Powers after a clear title to recognition is made out, is a virtual encouragement to its enemies to persevere in their efforts against it. This reasoning applies with peculiar force to the case of the American belligerents, for the people of the United States are as thoroughly convinced as we are that every motive of self-interest should incline European Governments to a friendly treatment of the "rebels." That instead of such friendly treatment, conditions of unprecedented severity have been exacted from the Confederate States they also understand, and explain, reasonably enough, upon the supposition that European Governments are deterred by fear, and by despair of the success of those they vain would help if they dared.

Lord Campbell's speech was in support of a motion for the correspondence between Her Majesty's Foreign Office and the Southern Commissioner in London; it being generally understood that Mr. Mason had made a formal demand for recognition on Her Majesty's Government, and that the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs had officially replied thereto. Earl Russell declined to produce these papers, but without condescending to give any intelligible reason for his refusal. It could not have been on account of the, as yet, unofficial character of the Southern negotiator, for Earl Russell had caused to be published among the Parliamentary papers of the earlier period of the session his correspondence with Messrs. Yancey, Rost, and Mann, who occu-

pied precisely the same position as their successor, Mr. Mason; and had caused to be inserted among these papers a letter from Mr. Mason himself, on the subject of the blockade. Neither did Earl Russell condescend to reply to any of the points presented in Lord Campbell's speech; content, perhaps, with the prophetic reply he once before gave to the same interlocutor, and which time has not verified any more than if it had only been a prediction of Mr. Seward's, instead of one from the Foreign Minister of the British Empire. Earl Russell did not deny that the Confederate States, by a successful resistance of eighteen months, by the unanimity, skilled valour, and unflinching determination of their people, has established a claim to be treated as, at least, a *de facto* Government. He did not deny that nine-tenths of intelligent Englishmen—himself among the number, according to his own well-remembered statement in the same place—had arrived at the deliberate conviction that the reconquest of the South was no longer within the bounds of possibility, nor was desirable for the welfare of either party. He denied nothing, asserted nothing. If ever the hackneyed motto, "that words are designed to conceal thoughts," was successfully applied, it was by Earl Russell, on Monday night, in the House of Lords. Whether this is exactly the mode of treating a grave question on which the public mind is anxious, and on the immediate solution of which interests of the vastest magnitude depend, we leave to others to decide.

One admission, however, we obtain from the noble Earl's language, despite his studied reticence—and this is in reply to Lord Malmesbury's point-blank query—that the other Powers of Europe stand ready to follow the example of England whenever she chooses to set it. This is not frankly stated; but after a careful study of Earl Russell's evasive style, we can gather no other meaning from his words. It is difficult, indeed, to reconcile with the outgivings of the French semi-official press, and the more or less well-authenticated rumours which fill the public ear, his other declaration that he has received no communications from other Powers bearing on recognition of the South. We are tempted to suspect that the noble Earl does not think it beneath his dignity to play on words; that oral propositions are not by him considered communications; and that preliminary consultations about mediation are not to be spoken of from his place in the House of Lords, as having any bearing on recognition.

As the Foreign Secretary wraps himself in the mantle of mystery, the public is left to mere surmises in regard to his motives and intentions in American policy. Little penetration, however, is required to see that this policy is still to be procrastination—procrastination, though the golden opportunity for ending the war may again be lost, like so many others before, and though every day makes the American problem more complicated and more difficult of solution—procrastination, though an important branch of British industry is threatened with a vital danger, and though the interruption of the world's commerce daily costs Great Britain as much in treasure as it costs at least one of the parties to the war. As to the motives of this strange policy, in absence of the Minister, the leading member of the London press undertakes to expound them. It affects to consider this motive as a friendly one to the South.—The war, such is the substance of its reasoning—is now dying out for lack of fuel; any action on our part would again fan it into a flame. We have so often treated the effect of recognition upon Mr. Lincoln's recruiting powers, that we will not weary our readers with the repetition of arguments which have never been contravened. Suffice it now to say, that if the *Times'* views be correct, both North and South are singularly blind to their true interests. Mr. Seward has exhausted the weapons of diplomacy to prevent recognition. He has wheedled, and threatened, and bullied, and recanted unwearingly, all to this purpose. Even now, when he is thinking of conscription to raise more men, he sends quartermasters' charts to Lord Palmerston to show how many hundreds on hundreds of thousands he has already in the field on paper. The

North's champions in Parliament (Mr. Forster and Mr. Taylor) quote the argument that recognition would facilitate recruiting in the North, and thus prolong the war, and it is, in fact, from them that the *Times* has borrowed it. The South, on the other hand, so little is it of the *Times'* opinion, or so little dread has it of the stimulated recruiting, is asking recognition, and only recognition; to which it conceives itself justly entitled by international usage. Through its representative in England, it is stated in Parliament, it has just made, for the first time, a formal demand to that effect. We may fairly assume Mr. Mason to be the best judge of what would benefit his country, and most quickly end the war; and similarly, that Mr. Seward understands what would most obstruct the objects of his Government, and cripple it for the prolongation of the contest. Both agree that this would be the recognition of the Confederate States by the Powers of Europe.

The Last Card of the North.

WE hear, by the last mail, of a demand for Emancipation at the North. There is nothing in the news that should surprise or startle us. Every one has known from the first that the Federalists held this card in their hand, and would play it at last, if the game were not previously interrupted. But it was clear, at the same time, that this was the last card they would play, and that it would not be forthcoming until without it the game was obviously and irretrievably lost. In the first place, it is illegal; and Mr. Lincoln has hitherto endeavoured to preserve at least the shadow of legality. Congress has no more right to interfere with the institutions of Maryland or Kentucky than with those of Canada or Mexico; it has no more legal authority in the internal affairs of the States than has the British Parliament. By law, any ordinance emancipating the slaves of the South is utterly null and void, and would be set aside at once, as unconstitutional, by the Supreme Court. But even those in the North who care least for law might well hesitate in face of the possible practical consequences of such an act. Under existing circumstances, Emancipation has no other meaning than the excitement of servile revolt; and any civilized nation may well pause before it decides to incur the frightful guilt of such a measure. Were the present demand acceded to, and were the results such as are generally expected by all unacquainted with the realities of Southern life, the Northern people would be answerable for horrors which would disgust even the ferocity excited by a year of disaster and disgrace, and would leave a load of infamy on their national reputation which even to them would be intolerable. Therefore we are sure that Emancipation is the last card of the Federal Government, and when that card is played, we know that they consider the game as lost.

What would be the meaning and result of an Emancipation Act passed by the Northern Congress, and what is the intention of those who ask for it? What some of them intend is clear enough. Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wendell Phillips, and their followers really desire to abolish slavery. That is their one idea; Abolition is their policy, their moral code, their religion; and in pursuing that end they think nothing of means, and nothing of consequences. Obligations, political and moral, the laws of their country, and the common principles of humanity, are of no account in their eyes. They were prepared, years ago, to break up the Union rather than tolerate slavery; they are now waging war for the Union, in the hope that the war may root out slavery. The Abolitionists are consistent, if not reasonable. But no Emancipation Act will effect their purpose. Congress can no more emancipate the slaves of the Confederate States by passing laws to that effect, than Mr. Lincoln can put down the rebellion by proclamation. The measure just passed condemns all rebels to death and forfeiture; but Mr. Lincoln must catch his rebels before he can have the satisfaction of hanging them. Another measure may declare slavery abolished, but before the slaves can be freed under such a law, the law-

givers must have conquered the South. The Abolitionists are pursuing a policy which can plead very ancient precedents in favour. They are not the first hunters who have sold the bear's skin before they caught him. But they are, perhaps, the first who ever imagined that selling the skin would help them to catch the bear.

But the Abolitionist proper is even yet a rare animal in America. The Northern people in general—nay, even the bulk of the Republican Party—have no rooted aversion to slavery, and no interest in the fate of the subject race. The Republicans railed against it while they were in opposition, and the slave-owners were in power; but when they attained office, they were willing to sacrifice the slaves for ever, if they might be allowed to retain the full advantages of their new position. They dislike slavery in the Territories, because they wanted the future vote of the Territories when they became States. The Northern people generally disliked it, because they dreaded the competition of slave-labour. They did not wish to attack slavery in the Southern States with any zeal for the benefit of the slaves; they did not desire to flood the country with free blacks. In the first place, for political reasons, they dread, and do their best to prevent, the immigration of coloured freemen into the Free States. Everywhere in the North those unhappy creatures are maltreated, degraded, insulted; from many States they are actually excluded by penal laws. They are found a nuisance—there is no disguising the fact. And, with the example of their Mexican and other neighbours before their eyes, the Americans regard with fear and abhorrence the very notion of that which can alone render the position of the free negro satisfactory—the amalgamation of the superior and inferior races. Wholesale Emancipation, involving this consequence, they would regard with unmixed horror if they thought it likely to affect themselves—that is, if they still hoped to restore the Union. Further, there is at the North a feeling of physical aversion to the black race. The Yankee may cordially hate the Southern planter, but his hatred has been so far kept under control that the two races have long lived under one Government and may hereafter live peaceably side by side; it is political and national enmity, not personal aversion. But towards the negro the white man of the North entertains a feeling of personal repugnance, of the strength of which Englishmen have no idea; in a word, he loathes the race. The imagination that the Northern people are fighting on behalf of the negro, could never have entered the mind of any man who understands America. Those who propose Emancipation—the Abolitionist sect apart—have no desire to liberate the negroes and receive them as fellow-citizens. They would repudiate the idea of Abolition as soon as they saw any hope of restoring the Union; as they would cease to burn the property, close the ports, and destroy the industry of the South, if they could recover the Southern trade. They do not intend Emancipation with reunion. They are not proposing a scheme of legislative action for the benefit of the black race. They are not proposing a new object for the war; they do not mean to spend millions of Northern money, and tens of thousands of Northern lives, in order to emancipate the negro. With them, Emancipation is simply an expedient of hostility; a measure supposed to be likely to assist their military operations. It is a question not of justice, not of humanity, not of policy, but simply of war. The negro is regarded not as a friend, not as a *protégé*, but as a weapon. And the important practical consideration is not the legislative results, but the military effect and political influence of the proposed measure. Will it, or will it not, produce servile insurrection? Will it, or will it not, bring valuable assistance to the Northern armies? We propose to offer a few suggestions on these points.

It is asserted that the proclamation of liberty to the slaves will "diminish the rebel army by calling many rebel officers and men to the defence of their homes." This phrase clearly contemplates an attempt to create a general servile insurrection—that is, to deliver over the women and children of hundreds of thousands of families, English by speech and descent, to all, and

more than all, the horrors endured in a town taken by storm. Happily for humanity, for the South, for the Northern people—happily, above all, for the slaves themselves—nothing of the kind will take place. Throughout the Atlantic States, where the owners reside and manage their property themselves, they might safely arm their slaves to resist the invader; they might, and do, safely leave their families to the care and fidelity of the negroes. It were as easy—different as the relations are—to raise the English peasantry against their landlords, or the Highland clans of 1745 against their chieftains, as to excite these negroes to revolt against their masters. The capture of New Orleans and Beaufort, of Hatteras, Norfolk, and Newbern, has produced no servile insurrection. General Hunter's incendiary proclamation has been without effect, and the negroes can hardly be supposed capable of distinguishing between an Act of Congress and the order of a Federal general—both of which, by the way, have equal legal value in such a matter. In Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, the slaves will never rise, except with their masters and against the Yankees. In some part of the region watered by the Mississippi the case may be different. There absenteeism has worked much mischief, created much wretchedness, evoked much discontent, as in Ireland before 1848; there, in too many cases, the master does not live among his dependents, but delegates the management of his estate entirely to an overseer; there planting is too often a mere speculation, entrusted to overseers chosen simply by their reputation for getting so many bales per hand, and somewhat indifferent to the consequences of their high-pressure system to the slaves under their charge. In such a quarter it is not improbable that here and there the slaves on some peculiarly unfortunate plantation may mutiny, and be joined by some of their neighbours; that there may be, in fact, a series of small servile outbreaks. All white women and children within reach will be the victims of such outrages as always distinguish the uprisings of a subject race, and especially of a race naturally licentious, of weak intellect, and strong animal impulses. There will be murder, torture, incendiarism, and worse horrors—horrors which will scandalize Europe, disgust all the sober people at the North, and inflame the South to vindictive fury. The perpetrators will take refuge within the Federal lines. They will be useful enough, under compulsion, in that kind of warfare in which the Northern armies especially shine, for they know how to handle a spade; but if led into the field against their masters they will prove worse than useless. The Sepoys were of a race far superior to the negro; they had fought gallantly when led by English officers against Sikhs or Goorkhas; but when they rebelled against English rule, and had to confront English troops in the field, it was found that not merely discipline, but courage had deserted them. Their awe of the master-race had not been extinguished in the blood of white women and children; it filled them with dismay when they found themselves in presence of their former masters, and they were conquered as much by their sense of inferiority as by the courage and discipline of the small army that encountered them. The negro may be induced to imitate, and even to outdo, the crimes of the Sepoys; he may be roused to murder, outrage, and rapine; but he will never stand in the line of battle before the race which he has been accustomed to fear and to obey. A regiment of Virginian cavalry would disperse a negro army as easily as a troop of the Guards scatters an English mob. Congress may, then, proclaim Emancipation; it may thereby cause the conflagration of an unguarded village, the murder of a few families, the destruction of crops and plantations; it may revive in Mississippi the crimes and provoke the punishment of Delhi and Cawnpore; but its acts cannot affect, except in the interest of the South, the progress of the war.

One effect of the Emancipation movement ought not to be overlooked. It will divide the people of the Free States among themselves; for half at least of those who are not against the war are bitterly hostile to Abolition; the men who set most store by

the Union are most furious against the sect whose restless machinations have brought about its disruption. It will unite the people of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, where even those who are hostile to Secession would never tolerate or forgive a reckless violation of their State rights, and a high-handed interference with their domestic institutions; and it will exasperate the wrath and confirm the resolution of the South, already sufficiently embittered by the infamous atrocities of men like Mitchell, Johnson, and Butler. The torches that fire the homes of citizens light up in the most lukewarm breasts the flame of patriotism; outrages on women are never left unavenged by men of Anglo-Saxon blood. Dividing the exhausted North, alienating the last remnant of Unionism in the middle States, rousing the South to redoubled exertion, the proposed Act of Emancipation would sound the death-knell of the Federal cause.

British Protection.

FORTY shipowners of Liverpool allege that "the Federal cruisers are now blockading the British port of Nassau," and "seizing vessels sailing from one British port to another with British goods, though such vessels are perfectly innocent of any attempt to run the blockade." And further, "that the confidence of mercantile men in the sanctity of the British flag is thoroughly shaken," and they demand "that steps may be taken by the Government to protect British shipping," etc., etc. In answer to which the nobleman to whom England entrusts the care of her subjects and her property abroad answers, that he is informed "by Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams that ships are sent from this country with a fixed purpose to run the blockade," and "arms and provisions have been thus conveyed to the Southern States to enable them to carry on the war." "He is not surprised the cruisers should watch with vigilance a port said to be the great *entrepôt* of this commerce, and does not doubt the equity and adherence to legal requirement of the United States' Prize Courts, though the loss is far from compensated, even by a favourable decision, and suggests that the true remedy is that they abstain from this species of trade." In the name of common sense, remedy for what? For a blockade of British ports, and seizure of vessels perfectly innocent of such trade, as alleged by the memorialists. Is this the end of the *innestasy* in the world, the most fearless and scientific officers, and the whole fabric of our magnificent naval superiority? We have in London a perfectly organized body of police, and Lord Russell's reply to a memorial stating that perfectly innocent people were dragged by the police before a tribunal, and their property confiscated, would run thus—"There are certain malefactors whom the police have a right to take up; all you have to do is not to commit their crimes." Most happily, here in England not only does a jury heavily punish such misconduct on the part of the police, and all who set them in motion, if they make a mistake, but we punish, even to the highest servant of the Crown, all who would aid and abet them. But this case goes even further; for, as far as Lord Russell is concerned, the only offence he has to recognize is breaking the Queen's Proclamation. The Liverpool shipowners did not ask him to protect them against the consequences of that, but against violent and illegal interruption of innocent trade from one British port to another. And yet Lord Russell declines to interfere, except to allow the police of our own waters to be kept by the cruisers of the very people who, he acknowledges, have arms and ammunition sent to them equally in contravention of that neutrality which it has proclaimed, and are, therefore, *participes criminis*. And he proposes to the people of England to believe that "all that the Government can fairly do is to urge the Federal Government to enjoin upon their naval officers greater caution in the exercise of their belligerent rights." It surely was bad enough to have the trade with 3800 miles of coast blockaded by fifty extempore vessels of war, who suc-

ceeded in taking a per centage of the vessels that ran in. But it seems now that the whole force is to be concentrated on what Lord Russell is told is the great *entrepôt* of the commerce. Has the blockade, then, been extended to British ports as well? It has, and Lord Russell knows it, and his excuse for his inaction is, that he begs Commodore Wilkes and his brother officers to use greater caution. How far their caution may lead them we know from the celebrated letter that gentleman wrote in answer to the promotion in rank, the letter of thanks from his Government, and the public ovation he got for one of the most ludicrous acts of piracy that the naval history of nations records—an act without one single extenuating circumstance, unsupported by one single argument, either in America or in Europe, and which inevitably resulted in the shame and disgrace of his humiliated country. An honest man is ashamed of a bad action, but even a dishonest one is cowed at not only being found out and punished, but still more at having to give up that for stealing which he lost his good name. These are the sort of men to whose greater caution Lord Russell is content to leave the great interests of British commerce. For our own part, we thought the Federals would have enough to do to guard against vessels running goods from Nassau to the Confederate coasts; but it seems they are now authorized by Lord Russell, *always saving the greater caution*, to guard against innocent trade being carried from England into her own or foreign ports. We wonder why they do not simply blockade Liverpool? It would save them a great deal of trouble. One of these same naval officers in seizing a vessel, at once and without looking over the cargo or papers, pronounced the vessel to be contraband solely because she sailed from Liverpool, though, unfortunately for him, the United States' Prize Court was not of the same opinion. But, seriously speaking, this is another great cause of congratulation for the Confederate States. For, in sober earnestness, not the justice or holiness of their cause; not the vigor and skill of their arms; not their noble defence of their country and laws, invaded and trampled upon by hordes of German and Irish ruffians; not the masterly generalship and skill of Johnson, Lee, and Beauregard (not *strategy*, we hope); nor the solemn and statesmanlike governorship of the President and his Council, have shown the people of England the true state of affairs in this wretched war, and won their honest sympathies one half so much as the mendacious arrogance of official telegrams, the utter worthlessness of official boasts and prophesies. And, still more, the inhuman and brutal wickednesses of the Federal troops have made every honest heart burn with indignation against them and their cause. Such men as Blenker, Butler, and Mitchell, such statesmen as Fremont, and Seward, and Cameron, have been the true friends of the South, and in this sense Lord Russell's answer will, to every lawyer, to every statesman in Europe, as well as to British merchants and to British sailors, give a further reason for sympathy with the South and their glorious independence.

THE subjoined extract is taken from a letter of the *Times'* correspondent at New York:—

The public has been greatly scandalized during the last week by the series of charges brought against General Mitchell, the astronomer of Cincinnati—charges of incapacity, ferocity, and brutality—involving details that are said to be utterly unfit for publication. Further investigation has shown that the worst of these charges did not apply to General Mitchell personally, but to an officer under his command, for whose conduct he was more or less responsible. The charges will, doubtless, form a subject for the investigation of a court-martial, and if substantiated cannot but end in the dismissal of General Mitchell from the service, and the hanging, on a high gallows, of Colonel Turchin, the officer principally implicated. Leaving for the present the minor charges against General Mitchell, and coming to those affecting Colonel Turchin, a German, from Cincinnati, it appears that when General Mitchell was in command at Huntsville, in Alabama, he ordered Turchin to proceed, with a considerable force, to the pleasant little town of Athens, twenty-five miles distant, and reduce it to obedience to Federal authority. Athens made an unavailing but obstinate resistance, which so exasperated Turchin, that just before the place was captured, he told his soldiers that "he would shut his

eyes for two hours" after they took it. The town is situated in Northern Alabama, on high and healthy ground. Its coolness renders it an agreeable summer residence, and it contains the finest and most celebrated high school for young ladies in all the South. The charge is that while Turchin "shut his eyes," the town was plundered, and that the young ladies at the school, daughters of some of the principal people in Alabama were subjected to atrocities that the tongue may name, but that the pen may not write or the printing-press divulge, except by periphrasis and innuendo. It is further stated that General Mitchell was made aware of the facts and took no notice of them. The New York press passes the matter over with slight remark, but it is so publicly spoken of here in every society, and so openly canvassed by the press of Cincinnati and other cities nearer the scene, that it has become quite impossible for Mr. Lincoln, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, to imitate Turchin's example, and shut his eyes to the atrocities of his subordinates. General Mitchell himself must demand inquiry if he would stand well with the public either as a gentleman or a soldier; and, as for Turchin and his whole company, if the charge be true, they should be shot *en masse*—if such a death be not too soldierly for brutes like them, who deserve flagellation first and hanging afterwards, as the more befitting punishment.

We have no doubt that great cruelty and ferocity has been exhibited, but we unfeignedly say, God forbid that the worst allegations of the above should be confirmed! Until we have further evidence, it would be a shame to deem it possible. The pupils of the school referred to are daughters of the first people of the South, who are sent there, from fourteen to seventeen years of age, to finish their education. If they have been subjected to atrocities "that the pen may not write or the printing-press divulge, except by periphrasis and innuendo," then the most deadly and unrelenting vengeance will become the duty of the men of the South. But we trust that the savage barbarity of the invaders has not been so diabolically manifested.

The Cruise of the Sumter.

FROM NOTES TAKEN ON BOARD BY ONE OF HER OFFICERS.

A CRUISE IN THE WESTERN OCEAN.

THE weather, which now seemed to have settled down into a continued series of heavy squalls, attended by very ugly seas, culminated finally with a severe gale from the south-west. The ship was hove to, under a close-reefed main topsail and storm staysails, riding most beautifully the tremendous waves. It is an old maxim with sailors, that to cross the Western ocean in winter is no child's play, and in no part of the world can the fearful power of the elements be witnessed to such advantage as in a voyage across the Atlantic at that season of the year. I have often thought it a merciful dispensation of the providence of God that the waves are long and regular, for were they the short chop seas of the Pacific, few ships could live through those terrible storms. Every time the Sumter would settle in the trough of the sea, her destruction seemed almost inevitable from the mountain waves curling far above her; but she rose most buoyantly, and though leaking badly, the utmost confidence was reposed in her sea-going qualities by all on board.

At about two p.m. a crash forward, like the report of a sixty-eight, started us all out of our slumbers, and on going to the scene of this explosion it was found that a sea had boarded us, staving in the bow port and casting adrift the bow gun; while those whose hammocks were near the scene of the disaster struck out for dear life, wondering at this rude interruption of their watch below. The cause of this accident was the negligence of the man at the wheel in not easing the ship into the sea. The strong fighting bolts wrenched from the beams in which they were imbedded, with the broken and twisted knees at the sides of the port, attested the fearful power of the water under such circumstances, and rendered very probable the stories which one hears of a ship's decks being swept fore and aft in a storm. The damage was repaired temporarily, after two or three hours' hard exertion; and with the substitution of a careful hand at the wheel, the Sumter was all right again. The gale abated towards the evening of the 12th, so as to enable us to carry the foresail, and finally subsided into a fine strong

breeze from the south-west, wafting us rapidly on at the rate of nine or ten knots per hour.

The prisoners on board now numbered nearly as many as our own crew, and it was necessary to guard them very carefully, only liberating a few at a time from confinement below. They were most troublesome customers, and one pastime very fashionable among them was for each one to appropriate his neighbour's property, without leave or license, and then to charge the theft to the sailors or to the marines on guard. These accusations generally led to a general search and overhauling of luggage, which ended in the defrauded property-owner finding the missing article on the person of one of his companions, or in eliciting a confession of his never having possessed any such item of property.

Nothing worth mentioning occurred to vary the regular routine of sea-life in a man-of-war for many days. Sometimes a sail would be discovered far off on the horizon, but as Yankees were very scarce it was considered a waste of time to give chase, and we let them go by unmolested.

Advantage was taken of the fine weather to perfect the men in the use of arms of every description, and this was done until they had attained a high degree of efficiency.

AT CADIZ.

Sunday, 22nd.—After a long chase we succeeded in overhauling an English bark, on her way to the West Indies, from Aberdeen. When we first came up, the United States' colours were flying at our peak, which frightened the Englishman terribly, he expecting nothing else but capture, as a war was then imminent between Great Britain and the Northern States. We despatched a boat on board, obtained the latest papers, and sent him on his way rejoicing. We here first heard of the death of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, and all knew that a great and good man had passed away from earth. The name of Prince Albert will ever retain a bright place in the memory of man; his munificent gifts for the benefit of the poor, his earnest promotion of the cause of education and morality, and the manly probity and honour manifested throughout his whole career, are monuments which stand for ever.

None supposed that Messrs. Mason and Slidell would be released by the United States, after the *fêtes* and letters of thanks which had been given to Captain Wilkes; and when we read the accounts of the preparations which the English were making, a war between the two countries was looked upon as certain; but it seems we were deceived, for the prisoners were given up; while the meek and eloquent Sumner proclaimed to the world, from his seat in the Senate, one more great moral victory for the American Republic.

Sails were becoming very plentiful now; on several occasions as many as twenty or thirty were sighted in one day; but we found no Yankees, and wondered what had become of the many tall clippers that were wont to ply between New York, Boston, and the various ports of the Mediterranean. After many days of storms and calms we at last made Cadiz light on the evening of January 2, 1862, and by eight o'clock next morning were riding safely at anchor, abreast of this most beautiful city of South Spain. The health officer came alongside, and after a most suspicious examination of about an hour, declared us to be in quarantine for the space of three days. Of all vexations and disappointments allotted to ordinary mortals, a tedious, useless quarantine, after a long cruise at sea, seems to me to be the most harassing. Cadiz lay before us in all its tempting attractions, yet the precincts of the fair town were tabooed to us, so we were forced to devour our salt fare, and to content ourselves with grumbling at the stupidity of the Spaniards. Mr. Carl Schury, the United States' Minister, as soon as our arrival was reported, hastened to inform the Spanish Government of our character, and to denounce us as a rebel and pirate, threatening the extreme displeasure of the Federal Government, in case the authorities should allow us to remain in the

harbour of Cadiz. The consequence of his communications was an order for the Sumter to leave in twenty-four hours, but being unfit to put to sea, and, moreover, very jealous of our rights as a belligerent, we flatly refused the demand. A Government boat dropped anchor a short distance from us, and established a strict surveillance on our movements, and when a large steam-frigate also took a position just outside of the Sumter, a collision was not by any means deemed improbable. We were, however, deceived, for they intended nothing of the kind. The next morning the frigate had disappeared, and a communication was received requesting us to delay our departure, while some functionary should consult the benevolent feelings of Her Most Catholic Majesty. We were released from quarantine, and allowed to avail ourselves of every facility of the port.

I had visited Cadiz a year ago, then wearing the uniform of a United States' officer, and had any prophet foretold that I should, in twelve months, again see the city, in my present circumstances, I should have deemed him mad; those formerly considered brothers were now deadly and implacable foes, and the flag that I once revered was now an emblem of the vilest despotism. All Southern men once loved that flag, not for the piece of bunting, but on account of the principles which it represented; so when the Constitution was desecrated, and our rights invaded, the stars seemed to fade from its once glorious blazentry, leaving only the stripes as fitting emblems of the degradation of the South.

All our prisoners were landed, and most of them seemed very much pleased at their departure from the pirate, though some of the "darkies" were much disposed to turn corsair, and offered to stop, but were refused. We enjoyed with great zest the various gaieties of fair Cadiz; the opera, the lounge in the hotels, and the promenade on the beautiful Alameda, are amusements peculiarly attractive to men that have been tossed for weeks on the stormy billows of the Atlantic.

BURNING THE NEAPOLITAN.

We remained at anchor in the harbour of Cadiz a few days longer, and on the 11th inst. steamed up the bay to Caraccas, in order to avail ourselves of the docks which are established at that place. The harbour was crowded with shipping, and as we threaded our way through their mazes a great many American vessels were seen laid up in ordinary and partially dismantled, which told plainly that people were not at present quite so willing to trust their property in a Yankee bottom as they were before the war. The country on all sides was thickly populated, and under a high state of cultivation. I have seldom been favoured with more beautiful views than those presented by the town of San Fernando and the buildings of the Spanish Naval College.

Spain was formerly celebrated for the magnificence of her naval stations, and the fine docks of Caraccas attest her ancient superiority in this respect. They are four in number, and two of them would be creditable to any nation. The Sumter was moored to a buoy for the night, and on the morning of the 12th inst. was hauled into dock.

Some potent influence was again brought to bear on the Spaniards by Mr. Schury, and on the 14th inst. the Sumter was discharged when her repairs were only half completed, and towed down the bay again to her anchorage in the harbour of Cadiz. We were again ordered to leave, and immediately returned a second refusal; but on the 17th ult. the anchor was weighed, and the Sumter stood out of the harbour bound for Gibraltar.

We were prepared to return with interest any iron messengers which the Spaniards might feel disposed to send after us from their numerous batteries, but nothing of the kind occurred, and an official, all bedizened in gold lace, who shouted most vociferously while endeavouring to overtake us in one of the small Spanish boats, was our only pursuer. This gentleman held in his hand a public document, which, we afterwards understood, contained another consignment of philanthropic ebullitions from the heart of Her Most Catholic

Majesty; but the Sumter stood sullenly on, and no heed was taken either of the document or of its possessor. Steaming slowly along all night, we entered the Straits at about four a.m., and at seven were opposite the Rock of Gibraltar.

We gave chase to a fine rakish-looking bark that was endeavouring to work her way through the straits, and on overhauling her she was found to be the Neapolitan, from some port of Spain, for Boston, with a cargo of fifty tons of sulphur. The master was full of guesses and calculations as to the character of the stranger, and finally, asked directly the sleepy-looking officer who boarded him whether it was the Sumter or not; but the said official either felt disinclined to answer him, or was too much under the influence of the drowsy god to do so, and merely said that it was an American vessel, whereupon the worthy skipper launched out into all manner of rabid denunciations of the rebels and their cause. Upon his arrival on board the Sumter, he was what the sailors call completely taken a-back, and declared that his cargo was English property. The English Government having forbidden the exportation to America of any ingredients for gunpowder, and the captain, moreover, being unable to produce any papers in confirmation of his statement, it was concluded to burn his vessel, and a prize crew was sent aboard of her to strip the ship preparatory to applying the torch, while the Sumter went in pursuit of, and brought to, the bark Investigator, also bound for Boston. This latter vessel had an English cargo on board; and after transferring the crew of the Neapolitan to her, we ransomed the Investigator and let her go.

There were two females on board, one of whom was the captain's wife, the other being either a passenger, or officiating in the capacity of stewardess; she was evidently from Green Erin, and was far more emphatic than complimentary, several times stigmatizing us in our presence with being "oult pirates."

A strong breeze sprung up towards evening from the westward, and caused us to hasten our preparations for firing the bark. She burnt very rapidly when set on fire, and when a short distance from her we observed a solid column of fire shoot up from the main-hold, and the once beautiful Neapolitan was reduced to a shapeless burning mass upon the water. The captain of the Neapolitan afterwards represented that we had violated the neutrality of Spain by capturing him when within two miles of the land; but as he said that he was six miles from one shore and two from the other, while the Straits, at this point, are known to be thirteen miles across, his statement is not correct, nor is it at all complimentary to his knowledge of one of the fundamental rules of arithmetic.

We anchored in Gibraltar Bay at eight p.m. the next morning. Official visits were exchanged, and every possible facility afforded us for repairing and provisioning the ship.

Reviews.

SOUTHERN STATISTICS.

IV.—CRIME AND PAUPERISM.

THE world no longer believes the Northern reports of Southern enervation and dependence. On many a bloody field the people of the Confederate States have shown that they are the worthy descendants of a superior and conquering race, and it is now well known that the prosperity of the North was due to the energetic production of wealth in the South; and we venture to hope that, ere long, the good sense and justice of Europe will repudiate the scandalous imputations cast upon the social condition of the Southerners by their Northern detractors. In our last paper we gave some statistics that proved, in respect to religion, the South was as much, even more, advanced than the North. We shall, on the present occasion, refute the accusation of the prevalence of crime, and this, by abstracting two returns from the compendium of the census of 1850.

The following table gives the total number of criminals convicted in the year 1850, and the number of prisoners on June 1st of that year. We need scarcely remark

that such a return, depending solely on official documents, is strictly accurate:—

Whole number of Convictions within the Year:—

Alabama	122	California	1
Arkansas	25	Columbia	132
Florida	39	Connecticut	850
Georgia	80	Delaware	22
Kentucky	160	Illinois	316
Louisiana	297	Indiana	175
Maryland	207	Iowa	3
Mississippi	51	Maine	744
Missouri	908	Massachusetts	7,250
North Carolina	647	Michigan	659
South Carolina	46	New Hampshire	90
Tennessee	81	New Jersey	603
Texas	19	New York	10,279
Virginia	107	Ohio	843
		Pennsylvania	857
		Rhode Island	596
		Vermont	79
		Wisconsin	267
	2,789		23,966

To make the above return available for comparison, it is necessary we should allow for the respective population of the united sections in 1850. We give the aggregate population of the respective States, including, of course, the slaves, who, we should observe, are included in the above criminal returns:—

Aggregate Population in 1850.

Alabama	771,623	California	92,597
Arkansas	209,897	Columbia	51,687
Florida	87,445	Connecticut	370,792
Georgia	906,185	Delaware	91,532
Kentucky	982,405	Illinois	851,470
Louisiana	517,762	Indiana	988,416
Maryland	583,034	Iowa	192,214
Mississippi	606,326	Maine	583,169
Missouri	682,044	Massachusetts	994,514
N. Carolina	869,039	Michigan	397,654
S. Carolina	668,507	New Hampshire	317,976
Tennessee	1,002,717	New Jersey	489,555
Texas	212,592	New York	3,097,394
Virginia	1,421,661	Ohio	1,980,329
		Pennsylvania	2,311,786
		Rhode Island	147,545
		Vermont	314,120
		Wisconsin	305,391
	9,521,237		13,568,141

With a population of 9,500,000, the number of criminals in the South was 2789, and therefore, with a population of 13,500,000, the number of criminals in the North should have been rather less than 4000; but the number of criminal convictions in the North was 23,767, being 19,000 above the average, or nearly six times as numerous, even allowing for the difference in population. Admitting that to a limited extent the petty offences of the slaves are punished by their masters, this is a startling result to those who have believed the infamous slanders of the maligners of the South. How much more would the South be justified in pointing a finger of scorn at the North! Yet, that the social condition of the North should be worse than the South was to be expected. In the former there was an incongruous assemblage of races, a perpetual immigration of the most discontented and least orderly classes of Europe, an insane passion for getting money by sharp dealing, a demoralizing dependency indigenous to a class or nation which does not in itself create wealth, but gets rich solely by being the medium for the exchange of the wealth of others. On the other hand, in the South the dominant race is singularly united, the immigration is small, and being an agricultural community, there is a spirit of individual independence, and the dollar, though not despised, is not deified. Indeed, the South, though particularly energetic in acquiring wealth, has been all but culpably negligent in its distribution, or Northern profits would not have been so great. National morality or immorality is mainly the result of circumstances, favourable or unfavourable, and the United States has much to plead in excuse for her demoralized state as compared with the South, but no excuse can be found for the atrocious vilification of the South.

We have heard very much about the demoralizing influences of the Southern institutions. There is a return of which one item will satisfactorily dispose of this accusation. It comprises an elaborate table of the "State Prisons and Penitentiaries for 1850," giving the number of inmates in each prison and the ratio of inmates to 10,000 of the population. The item to which we direct especial attention is this:—

In every 10,000 Coloured Persons, excluding Slaves:—	
Slaveholding States	938
Non-Slaveholding States	28,743

So that the influence of Southern institutions upon the coloured race is 2800 per cent. *better* than the influence of Northern institutions.

Poverty, much more than ignorance, is the parent of crime, though we do not mean by this to deny the blessing of mental culture. We must confess that in Europe, with the increase of schools there has not been a commensurate diminution in the number of criminals, and the principal

effect on the criminal returns produced by the spread of education is to increase the number of criminals who "can read and write;" and we expect one reason that so small a percentage of our criminals are persons of "superior education" is, that such persons are not in such poverty as to be homeless and foodless. Thus, then, much and deeply as we value education, we would rather take the returns of pauperism than the returns of education as a test of the criminality of a nation. Do the returns of pauperism in the United States' census endorse the criminal returns? In answer to this question we will give the "whole number of paupers supported in whole or part within the year ending June 1, 1850:—

Alabama	363	California	No return
Arkansas	105	Connecticut	2,327
Florida	76	Delaware	697
Georgia	1,036	Illinois	797
Kentucky	1,126	Indiana	1,182
Louisiana	423	Iowa	135
Maryland	4,494	Maine	5,503
Mississippi	260	Massachusetts	15,777
Missouri	2,977	Michigan	1,190
N. Carolina	1,931	New Hampshire	3,600
S. Carolina	1,642	New Jersey	2,392
Tennessee	1,005	New York	59,855
Texas	7	Ohio	2,513
Virginia	5,118	Pennsylvania	11,551
		Rhode Island	2,560
		Vermont	3,654
		Wisconsin	668
	20,563		114,199

The cost of pauperism in the South in 1850 was \$565,159, and in the North \$2,389,647. Thus the pauperism coincides with the criminality. One cause of pauperism is the immigration of paupers; but we have to deal with results, not causes, and the results we have presented in this article show that in respect to crime and pauperism the vilified South occupies an immensely higher position than the calumniating North.

Why Pennsylvania should become one of the Confederate States of America. By a NATIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA. London: J. Wilson, 93, Great Russell-street.

THIS pamphlet displays a clear conception of the issue being tried between the North and South, and it is characterized by a thoroughly liberal and patriotic spirit. The author points out the difference in race between the Northerners and Southerners, and that it originated from the settlement and colonization of the respective sections. He also shows that Pennsylvania has less interest in the North than in the South, and that her politics have more affinity with the loyal Conservatism of the Confederate States than with the revolutionary policy of the United States. We do not dispute that Pennsylvania would derive great advantages from joining the Confederates, but the author of the pamphlet, does not convince us that the junction is feasible, or that it is a natural, and, therefore, would be a proper addition to the Southern Confederacy.

He appeals to the people of Pennsylvania to put an end to the war by refusing any further aid to the North, and certainly such an appeal ought not to be unheeded by a State which, in an especial manner, assumes to be the advocate of peace, and which can boast of superior intellectual standing as compared with other Federal States. But this influence Pennsylvania can exert without becoming a member of the Southern Confederacy, and for her own interest, and for the sake of humanity, she ought to come forward as the champion of peace. We should be glad to hear that this able pamphlet was extensively circulated amongst the author's countrymen, for though it might not persuade them to secede from the United States, it could not fail to forcibly remind them of their responsibility with respect to the present war, and that they can do much towards putting an end to the desolating conflict.

The American Struggle. An Appeal to the People of the North. By PHILo-AMERICUS. London: Effingham Wilson; Liverpool: Webb and Hart.

THE object of this pamphlet, which is extremely moderate in its tone, is to show the people of the North the utter hopelessness of the task in which they are engaged. Having pointed out that the reasons that might at first have excused the war are no longer tenable, because it is now proved, beyond a doubt, that Secession was the act of the people, and not merely of the politicians of the South; the author dilates on the evils that are likely to ensue if the contest is continued. Whilst we admire the benevolent sentiments of Philo-Americanus, we cannot endorse all his opinions, nor assent to his views with respect to the boundary question. We do not agree with him that the North, "in virtue of its superior resources and power," has a right to a single inch of Southern territory.

ENGLAND AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—It is very difficult to write with soberness and temper on the present aspect of British sympathy; for the proceedings of the Washington Cabinet, and the acts of their servants, form so strong a contrast, both to the apathy of the English Government and the unanimous feelings of the educated classes throughout Great Britain, that the mind is staggered at the inconsistency. For instance, when Lord Malmesbury, on Monday night, requested to know whether Her Majesty's Government were prepared to state what concert might exist between England and foreign nations, in any jointaction to be taken during the long recess of Parliament, Her Majesty's Government, by the mouth of the Foreign Minister, replied that France was entirely in unison with us on the question, and that, in fact, they had asked no one else. Now, the first of these two propositions we know to be erroneous; for the French Ministers have over and over again published to the world that they have urged the English Cabinet to some action, and that they have been deterred from acting themselves by the refusal of England to consider it. And with regard to the second—how comes it that in a question where the plain law of nations, the undeniable interest of commerce, and the simple dictates of humanity, exactly and identically correspond with the feelings of the community, they have not taken the trouble to ascertain what would be the wishes of other nations, whose law, whose interests, and whose feelings would materially assist us in dealing with a question which, sooner or later, will have to be met, and at no very distant period? I leave it to the *Times* newspaper, which is the strenuous defender of Lord Palmerston's Government, to explain Mr. Layard's answer to the protest of the merchants against the blockade of British ports by the Federal cruisers. It carries its own refutation upon the face of it, and will most assuredly meet with a different interpretation at the hands of British merchants, British seamen, and, above all, the British Navy, from that put upon it by the *Times* leader. But the main fact lies behind all these pranks of little men dressed in a brief authority; and that is, the heartfelt thanks of Englishmen and Englishwomen, that the Confederate States, of their own action and with their own strong right hand, have hewn down the monstrous machine that was set in motion by the Empire-seekers of Washington: that they have quenched in the blood of the marauding Irish and German hordes the dreams of ambition that haunted the loafers of New York, and have vindicated in the face of day, and before the civilized world, that English blood dares to be free and can win freedom by their own unaided might. What the Butlers, Blenkers, and Mitchells have perpetrated we shall not know for months—perhaps, in full, never; but the trials of the South have won for her not only compassion for her sufferings and bitter indignation at her wrongs, but the warmest admiration and affection that her noble defence could call forth. Whether England recognizes them or not, the nation accepts them as brethren worthy of their race, and the welcome which greets their joining the family of nations will come warm from the heart of England. That heart, believe me, Sir, was never warmer than at this moment, though overlaid with every kind of cant and humbug. The lesson of the utter and complete failure of Democracy in America—the disgust at the attempt of certain money-mongers in England to foist on our honest countrymen an admiration of the institutions which have resulted in such exhibitions as Mr. Cameron's contracts, Mr. Seward's despatches, and such military strategies as Butler's, Hunter's, Fremont's, Halleck's, and Pope's information have presented to an amazed audience of the whole world—tell the tale in letters that he who runs may read. Those who once thought that a respectable and honest element existed in the thinking and educated men of the Northern States, which would at the proper time leave the surging mass of inconsiderate ruffians, now repent their error.

Those who still cling desperately to the hope that national bankruptcy will sober the bloody counsels of beaten mob-leaders will have to bewail their folly. The history of the world has never shown one instance of warfare by such men being retarded for want of funds in the national treasury. They have sown the dragon's teeth, and the crop will destroy them. They initiated a cruel and wicked war for an empire, and their own troops will eat them up—aye, to the last loaf. And then, when their commerce is destroyed, when all faith in the honour and honesty of public men has fled wailing from the nation, when their Treasury bonds lie repudiated in the hands of the silly dupes who trusted Mr. Chase, when the West bitterly reviles them for the useless

slaughter of so many thousands of her hardy settlers, and, above all, when they see the Confederate States respected and honoured, rich and powerful, they may learn what the worship of the "almighty dollar" has led them to, and measure the consequences to nations as well as to individuals of reckless and unbridled arrogance at home, and insolence without bounds abroad.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

The Hunt of the Steam Ship Nashville.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT ON BOARD THE NASHVILLE.

IN the recent speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at Manchester, he very justly remarked, that in no instance in ancient or modern times had the civilized world suffered so much without interfering, as in the present struggle between the Northern and Southern States of America. What Mr. Gladstone really meant, the kind of suffering he indicated, or the inference to be adduced from his statement, it is not difficult to understand. There is one kind of mishap to the world, however, arising out of this struggle quite as much to be deplored as those of a merely physical nature. This the world will long have cause to remember and regret. Public opinion everywhere must long since have been shocked with the entire want of integrity and truthfulness exhibited by the press of the Northern States of America in anything relating to the war. Faults and errors of the Government have been glossed over, and unjustifiable acts on the part of the Government have been painted in bright and rosy colours. Defeats in the field have been magnified into victories, and non-existent circumstances have been paraded as history. The honesty of the press is a subject in which all true men take pride. The New York press, with a few honourable exceptions, have taken an inglorious lead in this infamous work of fabrication; and the annals of mendacity may be searched in vain for anything so mendacious as has appeared in the *Herald*. This journal has, on more than one occasion, manufactured victories for men who have been suffering all the humiliations of defeat, and imagination can picture some of the gallant and honest generals who have been placed in this very trying position. Other warriors have been put at the head of, and been described as manoeuvring, armies who were known to be unequal to drill a company, and deeds of valour have been related entirely fabricated by the editorial pen.

These remarks are called for in reference to the present subject; because all that has been accomplished by the Thomas L. Wrag, of Nassau, N. P. (late the Nashville), and her brave commanders since the period of the Southern Secession, has been either falsified or ignored by the Yankee journals. One instance in proof may suffice. After successfully entering Beaufort, under the command of Captain Peagrim, she ran the blockade outwards on the 18th of March, this year, in charge of Captain Gooding, her present commander. In accomplishing this latter gallant feat she passed between two Federal cruisers, and thus became the target for a continuous running fire. Nevertheless, Captain Gooding brought her safely out. The work was one of great difficulty, requiring not only tact and skill, but coolness and bravery. A generous enemy would have praised the feat, but, as the fact could not be disputed, and the gunnery of the cruisers having proved a failure, the editor of the *Herald* came to the rescue. If the firing of the Nashville's opponents on that occasion had been as true as this gentleman's statements were false, if their practice had been equal to his skill in throwing the "hatchet," the Nashville's doom would have been sealed. Every tyro in geography knows, and on consulting a chart any one may ascertain, that there is only one entrance channel to Beaufort, and that in passing either in or out a ship must go through it. How the Nashville came out of the ordeal could not have been unknown to the naval historian of the *Herald*; but something required to be done to cover the Federal disgrace. Investing geographical science with inaccuracy, he boldly asserted that there were three channels to Beaufort, that in each of the outer ones a cruiser was stationed, and that by the centre the Nashville escaped. Something of this kind will be attempted by the same veracious authority in reference to her recent appearance off Charleston, and we, anxious to correct such audacity, pen the following short account of the adventure:—"The Thomas L. Wrag left Nassau on Friday, June 20, and arrived off Charleston at an early hour on the morning of Monday the 23rd. Except at parting, when she took on board Captain Carlin and a portion of the crew of the steam-

ship Cecile, lost on a reef near Abaco, nothing occurred of importance during the passage. The desired land was sighted, the true position of the ship ascertained, and one cruiser carefully examined during the process of sailing round him. At about three o'clock the intricacies of the navigation were being overcome, and everything seemed to indicate a successful finale. Suddenly, however, the somnolent cruiser woke up, flashed his signal light, and fired a gun. Lights and ships, six or eight in number, appeared in all directions. Two were right ahead, others on the port and starboard bows, and one showed nearly astern. Shotted guns were fired, and 'about ship' was the word. When day broke the Nashville appeared to be in a very perilous situation, and, in a few minutes after, one of the most memorable chases on record commenced. The fastest side-wheel steamer of the blockading fleet, supposed to be the Key-stone State, took up the gauntlet, and, at about a mile and a half, followed in the Nashville's wake. A large propeller attempting to cut her off was soon got rid of, and at eleven o'clock, a.m., with alternating distances apart, the pursued and pursuer kept on their several courses. Considering the issue, and the large sum offered for capture (\$200,000, in addition to the value of the ship and cargo), the anxiety to catch the Nashville may be imagined. Shortly after eleven, all sail was set on the cruiser, and she contrived to near her position. Captain Gooding, however, [had his ship well in hand, and as he was well assisted by an able engineer, and an energetic crew, an improved pace was speedily effected.

"At twelve (noon), a large steamer was observed right ahead, and the Nashville was again in jeopardy. The pursuer, taking the stranger for a colleague, fired a gun, either to say 'lend a hand,' or this is 'my bird,' when all doubt was dispelled on a nearer approach. She proved to be English, either a man-of-war or large passenger ship, and at once sent up her colours. She shut off her steam, and for a short time quietly looked on, and no doubt enjoyed the scene. Under her awning many faces could be seen, and, in all probability, no one on board had ever witnessed such a gallant struggle. As the day advanced the Nashville and the prize dollars began to disappear. The cruiser now took in all sail, sent down her yards and topmasts, and prepared for work in right-down good earnest. A stern chase is proverbially long, and this one, the longest that ever took place between two steamers, continued during the entire day. At about eight p.m. the dollars and ship were nearly out of sight. The Yankee was fast disappearing in a blaze of Western light, and in a few minutes more it was all over. Borrowing the quaint phraseology of John Bunyan, the Nashville 'went on her way and saw him no more.'

D.

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

The General Assembly of Virginia, impelled by the sacred obligation to protect the citizens of this State from the usurpations and tyranny of the Government of the United States, having passed an Act "to authorise a force of 10,000 men to be raised for the defence of the Commonwealth," it becomes my duty to endeavour to execute that Act. And, notwithstanding the heavy calls which have been heretofore made, and which have been unflinchingly responded to by my people, yet I again confidently appeal to Virginians to give their hands and their hearts to this undertaking. The people of Virginia, by overwhelming majorities of their Convention and Legislature, have solemnly announced to the world the purpose of this Commonwealth, under no conceivable circumstances again to acknowledge allegiance to, or unite the destinies of our people with those of the United States. Under these circumstances, it is their duty to put forth their power with whatever of energy may be at their command. A large portion of the Western and North-western parts of the State has been in the occupancy of the enemy, and though there are as warm and as loyal hearts there, as in any part of the Commonwealth, yet from this untoward circumstance, they have been able hitherto to do but little. The new force now called for is intended chiefly for the defence of Western Virginia. Is it expecting too much to ask these valiant men to come forth and aid in raising this force for this great and laudable object? The General Assembly have appointed a Western man to command this force—a man identified with you in interest by connexion, by family ties, by a noble ancestry, by long tried public service. They have evinced their confidence in his ability, in his zeal, in his patriotism, in his devotion to the great cause in which we are engaged, by appointing him. Will you not rally to his standard, and give him the force necessary to make the law effectual? Will not all Virginians aid in this noble purpose? If anything other than the love of country and obedience to the call of your mother Virginia be wanting, it will be found in the execrable acts of the Lincoln Government. A recital of a few of these acts, which are undeniable, will suffice for justification in the eyes of the world.

The course they pursued previous to the war was more than sufficient to justify our separation from them; but their disgraceful violations of the Constitution and of plighted faith since the war; their utter perversions of truth; their reckless disregard of justice and of the rights of property, and their departure, in numerous instances, from the usages of civilized warfare; the invasion of our homes and the murder of our peaceful citizens, render a connection with them in future odious to our sense of honour and abhorrent to our feelings. It has produced an estrangement as enduring as if there was an impassable gulf between us.

The Constitution, as they interpret it; the contempt of its provisions, according to their own interpretation; the laws

made in conformity with it, and those in direct conflict with its plainest provisions, which are equally approved by them; the men who have been the instruments to execute their power and vengeance, and the hirelings who have pillaged our land, desecrated our churches, polluted our fair fields, sacked our towns, and insulted the innocent and helpless, render them alike detestable to us and disgraceful to humanity.

They were bound by the Constitution to guarantee to us our rights, and protect us against invasion. They have invaded us themselves, with the avowed object to subjugate and overwhelm us, to confiscate our property and banish us from our domain.

They were required to give no preference by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another. They have shut up all our ports and prohibited us from having intercourse with ourselves or the nations of the earth, while they have left all of their own ports open to the commerce of the world. They have refused to permit us to obtain with our own means even the medicines necessary for our sick and wounded—articles never hitherto considered contraband by any civilized nation.

They were prohibited from forming or erecting a new State within the jurisdiction of any other State. They have permitted an illegal Legislature, not acknowledged by the Constitution or laws of this State, or by a majority of our people, to profess to establish a new State within the jurisdiction of Virginia, acknowledging the acts of the Governor of that State, receiving its representatives and Senators into the Congress of the United States without the colour of law, justice, or right, and paying for their pretended services out of the public fisc. They have granted to this pretended Governor money which they have acknowledged to be due to the State of Virginia. They have authorized the raising of troops within this pretended State to war against our people and desolate the firesides of their brethren, and stimulated them to bloodshed and massacre.

They have allowed vacancies in the representation of this State to be filled by writs issued by the false Executive of this pretended State, against the express provision that the Executive authority of Virginia alone shall issue such writs, with the full knowledge on their part that the rightful Governor of this State had been undoubtedly and constitutionally elected by a majority of the entire population of the State, before the commencement of the war, and that he still continues in office under his regular appointment, and in which election the people of this pretended State participated. They have permitted such representatives to be elected by soldiers in the army, and not by the people in the district, against an express provision in the Constitution of Virginia, which prohibits soldiers in the service of the United States from voting in such elections; thus recognizing the base traitor against his own State as a fit associate and colleague for representatives who are entitled to the station, and allowing low pretenders to the position of Senators, to be dignified with that honourable distinction.

They were prohibited from making any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. They have sent their myrmidons into churches and dragged our ministers from the sacred desk, for a mere omission to put up a petition to the Almighty for their execrated President. They have shut up our places of worship for the same cause, and prohibited our people from assembling together for the exercise of religious duties.

They were denied authority to abridge the freedom of speech or of the press. They have recklessly imprisoned private citizens, holding no office or position, civil or military, for expressing a mere difference of opinion with themselves, and for fearlessly uttering their sentiments; and even incarcerated our honourable women for similar cause, permitting their armed jailors to watch and insult them in the privacy of their cells. They have placed the press of the country, wherever their power extends, under censorship, and in numerous cases prohibited the circulation of papers, broken up their forms, and scattered their types to the winds.

They were restrained from infringing the right of the people to keep and bear arms. They have disarmed large portions of the people of one of the States still in their Union, and hunted and baited those in others who have presumed to keep their own arms against their mandate.

They were expressly prohibited from quartering soldiers in any house without the consent of the owner, and not even in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law. They have not only thus quartered them, but they have instigated their soldiers, when so quartered, to plunder them of every valuable, and wantonly to destroy what their cupidity could not carry away. They have not only shot down helpless owners who ought to have been revered for their age and sex, but have consumed the owners and their dwellings in one undistinguished conflagration. And when they have professed to pay for property illegally obtained, they have paid the owners in pretended money which they have previously criminally counterfeited and debased.

With this catalogue of violations of solemn constitutional obligations, well may we say, they keep no faith, and pervert truth, justice, and right.

When, in the history of civilized nations, has it been known that non-combatants, plain citizens, engaged only in farming pursuits, were imprisoned for having shown allegiance to their own State laws? When has it been known that wives and pure and spotless maidens have been violated by soldiers without an effort on the part of their officers to pursue the perpetrators with the vengeance of the law? What civilized nation would not blush to conceal its own flag, the emblem of its nationality and honour, and hoist on the battle-field the flag of its enemy, in order to decoy that enemy into a murderous fire, and then glory in the meanness of the deception and the cowardice of the act?

What ancient or modern nation ever used a flag of truce to decoy an enemy in battle other than the United States of America? Let history record the disgrace, and brand the infamy upon their brow for all time to come.

What ancient or modern nation would openly fire upon a public hospital, in which the sick, the wounded, and the dying are being cared for by the generous and the kind-hearted, the surgeon and the Sister of Charity? We brand it as a crime upon the United States, and call upon the historian to record it against them.

They were required to guarantee to every State a Republican form of Government. Wherever their armies have obtained a foothold, they have established a military government, and appointed military satraps and provost-marshal to execute laws never sanctioned by the people or the Government which they created, and have executed arbitrary power, enforcing it by bayonets and at the mouths of cannon; these military rulers issuing proclamations insulting to the people, unknown to civilization and brutally disgraceful, compelling obedience by presenting the alternatives of submission or

starvation; and, by their mere military order, causing some of our most patriotic citizens to be ignominiously hung upon a charge of treason, without trial and without law!

Can any people be expected to submit to such wrongs? Will the people of Virginia tamely submit to such tyranny? If such acts are perpetrated while they have but partial control, what may we not expect when the demons have full sway and authority?

Citizens of Virginia, the State appeals to you to add to your many noble exertions for the cause in which we are engaged, this one effort to redeem our fair State from the hand of the oppressor. Make up the force now called for and be prompt in your action.

Given under my hand and under the seal of the Commonwealth, at Richmond, this 27th day of June, 1862, and in the 86th year of the Commonwealth, JOHN LETCUMER.

By the Governor,

GEORGE W. MUNFORD, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR MOORE TO THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA.

The occupation by the enemy of a portion of the territory of our State imposes upon us new and unaccustomed responsibilities. It creates an anomalous condition of affairs, and establishes between the citizens of New Orleans and all other of our towns in the actual occupation of the enemy, and those of the country parishes, relations very different from those which regulate their ordinary intercourse. It is not surprising that a people who are now experiencing the first invasion of their State, should not at the outset have appreciated the duties and necessities of the new position in which they suddenly find themselves placed. New Orleans is the commercial depot of the State. To it the whole agricultural products of our soil are conveyed, and from it are brought in return a large measure of the supplies for our plantations, and the merchandise which forms the object of every species of traffic. The channels of trade constantly flow between it and the country, freighted with the every-day transactions of all classes of our citizens, thus binding our urban and rural populations together by the strong bonds of mutual dependence and reciprocal benefit.

Trade with the Enemy Forbidden.—A state of public war, resulting in the armed occupancy of New Orleans by the enemy, changes these relations. There cannot be a war for arms and a peace for trade between two people at the same time. The armed occupants of that city are our enemies. To each loyal citizen of Louisiana and of the Confederacy, every citizen of the country hostile to us is an enemy. We cannot harter our products for theirs. We cannot exchange our corn, cattle, sugar, or cotton for their gold. We have no right even to pay money that was owing to the citizens of the now hostile States before the war. Absolute non-intercourse—the entire suspension of communication by visit or for trade—is the only safe rule for our guidance. It is a rule recognized as imperative by all writers on public law, and universally administered by the authorities of nations at war.

Communication with Citizens of Occupied Places Must Cease.—Nor is it prudent to hold communication with citizens of any portion of our territory temporarily occupied by the enemy. However much we may deplore their misfortunes, we must not permit these to be the instruments for our further damage. The only proper and permissible manner in which we can communicate with the enemy, or those under his control who are within his lines, is under a flag of truce. Communication with New Orleans since its armed occupation has been almost unrestrained, save by the fears of those who desired, from motives either of gain or curiosity, to enter the lines of the enemy. This communication must cease, and at once. It is well-known that the general commanding the invading army opposes no obstacle to the ingress of any of our citizens into New Orleans, but invariably attaches to the passport for egress the statement, "This pass is given upon the parole of honour of the holder, that he will in no way give information, countenance, aid, or support to the so-called Confederate Government or States." This cunningly-devised trap to catch the unsuspecting visitor was expected to traipse him in the rendition of those services which his country demands. No parole is ever taken when these passports are delivered—none ever required. This condition is inserted in the passport without notification to the applicant that it is to be required, in the belief that the apparent tacit consent of the receiver to a condition thus sneakily sought to be foisted upon him would be held binding in morals and in conscience.

At first the passports were received unsuspectingly, and without knowledge of the characteristic treachery contained in this clause, but it is now well known that none are given without it.

Using the Enemy's Passport.—Whoever, therefore, now voluntarily places himself in the power of the enemy, by entering their lines, throws a shade upon his loyalty to his Government. The possession of a passport containing the clause above quoted, subjects the holder to grave suspicion. Its receipt is incipient neutrality. The desire to fulfil the condition assumed to be imposed is only disguised indifference to our success. The attempt to fulfil it is treachery to our cause. No man can pretend to assimilate this *ex parte* declaration of a Federal Provost Marshal, to which no assent is made by parole or act, to the parole of honour well recognized in military usage, the observance of which must ever be regarded as a primary duty. Such paroles are given to, and received by, prisoners on either side, that they will not renew their participation in hostilities until exchanged, and by persons sent from without the lines, that they will not reveal what their presence has enabled them to see and hear. Neither the citizens of New Orleans nor those visitors who have gone there since its occupation by the enemy are regarded by him as prisoners of war. If prisoners, it is his manifest duty to feed them, and when permitted to depart from his lines he would require of them a parole to cease hostilities until exchanged.

The Passports shall not be a Shelter from Duty.—It has come to my knowledge that some persons have gone into New Orleans voluntarily, and without any apparent or avowed purpose to accomplish save the gratification of an idle curiosity, and have since returned with some of these passports. When required to perform militia duty afterwards, or accosted by the enrolling officer of conscripts, they present the passport, in which a Federal officer has assumed a promise that the holder will not countenance, or aid his Government. If any citizen of this State confesses to such a promise, he is self-condemned of treason. If such citizen holds himself bound not to countenance his own Government, he must be a traitor to it. He cannot ignore his own Government. If he does not countenance that, he must necessarily recognize the pretensions

of those who seek to crush it. Nor can he separate one part of the pretended parole from another. He cannot claim that he holds himself bound by the stipulation not to give aid or support to his Government, and thus avoid military duty, without also confessing to an obligation not to countenance it, which is treason unmasked.

The military officers will be charged with orders on this subject, the rigorous execution of which will be required. The Confederacy and the States recognize but two classes—its friends and its foes. In this mighty and awful struggle for our sacred rights, for the sanctity of our homes, for the enjoyment of liberty, for the salvation of our country, all considerations of blood or friendship must give way—all apprehensions for the safety of property must be disregarded. Obedience to the laws and acquiescence in the policy of the Government will be the cheerful homage that every true man will make. Those who are not true must be deprived of the power to do harm.

Spies, Salaried Informers and Tories.—Not the least evil of the consequences flowing from communication by our citizens with the places occupied by the enemy, is the facility it affords to spies who traverse the country through the negligence of officers, or the unsuspecting security of the people. These spies communicate with salaried informers, who are to be found in some localities, ready to serve any master for gold.

The world has never furnished an instance of a people renouncing their Government, and establishing a new one with the unanimity which has characterized the people of the Confederate States. Not even the men of '76, those forefathers whom we are accustomed to think of as battling with undivided hearts for a severance from the crown, and the independence of their nation, approached so near to perfect unity as ourselves in this struggle against a foe more malignant and vindictive than the one confronted by them. In the revolt of the colonies, whole districts were inhabited by Tories, who strove to throttle the infant liberties of their country, and bind her by fetters to the throne. In our struggle they are rarely to be met, but though very few in number, they exist, and with a hate to our Government not exceeded by the hate of their predecessors to the Government of George Washington. They can be tolerated no longer. If they did not wish to live under the Confederate Government, they were warned by its President a year ago that they were at liberty to depart. They have made their option. They cannot live here and disregard our laws. They can neither hold property or enjoy liberty if they disown the Government which protects the one and insures the other. This would be true even in ordinary circumstances, but when the foe who aims at our subjugation is pressing our soil short must be the shrift of those who stand ready to welcome him.

All possible vigilance must therefore be exercised for the detection of these spies and salaried informers, and for their apprehension. All citizens should report to the nearest authorities, the names, and the proof or grounds of suspicion. Nor must less rigour be enforced in the cases of those persons who have not obeyed the President's warning. Strangers must give a satisfactory account of themselves; the doubtful must be closely watched; the disloyal must be imprisoned, and when found guilty of treason must be held liable to the penalty due to that capital crime.

Confederate Notes, the Currency of our Country.—Manifest are the inducements presented by the enemy to begin trade with him. As temptations to you to thus violate your sacred duty as citizens of the Confederate States, he offers high prices for your products, which he promises to pay in gold and silver. With equal assiduity he is engaged in efforts to depreciate the currency of your country. He forgets that every Confederate bond is a record and certificate of a sum that has been contributed by generous and confiding citizens to secure the independence of their country—that every Confederate note is the evidence that thus much of the wealth of the people has been loaned to the Government to help it in its struggle—that all these sources of a republic of 10,000,000 of people, occupying a vast territory of unsurpassed productiveness, are pledged for their redemption—that they constitute a currency that measures the value of all your property, and that custom and loyalty recognize them as a legal tender. They are received and paid as such by all patriots. He who refuses to receive them in payment of a debt, or in exchange for what he offers for sale, does a direct injury to our sacred cause, fans the latent sparks of treason, and gives indirect aid and comfort to the ruthless enemy who invades our soil, ravages our coasts, insults our mothers, wives, and daughters, and tyrannizes over our conquered cities. The refusal to take Confederate money, if general, would at once paralyze our Government, and put the Confederacy in imminent peril. Such refusal affords a presumption of disloyalty, and the plea of ignorance is but a slight palliation of the grave offence.

River Steamboats for Transports.—The enemy needs river steamboats to transport his troops on their plundering expedition along the Mississippi, and seizes all within his reach. He searches for them in bayous seldom navigated, and by the aid of traitorous informers, he has succeeded in capturing those that were thought to be effectually hidden. This must be prevented at any cost. As no concealment can be depended on, the boats must be destroyed whenever the near approach of the enemy shall leave no other means of preventing their capture.

Supplies of Provisions for New Orleans.—The delicate question of permitting New Orleans to be supplied with provisions while in the occupation of the enemy was presented to me for decision soon after my return from Camp Moore, whither I had gone for the purpose of concerting with the authorities at Richmond plans for the future, which will soon be made manifest. Much was and is to be said for and against the policy. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say that I gave permits to two agents of the committee of the city to carry provisions to our citizens so long as the Federal general should faithfully observe his pledge not to appropriate any portions of the provisions to other uses than supplying the wants of our own people. I was not aware of the danger that attended such a policy in affording advantages for the establishment of an intercourse which the previous part of this address will show I could not approve. But I did not expect that such a concession, made in tender consideration of the pressing wants of the city, would be abused by any of its own citizens to the extent of committing an act little short of affording direct aid to the enemy. The recent act of the cashier of the Bank of America and his accomplices has convinced me that any departure from the rule, that the necessities of the population of any locality must be held subservient to the paramount consideration of the public safety, is attended with peril, and that in my desire to relieve the people of New Orleans I was subjecting the public interests to danger of injury. No boats will hereafter be permitted to go to New Orleans or Baton Rouge while these places are occupied by the enemy, unless, after the arrival of the commanding general, Confederate officers should be detailed for the purpose of going in

charge of them, in the manner usually practised by belligerents.

Continued Resistance our Paramount Duty.—It is not proper, for obvious reasons, to state here in detail the measures I have taken and the plans devised for the defence of our homes. The loss of New Orleans, and the opening of the Mississippi, which will soon follow, have greatly increased our danger and deprived us of many resources for defence. With less means we have more to do than before. Every weapon we have, and all that our skillful mechanics can make, will be needed. Every able-bodied citizen must hold himself in readiness for immediate active service. Brave, vigilant, energetic officers are authorized to raise bands of partisan rangers. Let every possible assistance be rendered them in forming, arming, equipping, and mounting their companies, and in giving them support and information when in service. Let every citizen be an armed sentinel to give warning of any approach of the insolent foe. Let all our river banks swarm with armed patriots to teach the hated invader that the rifle will be his only welcome on his errands of plunder and destruction. Wherever he dares to raise the hated emblem of tyranny, tear it down and rend it in tatters.

Mumford the Martyr.—The noble heroism of the patriot Mumford has placed his name high on the list of our martyred sons. When the Federal navy reached New Orleans a squad of marines was sent on shore, who hoisted their flag on the Mint. The city was not occupied by the United States' troops, nor had they reached there. The place was not in their possession. William B. Mumford pulled down the detested symbol with his own hands, and for that was condemned to be hung by General Butler after his arrival. Brought in full view of the scaffold, his murderers hoped to appal his heroic soul by the exhibition of the implements of ignominious death. With the evidence of their determination to consummate their brutal purpose before his eyes, they offered him life on the condition that he would abjure his country, and swear allegiance to her foe. He spurned the offer. Scorning to stain his soul with such foul dishonour, he met his fate courageously, and has transmitted to his countrymen a fresh example of what men will do and dare when under the inspiration of fervid patriotism. I shall not forget the outrage of his murder, nor shall it pass unatoned.

Rules that will not be relaxed.—I am not introducing any new regulations for the conduct of our citizens, but am only placing before them those that every nation at war recognizes as necessary and proper to be enforced. It is needless, therefore, to say that they will not be relaxed. On the contrary, I am but awaiting the assistance and presence of the General appointed to the department to inaugurate the most effectual method for their enforcement. It is well to repeat them:—

Trading with the enemy is prohibited under all circumstances.

Travelling to and from New Orleans and other places occupied by the enemy is forbidden. All passengers will be arrested.

Citizens going to those places, and returning with the enemy's usual passport, will be arrested.

Conscripts or militiamen, having in possession such passports, and seeking to shun duty under the pretext of a parole, shall be treated as public enemies. No such papers will be held sufficient excuse for inaction by any citizen.

The utmost vigilance must be used by officers and citizens in the detection of spies and salaried informers, and their apprehension promptly effected.

Tories must suffer the fate that every betrayer of his country deserves.

Confederate notes shall be received and used as the currency of the country.

River steamboats must, in no case, be permitted to be captured. Burn them when they cannot be saved.

Provisions may be conveyed to New Orleans only in charge of officers, and under the precautions governing communication between belligerents.

Our Struggle and its Sure Result.—The loss of New Orleans, bitter humiliation as it was to Louisianians, has not created despondency, nor shaken our ardent faith in our success. Not to the eye of the enthusiastic patriot alone, who might be expected to colour events with his hopes, but to the more impassioned gaze of the statesman, that success was certain from the beginning. It is only the timid, the unreflecting, and the property owner who thinks more of his possession than his country, that will succumb to the depressing influences of disaster. The great heart of the people has swelled with more intense aspirations for the cause the more it seemed to totter. Their confidence is well founded. The possession by the enemy of our seaboard and main water-courses ought to have been foreseen by us. His overwhelming naval force necessarily accomplished the same results attained by the British with the same force in their war of subjugation. The final result will be the same. Let us turn unheeding ears to the rumours of foreign intervention. To believe is to rely on them. We must rely only on ourselves. Our recognition as a nation is one of those certainties of the future which nothing but our own unfaithfulness can prevent. We must not look around for friends for help when the enemy is straight before us. Help yourselves. It is the great instrument of national as of individual success.

THOMAS O. MOORE,
Governor of Louisiana.

Opelousas, June 18, 1862.

BRITISH TRADE WITH THE BAHAMAS.

The following correspondence has passed between a highly influential body of shipowners in Liverpool and the Foreign Office:—

TO HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The humble memorial of the undersigned British merchants and shipowners sheweth,—

That your memorialists view with considerable anxiety and apprehension the hostile attitude at present assumed by Federal cruisers in the Bahama waters. These cruisers are now blockading the British port of Nassau as if it were a Confederate port, and are making prize of British vessels sailing from one British port to another with British goods, though such vessels are perfectly innocent of any attempt to run the blockade. If such a violation of international rights be passed over by Her Majesty's Government very disastrous consequences will ensue to your memorialists and other merchants and shipowners trading in those waters. Many British vessels fitted out for sea with British cargoes for Nassau are now deterred from sailing in apprehension of seizure, for, though it may be clearly proved that such seizure is unjustifiable, your memorialists have no confidence in the administration of justice in the Federal Prize Courts, or in the prospect of being compensated for the

injury inflicted. The confidence of mercantile men in the sanctity of the British flag is already so much shaken that underwriters are demanding 10 per cent. premium for insuring from risk of capture British goods in British bottoms, sailing from one British port to another. Your memorialists, therefore, pray that steps may be taken by Her Majesty's Government to protect British shipping in the Bahama waters, and to put a check on the unwarrantable seizures so repeatedly perpetrated by the Federal cruisers. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

(Signed by 40 shipowners.)

Foreign Office, July 5, 1862.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst., enclosing a memorial from certain British merchants and shipowners at Liverpool, in which they state that they view with considerable anxiety and apprehension the hostile attitude assumed by Federal cruisers in the Bahama waters, and the memorialists pray that steps may be taken by Her Majesty's Government to protect British shipping in those waters, and put a check on the seizures so repeatedly made by the Federal cruisers. I am to state to you, in reply, that it is alleged, on the other hand, by Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams, that ships have been sent from this country to America with a fixed purpose to run the blockade; that high premiums of insurance have been paid with this view; and that arms and ammunition have been thus conveyed to the Southern States to enable them to carry on the war. Lord Russell was unable to deny the truth of those allegations or to prosecute to conviction the parties engaged in those transactions. But he cannot be surprised that the cruisers of the United States should watch with vigilance a port which is said to be the great entrepôt of this commerce. Her Majesty's Government have no reason to doubt the equity and adherence to legal requirement of the United States' Prize Courts. But he is aware that many vessels are subject to harsh treatment, and that, if captured, the loss to the merchant is far from being compensated, even by a favourable decision in a Prize Court. The true remedy would be, that the merchants and shipowners of Liverpool should refrain from this species of trade. It exposes innocent commerce to vexatious detention and search by American cruisers; it produces irritation and illwill on the part of the population of the Northern States of America; it is contrary to the spirit of Her Majesty's proclamation; and it exposes the British name to suspicions of bad faith, to which neither Her Majesty's Government nor the great body of the nation are justly obnoxious. It is true, indeed, the supplies of arms and ammunition have been sent to the Federals equally in contravention of that neutrality which Her Majesty has proclaimed. It is true, also, that the Federals obtain more freely and more easily that of which they stand in need. But if the Confederates had command of the sea they would, no doubt, watch as vigilantly, and capture as readily, British vessels going to New York, as the Federals now watch Charleston and capture vessels seeking to break the blockade. There can be no doubt that the watchfulness exercised by Federal cruisers to prevent supplies reaching the Confederates by sea will occasionally lead to vexatious visits of merchant ships not engaged in any pursuit to which the Federals can properly object. This, however, is an evil to which war on the ocean is liable to expose neutral commerce, and Her Majesty's Government have done all they can fairly do; that is to say, they have urged the Federal Government to enjoin upon their naval officers greater caution in the exercise of their belligerent rights. Her Majesty's Government, having represented to the United States' Government every case in which they were justified in interfering, have only further to observe that it is the duty of Her Majesty's subjects to conform to Her Majesty's proclamation, and abstain from furnishing to either of the belligerent parties any of the means of war which are forbidden to be furnished by that proclamation.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. H. LAYARD.

Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq., 42, Portland-place.

THE CONFISCATION AND EMANCIPATION BILL.

The following is the text of the Bill:—

A Bill to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of Rebels, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That every person who shall hereafter commit the crime of treason against the United States, and shall be adjudged guilty thereof, shall suffer death, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; or he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years and fined not less than \$10,000, and all his slaves, if any, shall be declared and made free; said fine shall be levied and collected on any or all of the property, real and personal, excluding slaves, of which the said person so convicted was the owner at the time of committing the said crime, any sale or conveyance to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall hereafter idle, set on foot, assist, or engage in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or shall give aid or comfort thereto, or shall engage in, or give aid and comfort to, any such existing rebellion or insurrection, and be convicted thereof, such person shall be punished by imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, and by the liberation of all his slaves, if any he have.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That every person guilty of either of the offences described in this act shall be for ever incapable and disqualified to hold any office under the United States.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That this act shall not be construed in any way to affect or alter the prosecution, conviction, or punishment of any person or persons guilty of treason against the United States before the passage of this act, unless such person is convicted under this act.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That to insure the speedy termination of the present rebellion, it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the seizure of all the estate and property, money, stocks, credits, and effects of the persons hereafter named in this section, and to apply and use the same, and the proceeds thereof, for the support of the Army of the United States, that is to say: First, of any person hereafter acting as an officer of the army or navy of the Rebels in arms against the Government of the United States; secondly, of any person hereafter acting as President, Vice-President, Member of Congress, Judge of any Court, Cabinet Officer, Foreign Minister, Commissioner, or Consul of the so-called Confederate States of America; thirdly, of any person acting

as Governor of a State, member of a Convention or Legislature, or judge of any Court of any of the so-called Confederate States of America; fourthly, of any person who, having held an office of honour, trust, or profit in the United States, shall hereafter hold an office in the so-called Confederate States of America; fifthly, of any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the Government of the so-called Confederate States of America, or under any of the several States of the said Confederacy, or the laws thereof, whether such office or agency be national, State or municipal in its name or character: Provided, That the persons, thirdly, fourthly, and fifthly, above described, shall have accepted their appointment or election since the date of the pretended ordinance of Secession of the State, or shall have taken an oath of allegiance to or to support the Constitution of the so-called Confederate States; sixthly, of any persons who, owning property in any loyal State or Territory of the United States, or in the district of Columbia, shall hereafter assist and give aid and comfort to such rebellion, and all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That if any person within any State or Territory of the United States, other than those named as aforesaid, after the passage of this act, being engaged in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States, or aiding or abetting such rebellion, shall not, within sixty days after public warning and proclamation, duly given and made by the President of the United States, cease to aid, countenance, and abet such rebellion, and return to his allegiance to the United States, all the estate and property, moneys, stocks, and credits of such person shall be liable to seizure as aforesaid, and it shall be the duty of the President to seize and use them as aforesaid, or the proceeds thereof. And all sales, transfers, or conveyances of any such property, after the expiration of the said sixty days from the date of such warning and proclamation, shall be null and void; and it shall be a sufficient bar to any suit brought by such person for the possession or the use of such property, or any of it, to allege and prove that he is one of the persons described in this section.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That to secure the condemnation and sale of any such property after the same shall have been seized, so that it may be made available for the purposes aforesaid, proceedings *in rem* shall be instituted in the name of the United States in any District Court thereof, or in any Territorial Court, or in the United States' District Court for the District of Columbia, within which the property above described or any part thereof may be found, or into which the same, if moveable, may first be brought, which proceedings shall conform as nearly as may be to proceedings in admiralty or revenue cases, and if said property, whether real or personal, shall be found to have belonged to a person engaged in rebellion, or who has given aid or comfort thereto, the same shall be condemned as enemies' property, and become the property of the United States, and may be disposed of as the Court shall decree, and the proceeds thereof paid into the Treasury of the United States for the purposes aforesaid.

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That the several courts aforesaid shall have power to make such orders, establish such forms of decree and sale, and direct such deeds and conveyances to be executed and delivered by the marshals thereof, where real estate shall be the subject of sale, as shall fitly and efficiently effect the purposes of this act, and vest in the purchasers of such property good and valid titles thereto. And the said Court shall have power to allow such fees and charges of their officers as shall be reasonable and proper to the premises.

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the Government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by Rebel forces, and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be for ever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labour or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due, is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labour of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

Sec. 11. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States is authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion; and for this purpose he may organize and use them in such manner as he may judge best for the public welfare.

Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization, and settlement, in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of the African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate, having first obtained the consent of the Government of said country to their protection and settlement within the same, with all the rights and privileges of freemen.

Sec. 13. And be it further enacted, That the President is hereby authorized, at any time hereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such time and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare.

Sec. 14. And be it further enacted, That the Courts of the United States shall have full power to institute proceedings, make orders and decrees, issue process, and do all other things necessary to carry this act into effect.

THE ALBANY *Evening Journal*, edited by Thurlow Weed, says:—"It is feared that the enlistments under the new call will not be active enough for the emergency. We share somewhat in this fear. Ten days will decide. If at the expiration of that time those fears shall be realized, then let us have a draft. The demand is too pressing to be delayed. The men must be had—voluntarily or otherwise."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE, Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consignors of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN, Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

H. D. WEED AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN, Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO., Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA. Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rutherford-place, Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO., Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW ORLEANS. Office—No. 56, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool. Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA. General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER, Commission Merchants, NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A. Represented by Jos. T. Robinson & Co., India Buildings, Water-street, Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO., CHARLESTON. South Carolina. FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO., Liverpool, Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE, GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS. This immense establishment of capacity to manufacture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON, TREDEGAR IRON WORKS. Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines, all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c., RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO., General Commission Merchants, RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO., Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton, Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE, Commission Merchant, ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer, MANCHESTER. Three and Six Cord Spool Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE, New York; F. RIMAILHO AND NEYREY, New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM, Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON, Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds, Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Manchester Goods.

SEARING AND CO., Commission Merchants, MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A. Represented by R. G. BRESLEY, Cotton Broker, 2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY, Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY, Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN, Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly attend to all orders from or for the Continent of Europe and America. Commissions for books and goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms. 102, Fleet-street, London.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, 14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and French Books.—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature, History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature, History, Bolles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Languages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages, History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodically, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London, and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to effect a direct trade alliance between the European and the Southern Press, through the medium of advertising. The most practicable mode of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Capitalists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Countries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised, classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING. Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous inaction, but will commence its irresistible ebb and flow the moment peace is established. One of the most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to be used by the North will be the medium of advertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies are already organised in every Northern city, and only bide their time. We must see to it that our papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements and the advertisements of Southern Importers, Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be space left in any Southern newspaper for the advertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will our papers present to their readers a faithful mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old World, and of our business men at home, and thus attach to Southern interests that mighty lever, "the Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of Northern advertising, has had so much influence in binding the South to dependence upon its enemies. Through the medium of a liberal advertising patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained against the stagnation in their business, which proceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade. The object of this Agency is twofold:—

- 1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manufacturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c., &c., in Southern papers.
- 2nd. To advertise Southern business, property, &c., in European journals.
- 3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, accompanied by a private letter (which shall be strictly confidential), stating your terms of advertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is selected for the Central Office, on account of its geographical position. We respectfully ask for this enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance, and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors, WILLIAM H. BARNES, SUPERINTENDENT. Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with her mother and her daughter in a pleasant location close by the Champs-Elysees—offers the comforts of a home and motherly care and attention, together with the advantages of the best French and excellent music-teaching, for TWO YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY under fifteen. Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier, 17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

GENTLEMEN requiring an excellent Tailor are recommended to the establishments of A. M. GAUTIER, 229, Regent-street, London (above Curry's Restaurant), and 20, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. On Wednesday, the 30th, will be published, in 1 vol. 8vo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an Historical View of Democracy in America. By CORNELIUS DE WITTE. Translated, with the Author's sanction, by R. S. H. CHURCH. London: LONGMAN, GREEN, AND CO., 14, Ludgate-hill.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company. The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the outstanding certificates of profits to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after the second Monday in February next; also, to declare a dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the net earned premiums of the Company, for the year ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates will be issued on and after the second Monday in February next.

TRUSTEES. Geo. W. West Vice-President. M. Masson. R. P. Hunt. D. Jamison. Martin Gordon, jun. Ar. Miltenberger. Cesaire Olivier. J. Leisy. A. Bohn. Jas. A. White. Numa Augustin. Douglas West. Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE: 78, Camp Street. Amount of Premiums for the year ending 31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47 Amount of Profits for year ending 31st December, 1861..... 282,908 38 Amount of Assets on 31st December, 1861..... 1,338,306 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem the Scrip of 1857. Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on and after 10th February next. Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROCHER, President. H. WHEELER, Secretary. New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE: Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets. Amount of Premiums for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70

Amount of Profits for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74 Amount of Assets for the year ending 28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue of 1859. Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and after the second Monday in May next. Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES RIGGS, President. R. P. JANVIER, Secretary. New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this day, it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned premiums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent. interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Company. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the first day of August next.

DIRECTORS. Geo. Connelly. J. N. Nevins. John Pemberton. S. O. Nelson. P. Maspero. C. H. Scloomb. P. Pont. B. F. Voorheis. C. Ronald. B. O. Vignaud. G. Miltenberger.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE: Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months ending 30th April, 1861..... \$21,876 14 Profits for ten months to 30th April, 1861..... 237,238 27

Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,959 95

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent. of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861. Twenty per cent. 1st September, 1861.

Scrip Certificates for the year 1861 deliverable on and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President. G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL SHIPS.

NOTICE. These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Boston, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent. Primage.

PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of Goods on board will be taken free of freight by the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 6s. each and upwards, according to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for delivery in America, for the purpose of evading the payment of Freight, will, upon examination incur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or owner of any ship may refuse to take on board any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a dangerous nature, and may require them to be opened to ascertain the fact.

The British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship, or to require the master or owner of any ship to carry therein, aquariol, oil of vitriol, gunpowder, or any other goods which, in the judgment of such master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and if any person carries or sends by any ship any goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly marking their nature on the outside of the package containing the same, or otherwise giving notice in writing to the master or owner, at or before the time of loading, or of any such offence, he shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or owner of any ship may refuse to take on board any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a dangerous nature, and may require them to be opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum. Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XV. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free speech and a free press, every interest—political, social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent, commercial, however remote, however small the class to which it addresses itself—has long had its recognized representative in Journalism, through which it seeks to obtain a share of the public attention. The one solitary exception has heretofore been in the case of the Confederate States of America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual blockade which excludes them from communion with the rest of mankind, than from the commercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed supplies. The disruption of the American Union—despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with, out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of the reality and importance of the event. So little had the internal politics of America entered into the routine of European thoughts, that even now—when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by far the greater portion of the intelligent European public. When the catastrophe occurred, the Northern States had the ear of the Governments and of the peoples; and so zealously have they retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and distorting was the medium through which alone the South's voice could be heard, that Europe may fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of the English press has treated the weaker party in that spirit of fair play upon which every Englishman prides himself; and, as the struggle progressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a perplexing subject, which stands in honourable contrast to the flippancy and indecorum of American Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern interests and Southern opinions, to which the Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the public at large might look for reliable intelligence of the progress of events, and for valuable indications of the manner in which the South itself views and weighs the importance and bearing of those events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The measure of success which may reward the effort will necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the friends, and of the private, as well as official, representatives of the South in Europe. This co-operation has been most generously accorded us. There is a large amount of Southern intelligence which reaches Europe through various private channels. Still more important information is obtained from Northern sources, which finds no outlet through the muzzled press of those States. Much of such valuable material has already been placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our arrangements are such that our friends may rely on this respect upon a scrupulous and sound discretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible misapprehension—that it is not the sole object. Literature and General News—in fact, every ingredient of a Weekly Journal—will command our earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that liberal patronage which is promised us in advance. "THE INDEX" will be represented by competent Correspondents at the different capitals of the Continent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of the character of a Magazine, without departing from its proper sphere as a Review of current events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and practically familiar with the subject and all questions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is necessarily committed to the advocacy of the principles of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11, Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, Fleet-street, London E.C.—August 7, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 16.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 14, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	241
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	243
Manchester Letter	243
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Battle of Gaines's Mills	243
Mr. Seward and Earl Russell	245
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	230
Paris	230
LEADERS—	
The Latest Intelligence	243
Position of the Federal Armies	248
The Cotton Manufacture and the Cotton Famine	249
The Sheffield Manifesto	250
The Two Campaigns	251
Editorials	252
REVIEWS—	
A Northern View of the American War	252
On the Recognition of the Southern Confederation	253
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	237
LIEUTENANT MAURY AND THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE	254
THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN EUROPE	255
ADVERTISEMENTS	256

THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

We have briefly commented on the following telegrams in our leading column:—

NEW YORK, Aug. 2, 1862.

The situation of McClellan in the Peninsula inspires great anxiety. His army is suffering severely from scurvy, and he receives but few reinforcements. The prospect of immediate evacuation is openly canvassed.

The Confederates are in great force at Richmond, and on the James River.

Their batteries on the bank opened fire yesterday on the Federal mail boats' landing, and the head-quarters of Colonel Ingall.

Some of the Federal shipping was damaged; four men were killed and five wounded.

Vicksburg is still uncoquered.

An unsuccessful attempt was made on the 22nd ult., to capture the Confederate ram Arkansas, in which the Federal gunboats Queen and Essex received severe damage.

General Pope's troops continue to forage upon the farms in the vale of Shenandoah.

The people refuse to take the oath of Allegiance.

The recruiting in answer to the President's call for 300,000 men, makes little or no progress.

Money continues to be liberally subscribed for the volunteers, but the men do not offer themselves.

A proclamation issued by the Governor of Kentucky, calling the Legislature of the State together, is considered treasonable in purpose.

Ex-Governor Wickliffe, of Kentucky, lately made a speech declaring that to save the Union it was necessary to throw over all Abolitionists, and denouncing the emancipation and confiscation policy.

NEW YORK, Aug. 4, Evening.

President Lincoln has called for another 300,000 men for nine months, in addition to the 300,000 already required.

Draughting is to commence immediately.

The President has declined to accept the negro regiments as soldiers, but will avail himself of them as labourers.

A force from General McClellan's army has made a reconnaissance to within fourteen miles of Petersburg. After slight

fighting the Federals destroyed the Confederate camp at Sycamore Church position.

General Pope's force has crossed the Rapedan, and captured Orange Court-house, driving thence two regiments of Confederate cavalry.

AUG. 5, Afternoon.

President Lincoln has officially ordered 300,000 men to be draughted from the Militia, to serve for nine months. If the 300,000 Volunteers previously called for are not enrolled by the 15th of August, the deficiency will be made up by a special draught from the Militia.

Despatches from General Pope's command state that it is believed the Confederates have really evacuated Richmond, and taken up the south bank of the James River as their line of defence.

A Washington despatch says there is reasonable suspicion that pestilence in Richmond was the cause of its evacuation.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

"THE present position of General McClellan's army is said to be good for defence, but neither favourable for offensive purposes nor for a retreat." Such is the first paragraph in the telegram per North American from New York, under date August 1, and it certainly is a neat, though somewhat prolix, paraphrase of "General McClellan is trapped." He cannot advance and he cannot retreat; why then he must remain where he is, whilst his army melts away. Such a position is surely very good for defence, for the enemy would never think of attacking an army in a hostile country that can neither advance nor retreat, is, in fact, imprisoned, with this important difference, that instead of being fed at the cost of the enemy, it has to feed itself. But we must not construe this too rigidly. Probably the meaning intended by the writer is that so long as General McClellan remains in his trap he is safe, but if he moves either to advance or retreat, he does so at considerable peril. According to the Northern accounts of the Confederate movements, the position of General McClellan is quite as bad as described in the paragraph we have quoted. On the south bank of the Chickahominy, and in the rear of the Federal army, are Confederate lines strongly supported by artillery. The Confederate troops command either side of the James River, between Richmond and the Federal army; and, moreover, in the rear of General McClellan, on the opposite side of the James River, are Confederate batteries, which, we are told, on the last day of July "opened with light artillery on the Federal mail boats and shipping, and the encampments near Harrison's Landing, killing and wounding several Federals. The Federal batteries replied, and silenced the Confederates." Assuming this account to be substantially correct, it follows that a part of McClellan's camp is exposed to the fire of the Confederate batteries, as well as the shipping on the river. It is reported that the elevation of the south bank of the James River will enable the Confederates to erect batteries to shell the enemy's camp. It is also stated that the Confederates are being massed in force between the junction of the Appomattox and James Rivers and Richmond.

Still more important is the account that "a new

Merrimac and another ram, built at Richmond, have appeared in the James River, and came down as far as Turkey Bend. The Federal gunboats took up a position in line of battle, but no engagement ensued." If the "new Merrimac and another ram" are severally as invulnerable and destructive as the ram Arkansas, the Federal gunboats may not be able to protect the Federal shipping on the James River, or to prevent McClellan's supplies being cut off. If the Confederate vessels have come even as far as Turkey Bend, it shows that the obstructions in the river are not upon the "stone fleet" principle, but are of a character to permit of temporary removal or modification. The construction of the rams is a striking proof of the indomitable energy of the South; and though it is not in immediate prospect, the South may open some of the blockaded ports. Indeed, there is a rumour—to which, in the absence of further information, we attach no credit—that the port of Mobile has been opened.

Under such conditions, although General McClellan's position may be "good for defence" against assault, "unfavourable for advance or retreat," it is manifestly untenable if he can be constantly harassed by the enemy in his front, rear, and flanks, and if a new Merrimac and another ram are ready to contest the mastery of the James River. If a movement is inevitable, in which direction will it be? An advance with the remnant of the army of the Potomac is apparently impossible. That a movement is intended we may conclude, because General McClellan "has ordered the expulsion of all civilians from the lines, including the newspaper correspondents." All circumstances considered, the rumour that General McClellan's army will evacuate Yorktown Peninsula, and fall back upon Washington, is not incredible, but it is not likely that the evacuation of the Peninsula can be effected without disastrous opposition.

As we announced in our last issue, Commander Porter's mortar fleet has arrived in the Hampton Roads. We are informed that as soon as the whole of the vessels are together "it is supposed that they will be employed to reduce Fort Darling." With telegraphic brevity, the words "if they can" are omitted. As the fleet failed at Vicksburg it is, to say the least, just possible that the attempt to reduce Fort Darling may likewise be unsuccessful.

The rest of the news from Virginia is vague and contradictory. One day "Stonewall" Jackson is reported dead, and the next day he is living, and preparing to attack General Pope in the Shenandoah Valley; and finally, "General Jackson is reported to be preparing to attack Generals McClellan or Pope [or any other General!], but nothing definite can be ascertained of his movements." Such ignorance of an enemy's movements is neither wise nor blissful; but the blame is no doubt due to the obstinate reticence of the Confederates as to what they intend doing. General Pope has taken the field, and is said to have advanced beyond Warrenton with 60,000 men. It is reported that General Ewell is at Gordonsville with 30,000 troops.

General Johnson's official report of the Battle of Seven Pines says:—

We took in the battle of Seven Pines 10 pieces of artillery 6000 muskets, one garrison flag, and four regimental colours, besides a large quantity of tents and camp equipage. Major-General Longstreet reports the loss in his command as being about 3000, and Major-General G. W. Smith reports his loss at 1283. The loss of the enemy is stated in their own newspapers to have exceeded 10,000, an estimate which is no doubt short of the truth.

A letter dated Paris, and published in the *Times*, says:—

The following is a correct list of military supplies and prisoners taken in the late battles before Richmond:—80 large guns, 200 spiked guns (destroyed), 1700 mules, 2500 horses, 62,000 stand of arms, \$6,000,000 worth of various stores, the balloon, with all its tackle; 2 major-generals, 6 brigadier-generals, 13 colonels, 180 commissioned officers, 11,000 prisoners.

This statement is taken from a private letter of a Confederate officer, written to a friend in this city.

It seems, from later accounts, that Commodore Farragut, though no longer attacking Vicksburg, is still in that neighbourhood. The sickness on board the fleet has rendered more than half the crews unfit for duty. It is said the fleet is to return to Memphis; but it appears that Commodore Farragut may, owing to the fall of the river, be fixed for some time. During the end of July there was but eighteen feet of water between Vicksburg and New Orleans, and the river was steadily receding, and some of the Federal gunboats, the *Hertford*, for instance, draws sixteen feet. According to a private letter from Vicksburg, published in the *Mobile Register*, a flag of truce had been sent to General Van Dorn, asking for permission to pass the batteries unmolested, upon condition of evacuating New Orleans and the river. We shall offer no other comment on this, further than to observe that the *Mobile Register* does not appear to vouch for its accuracy, but merely gives it on the faith of a correspondent supposed to be responsible. The extracts referred to are as follows:—

July 13.

We have just received exciting news from our batteries. A Yankee flag of truce has arrived to request permission for their gunboats to pass our batteries at Vicksburg and Baton Rouge unmolested, and that they will evacuate New Orleans and the river. It is said that General Van Dorn has refused the request, for he says that before two months he shall have the whole of the Yankee fleet between Vicksburg and Baton Rouge. General Breckinridge has command of the troops on the opposite side of the river, at Monroe, Louisiana, and is marching to capture the Yankee batteries over there, and to prevent supplies reaching the Yankee fleet. The whole of the Yankee fleet went down the river yesterday for the purpose of securing our batteries at Baton Rouge, but I am happy to say they have a very poor chance of doing so, as we have reopened the batteries on both sides of the river, and are mounting more guns and erecting new fortifications. There is no doubt that we made a brilliant strategic stroke in the re-capture of that town. Meanwhile a large light artillery force has been stationed on the banks of the river, with orders to attack all transports and Yankee boats that attempt to pass. So you see the Yankees have "got their paw in the wrong pot" this time.

5 P.M.

News has just arrived that Van Dorn sent the following answer to Farragut, commanding United States' fleet above and below Vicksburg:—

"Sir,—Your communication, under flag of truce, has been received. In answer, I beg to say that the only way you shall pass my batteries is at the mouth of the cannon.

"E. VAN DORN."

The ram *Arkansas*, of whose brilliant feats we reproduce some Northern accounts in another part of our issue, is still before Vicksburg.

"Guerilla conflicts are active all over the Border States;" but it must be remarked that the Confederate Government has recognized these so-called guerilla bands—that they are under Government control, and can be massed at the fitting moment into armies. The Washington Government knew what an effective force "guerilla bands" were under the able direction of General Price.

The agitation in Kentucky is great, and increasing. The determination to throw off the Federal yoke becomes daily more apparent. As a proof of the desperate efforts made by the Federals to keep their footing in the State, we cite a handbill posted in Kentucky, of which the following is a copy:—

Louisville, Kentucky, July 13, 1862.

It is ordered that every able-bodied man take arms and aid in repelling the marauders. Every man who does not join will

remain in his house forty-eight hours, and be shot down if he leaves it.

J. T. BOYLE, Brigadier-General Commanding.

The citizens of Lexington and vicinity are ordered to comply strictly with the foregoing order, which will be rigidly enforced. Persons uniting with us will repair to the Court-house, where officers will be stationed to assign them positions in companies.

Those not so uniting will confine themselves to their houses from half-past two o'clock p.m.

F. P. BRASHER, Mayor and Provost Marshal.

Lexington, July 13, 1862.

The Governor has convened the Legislature to consider the military situation of Kentucky, and the late action with regard to slavery, for the purpose of providing for the safety of Kentucky institutions.

The Confederates are still pressing on the Federal army in the West. They have occupied Grand Junction evacuated by the Federals, and are in possession of the larger portion of the railroad between Memphis and Corinth. Our readers will remember the glowing terms in which General Halleck announced the opening of the railroad between these places, and what a lasting triumph it was considered by the Northern press. The evacuation of Corinth has certainly not strengthened the Federal position.

It is reported that "the Federals have routed two large bands of guerillas in Missouri." It is worthy of notice that the Federals never defeat small guerilla bands.

A Federal waggon train was attacked near Pittsburg Landing, and sixty waggons were captured containing commissary and quartermaster's stores.

A body of Confederates have entered Florence, Alabama, "burned all the warehouses used for the commissary and quartermaster's stores, and all the cotton in the vicinity. They also seized the United States Steamer *Colonna*, used for conveying army supplies over the shoals. They took all the money belonging to the boat, and then burned her. A small detachment of General Mitchell's army was captured, and the Confederates then proceeded down the Tennessee River to Chickasaw, Waterloo, and the vicinity of Eastfort, and burned all the warehouses which contained cotton." From this account we must conclude that the Federals are not by any means strong in that State; and that the Alabamians are determined that the invader shall not get any spoil.

General Buell's advance is reported within thirty-five miles of Chattanooga, and an engagement is expected.

The call of the Governor of Missouri for the enrolment of the whole militia of his State has caused great excitement. It is further stated that an order for drafting has been made in St. Louis, in which city the plot was discovered to hand it over to the Confederates. The Northern press says the city is full of "Secession vaga bonds," who, be it remembered, are, according to the Federal accounts of the plot, "the powerful inhabitants of the place." Large numbers of Irish have refused to be enlisted, and have appealed to the British Consul for protection. The unwillingness of the Irish to enter the Federal army is a heavy blow for the North. When the news is received further disinclination will manifest itself, for the Irish strongly sympathize with each other's views. Compelling the Irish of St. Louis to enlist, or punishing them for not doing so, is a dangerous experiment, and may breed considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the whole population. Indeed, the disinclination has already extended, for in New York two Irishmen were arrested for dissuading their countrymen from enlisting.

The recruiting goes on slowly, very slowly. Not more than 10,000 men have responded to Mr. Lincoln's call for 300,000.

The clamour for a conscription continues, and with seems impossible to carry out resort to this means it on the war. Can the Washington Government safely order a conscription? For there is a rumour that in the State of New York Philadelphia to aid the recruiting, and thirty-eight gentlemen present at once subscribed sums varying from \$3000 to \$100. A correspondent of the *Times* gives the list as follows:—

*C. Gilpin	\$1,000	*W. B. Mann	\$1,000
W. Welsh	1,000	Bailey and Co.	1,000
A. Friend, per do. ..	1,000	Taylor, Gillespie, and Co. ..	1,000
H. Robinson	1,000	*Whitney and Son	3,000
*H. Windsor	1,000	*Sellers and Co.	2,000
*J. T. Lewis	1,000	De Coursey and Co.	1,000
D. Haddock	1,000	J. B. Aylers	1,000
J. Ashurst	1,000	*C. Sherman and Son	1,000
*J. B. Myers	1,000	Alex. Henry	500
S. S. White	1,000	J. Graham and Co.	300
J. E. Caldwell	1,000	Dr. M'Clintock	100
*Stuart Brothers	1,000	*C. A. Walborn	300
*J. Haseltine	1,000	*T. W. Price	300
M'Kean Borie	3,000	*G. R. Smith	100
*W. H. Kern	1,000	*G. D. Vesperhill	300
*E. C. Knight and Co. ..	1,000	*H. D. Moore	200
*S. and J. M. Flanagan ..	1,000	Dr. D. James	300
N. M. Watts	1,000	*W. B. Haseltine	200
*Wellins, Coffin, and Co. ..	1,000	*Frank Haseltine	100

I have prefixed an asterisk to the names of twenty-two of the subscribers who are contractors, as well as patriots—all wealthy, most of them having acquired fortunes by this war.

Great complaints are made at Washington at the number of men absent on furlough; it is computed that these deserters number from 20,000 to 30,000. It appears that many of them enlist in new regiments for the sake of getting the bounty. These furloughs have been granted on the application of Members of Congress, who cannot refuse to grant their constituents such a trifling favour.

Having abolished the liberty of the press, the Washington Government now seeks to restrain the expression of opinion in conversation. "Several persons have been arrested in the streets of New York for speaking unfavourably of war and declaring that they could not suffer drafting."

The Nashville and Kate have arrived at a Southern port and sailed again. The former brought some pieces of artillery presented by British merchants to the Southern Confederacy.

Immediately before the prorogation of Parliament attention was called by Mr. S. Fitzgerald to the blockade of Nassau:—

Mr. S. FITZGERALD wished to direct the attention of the noble lord at the head of the Government to the proceedings of the United States' cruisers in the immediate neighbourhood of Nassau. On a former occasion it had been stated in that House that the United States' squadron were actively engaged in enforcing the blockade on the coast of the United States; but it appeared their cruisers had since been withdrawn; and they were now employed in blockading British ports. There could be no doubt, indeed, that the United States' authorities had pressed, and were pressing to the utmost, without moderation or discretion, the rights which they might possess as belligerents, and he hoped the noble lord would give the House an assurance that this matter would not escape the notice of the Government; but that, on the contrary, the most vigorous and earnest remonstrances would be made to the United States' Government on the subject. He might also take that opportunity of referring to certain proceedings adopted by the United States' authorities with respect to British goods at New York. Hitherto it had been the practice to send British goods to New York in steamers, and afterwards to forward them in American bottoms to Nassau. It now appeared that the United States' Government would not permit these goods to be exported from New York unless the owners entered into a bond that the future owners of the goods at Nassau should not ship them either to the Confederate States or to any port in communication with them. He hoped the noble lord would also give the House an assurance that this matter would be made the subject of a vigorous remonstrance to the United States' Government.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.—The House must be aware that there is no nation more interested than the British nation in maintaining to the utmost extent belligerent rights at sea. It is an undoubted right of a belligerent to search vessels met with at sea, and if there is a reasonable ground to suppose that they are carrying contraband of war to take them into court for adjudication. When a ship is so brought for adjudication before a competent tribunal it is the right of the owners to urge in defence such circumstances as may show that the capture was illegal. Her Majesty's Government are, of course, not disposed to interfere with the proper exercise of their belligerent rights on the part of the United States. The remedy in the first instance is to be sought in the Court of Admiralty; but, at the same time, if any abusive exercise of those rights can be shown to have taken place Her Majesty's Government will take steps to make a proper representation on the subject. As to the second question, it is quite true that bonds have been required from the owners of British property at New York; but we are advised that the United States' Government have no right to exact them. It is an abusive power, and Her Majesty's Government have already made representations to the Government of the United States on the subject.

The *Richmond Inquirer* says:—

We are glad to hear that the statement, heretofore published in relation to the death of Lieutenant H. Sidney Wallace, of Company I, 17th Virginia Regiment, is not correct. We have since ascertained that Lieutenant Wallace was taken prisoner, in the severe engagement that took place on the Chickahominy.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, August 13, 1862.

Our last report closed upon a quiet steady market, with middling Orleans at 9d., and fair Dhollerah at 13½d to 13½c.

During the past week no new feature has transpired to influence the public mind, regarding the future course of our market; the demand has been languid from day to day. Spinners have bought only for their immediate wants. Exporters have operated sparingly, while speculators have acted with great caution. Our stocks of American and long-stapled cotton, however, are now in such small compass, that the action of demand upon our reduced supply has served farther to considerably enhance prices.

On Thursday the market was very quiet, with sales of 4000 bales. On Friday, the business reached a similar amount, without change. On Saturday a rather stronger feeling was perceptible, but it only resulted in the sale of 5000. The Persia's news were to hand in the morning, but her dates were only one day later than those previously received, and contained no items of general interest. On Monday the market again opened quietly, but still with a hardening tendency in the better grades of American, the sales reaching 4000. Yesterday the Manchester market was firm, at a slight advance in yarns; for goods, however, there was very little demand, the extreme firmness of holders, and their indifference to sell, alone maintained prices.

Foreign Markets, in general, respond but feebly to any symptoms of improvement in Manchester, and remain surfeited with the enormous shipments of goods, forced upon them previous to this year. Nine months now of half-time, in Lancashire, has failed to produce a healthy tone in Manchester, and create a wholesome consumptive demand either at home or abroad. From this it is apparent that the manufacturers' position at the beginning of the year was essentially false; they had been enormously overproducing, and the re-adjustment which is now taking place between supply and demand, through curtailment of consumption, must have resulted apart from the American war—the process might have been less violent and more protracted, but none the less sure. It now seems probable that a healthy demand will, before long, spring up in Manchester, and a much higher range of prices be established. The India Markets appear at last to have taken a decided turn; speculators had been operating more freely, a considerable advance had been established; and much higher prices were looked for before long.

To-day the North America's accounts are to hand, reporting little change in the attitude of the combatants on the James River. McClellan's position is becoming daily more critical, and fears are still entertained for his safety. A rumour, which is not, however, credited, speaks of the Mobile blockade being broken by ten Confederate gunboats, arrived from Europe. Cotton had recovered, in New York, from the depressed sales of the previous week, and was again quoted 49 to 50 cents. for Middling Uplands. Exchange has declined to 125 to 126, and gold to 15 per cent. premium.

It was also generally supposed that drafting would commence about the middle of August. The tenor of the news is considered in favour of our market; the advance in cotton dissipates the idea of large quantities arriving at New York. The guerilla bands had succeeded in intercepting supplies in Tennessee, and had burned what was likely to fall into enemies' hands. There are still no signs of a peaceful or conciliatory spirit amongst the Northern people; on the contrary, they appear bent on resorting to conscription to supply the material, wherewith to carry on this unnatural war to the bitter end.

Our market, under these accounts, was stronger in tone, and was further improved by receipt of a private telegram from India, reporting an enormous advance in cotton, variously stated from 3d. to 4d. per pound, and 3s. per piece on goods; this, thought not wholly credited, brought in speculators this afternoon, and prices of long-stapled cotton are 1s. 4d. dearer, with sales of 6000 bales, leaving our quotations 19½d. for Middling Orleans, 19½d. for Mobile's, 19½d. for Bowed, 13½d. to 3d. for fair Dhollerah and Omrawuttee, 14½d. for Broach, and 16½d. to 17 for Sawginned Dharwar.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, Aug. 12.

Since our last report our market has been very quiet; very little business having been done in either cloth or yarn, nevertheless, where actual business was effected rather higher prices were obtained. Yarns spun from American cotton, and suitable for continental shipment, are becoming extremely scarce, so much so that the few holders of this class of material are careless about selling at the present quotations, as they feel themselves safe in holding for much higher figures. Some of the clients of our German houses, who have not hitherto bought any yarns spun from Surat cotton, are now sending orders for an assortment of about twenty to thirty bundles of a number, just to try this class of yarn; but as there is very little yarn in stock which is not spun from Surats, and the little that is being spun at present being made from Surats almost entirely, our German friends will be compelled to take what they can get very shortly, if they intend to keep their looms at work. Twist and pin-cops for the home trade are very firm in price, the Bolton spinnings being rather higher than last week, as the demand for these finer numbers continues good.

Cloth of all kinds continues to be held for extreme rates, although very little business has been done during the week. To-day our market has been again very dull, in both cloth and yarn, notwithstanding which prices are exceedingly firm, in most instances at last Tuesday's quotations.

In yarns, the principal demand has been for mule and water twist in bundles, spun from American cotton; in response to which very little, if any, has been offered by spinners.

Home trade manufacturers have bought scarcely anything in the shape of yarns to-day, as, in most cases, they are working up the material which has not already been put into the hands of their agents for resale.

Cloth keeps very firm at last week's quotations, with the exception of Madapollams, and 9-8, 16 by 16, and 17 by 17, printers, which may be quoted 3d. per piece higher.

(From the St. Louis Republican.)

We could hardly give credence to the above story, but are told that it is even worse than this correspondent relates. The conduct of some of these men was the worst a licentious and brutal soldiery could inflict upon defenceless women; so vile, indeed, that an officer of the army, who regards the honour of his cloth, has determined to lay the matter before the Government. We do not doubt that the men who have committed the horrible crimes alleged, as well as those who winked at it, will meet with swift and retributive justice. The honour of the army calls for it and humanity demands it.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

Extract from a Letter from New Orleans, of July 15, containing Butler's last order:—

You would be sorry for us, at the same time aimed at the orders issued; our last was, "that not more than three persons must be seen together in the streets."

In answer to a question as to the lawfulness of the Guerilla Service, the Confederate Secretary of War has made the following reply:—

Partisan Rangers are a part of the provisional army of the Confederate States, subject to all the regulations adopted for its government, and entitled to the same protection as prisoners of war. Partisan Rangers are in no respect different from troops of the line, except that they are not brigaded, and are employed oftener on detached service. They require stricter discipline than other troops to make them efficient; and without discipline they become a terror to their friends, and are contemptible in the eyes of the enemy. With reference to your inquiry as to the protection which the Government will extend to private citizens taken in hostile acts against the enemy, it is not easy to lay down a general rule. War, as conducted by civilized nations, is usually a contest between the respective Governments of the belligerents, and private individuals remaining quietly at home are respected in their rights of person and property. In return for this privilege they are expected to take no part in hostilities, unless called on by their Government. If, however, in violation of this usage, private citizens of Missouri should be oppressed and maltreated by the public enemy, they have unquestionably a right to take up arms in their own defence; and if captured and confined by the enemy, under such circumstances they are entitled, as citizens of the Confederate States, to all the protection which that Government can afford, and among the measures to which it may be useful to resort is that of the *lex talionis*."

The Confederate Secretary of War has issued the following General Order in reference to the exploit of the ram Arkansas:

GENERAL ORDERS—No. 51.

War Department,
Adjutant and Inspector General's Office,
Richmond, July 22, 1862.

The successful defence of Vicksburg against the mortar fleet of the enemy by Major-General Van Dorn and the officers and men under his command entitles them to the gratitude of the country, the thanks of the Government, and the admiration of the army. By their gallantry and good conduct they have not only saved the city entrusted to them, but they have shown that bombardments of cities, if bravely resisted, achieve nothing for the enemy, and only serve to unveil his malice and the hypocrisy of his pretended wish to restore the Union. The world now sees that his mission is one of destruction, not restoration.

Lieutenant Brown and the officers and crew of the Confederate steamer Arkansas, by their heroic attack upon the Federal fleet before Vicksburg, equalled the highest recorded examples of courage and skill. They prove that the navy, when it regains its proper element will be one of the chief bulwarks of national defence, and that it is entitled to a high place in the confidence and affection of the country.

By command of the Secretary of War,
S. COOPER,
Adjutant and Inspector General.

BATTLE OF GAINES'S MILLS.

COLLATED FROM RICHMOND PAPERS.

A line due north from Richmond would strike the Chickahominy near the Meadow Bridges, about six miles distant, whilst another line due east would intersect the same stream about eight miles from the city. This line is nearly represented by the York River Railroad. Between Meadow Bridges and the latter railroad, the distance, we believe, along the Chickahominy on the north side, is about ten miles. Two miles east of Meadow Bridges is the Mechanicsville turnpike, further on Beaver Dam Creek, emptying into the Chickahominy, then the New Bridge road, on which Coal Harbour is located, and then Powhite Creek, the latter being two or three miles above the railroad crossing. The lines of the Yankee army extended across the Chickahominy near this point. South of the railroad is the Williamsburg stage road, and connecting the latter with the New Bridge road is the Nine Mile road. South of Williamsburg road is the Charles City road.

When, on Thursday, General A. P. Hill had steadily driven the enemy from Meadow Bridge, and had taken up the line of march towards Mechanicsville and the road, evening had far advanced, and it was supposed that a halt would take place. General Kipley, however, with the 44th and 48th Georgia, and 2nd and 3rd North Carolina, made an attack upon the Yankee fortifications at Ellyson's Mills, in which the 44th Georgia and 3rd North Carolina suffered extremely, and did not succeed in taking them, owing to the impracticable nature of the ground. Operations were then suspended on our side, but the enemy kept up a deafening roar of artillery till late in the night.

Longstreet's forces had meanwhile crossed and marched parallel with the Chickahominy. The brigades of Generals Featherstone and Pryor were in advance, and proceeding some distance, halted for the night. About midnight, Featherstone received orders to change his position, and to occupy a skirt of wood near Beaver Dam Creek, and facing the Federal batteries. He did so, and the men were seated only asleep, when, twilight approaching, the enemy discovered the bivouac, and immediately commenced to shell it vigorously. The men, thus unceremoniously aroused, seized their muskets and fell in, and General Featherstone, just arrived from headquarters, led them to storm the position—mounting ten guns, and supported by two or three brigades. Sharp fighting now commenced on all sides, when General Pryor sent for assistance, and Wilcox soon came upon the ground. To cover the infantry attack, and draw off the artillery fire, the 3rd Richmond Howitzers, some pieces of the Donaldsonville and Thomas Artillery, moved up and played upon the enemy's position magnificently. Having engaged the enemy for a long time, and finding it impossible to cross the creek without a bridge, one was con-

structed by some of the 19th Mississippi and 14th Louisiana, under fire, when the whole force advanced and closed with the enemy, driving them in great confusion from the field. The difficulties of attack at this position were such that it is impossible to give a correct idea without maps, the battery being on a high hill, flanked by rifle pits, a deep creek at the foot of the hill, and covered with a thick hedge.

The attack of our men on this position was impetuous and daring, but the loss was great, for the foe were so screened by their position it was impossible to get at them properly. Their loss was severe. General Featherstone's Adjutant-General, George P. Foote, was shot while riding far in advance of the 12th Mississippi, and although he failed to return, he did not, and was quickly singled out and mortally wounded. His body was shortly afterwards found despoiled—watch, money, and sword gone. The 12th Mississippi went out in the morning with 397 men; lost in this engagement twelve killed, sixty-eight wounded, and nine missing; the regiment was commanded by Major W. H. Lilly, who was wounded leading a charge—the colonel being absent and sick, and the Lieutenant-Colonel wounded. The 19th Mississippi went into action with 521 men—had thirty-one killed, and 150 wounded. The 2nd Mississippi Battalion, Colonel Taylor, went into action with 234 men, and had thirty killed and wounded. The loss of Pryor's Brigade we have not learned; but hear that the 14th Louisiana, and the remnant of St. Paul's Battalion suffered severely—Wilcox, being in support, did not lose many. The Generals speak in high terms of the execution of our field pieces in this attack, the 3rd Richmond Howitzers, some of the Donaldsonville and Thomas Artillery, having caused great destruction among the enemy, and with slight loss to themselves. The rapidity of their fire quite astonished the Yankees, and could be distinctly heard over all our city, long before the dawn had fairly broken.

While Featherstone, Pryor, and Wilcox were thus successfully engaging the enemy on the right of our advance, General Maxey Gregg and his brigade were also hard at work, and successfully stormed the strong position of Ellyson's Mills, and took up the line of march on the left. They did not advance on the mills by the road, as had been done on Friday evening by Ripley, but simply made a feint in that direction, crossed the main body higher up the creek, took the redoubts and rifle pits in flank, carried them with the bayonet, pushed through the camps, and followed the road towards Gaines's Mills, whither the enemy were retreating.

From prisoners captured at both positions—who proved to be of the Valley army—it was ascertained that we might expect stout resistance at Gaines's Mills, since three or four whole divisions were strongly encamped there, McClellan commanding in person, with Major-Generals McCall, Porter, Sedgewick, and others—their estimated force being not less than thirty odd thousand men. As our three columns moved by parallel lines, we followed and conversed with prisoners, who informed us that their loss on Friday at Meadow Bridge, Mechanicsville, and Ellyson's Mills had been fearful, and that the whole night had been occupied in burial. The Federals carry off all their killed and wounded as fast as shot, and we only discover those who fall and are left at the actual moment of retreat. This information we believe to be correct.

The heads of our three columns having reached Walker Hogan's farm, north bank of the Chickahominy, about nine miles north-east of Richmond, all came to a halt, and Generals Lee and Longstreet took up quarters in the house and made dispositions for a further advance towards Gaines's Mills, distant about one mile through the woods. Featherstone's brigade having suffered much in the morning, Wilcox led, being followed by Pryor and Featherstone's reserve. The composition of Wilcox's command is mostly Alabamians; Pryor has the 14th Louisiana, St. Paul's Battalion, 3rd Virginia, and one other regiment; Featherstone has the 19th and 12th Mississippi Battalion.

Emerging from the woods, the road leads to the left and then to the right round Gaines's house, when the whole country, for the area of some two miles, is an open, unbroken succession of undulating hills. Standing at the north door of Gaines's house the whole country to the right, for the distance of one mile, is a gradual slope towards a creek, through which the main road runs up an open hill and then winds to the right. In front, to the left are orchards and gullies, running gradually to a deep creek. Directly in front, for the distance of a mile, the ground is almost table land, suddenly dipping to the deep creek mentioned above, being faced by a timbered covered hill fronting all the table land. Beyond this timber covered hill the country is again open, and a perfect plateau, a farm-house and out-houses occupying the centre, the main road mentioned winding to the right and through all the Federal camps. To the left and rear of the second mentioned farm a road comes in upon the flat lands adjoining the main road mentioned. Thus, to recapitulate, except the deep creek and timber-covered hill beyond it, the whole country, as seen from the north door of Gaines's house, is unbroken, open, undulating, and table land, the right forming a descent to the wood-covered creek, the left being dips and gullies, with dense timber still farther to the left; the front being for the most part table land. These particulars of the position are as correct, perhaps, as can be mentioned; but without a map it will always be difficult to understand the topography of this hard fought and victorious field of Gaines's Mills.

But to the south-east of Gaines's house is a large tract of timber, commanding all advances upon the main road, and in this McClellan and McCall had posted a large body of skirmishers, with artillery, to annoy our flank and rear when advancing on their camp on the high grounds, if we did so by the main road or over the table lands to the north.

It now being three p.m., and the head of our column in view of the Federal camps, General Pryor was sent forward with his brigade, to drive away the heavy mass of skirmishers posted to our rear to annoy the advance. This being accomplished with great success, and with little loss to us, Pryor returned and awaited orders. Meanwhile the Federals, from their camps and several positions on the high grounds, swept the whole face of the country with their numerous artillery, which would have annihilated our entire force if not screened in the dips of the land and in gullies to our left. Advancing cautiously but rapidly in the skirt of the woods and in the dips to the left, Wilcox and Pryor deployed their men into line of battle—Featherstone being in the rear—and suddenly appearing on the plateau facing the timber-covered hill, rushed down into the wide gully, crested it, clambered over all the felled timber, stormed the timber breastworks beyond it, and began the ascent of the hill, under a terrific fire of sharpshooters and an incessant discharge of grape and canister from pieces posted on the brow of the hill, and from batteries in their camps to the right on the high flat lands. Such a position was never stormed before.

In descending into the deep creek, the infantry and artillery fire that assailed the three brigades was the most terrific on record. Twenty-six pieces were thundering at them, and a per-

first hail storm of lead fell thick and fast around them. One of Wilcox's regiments wavered; down the General rushed, furiously, sword in hand, and threatened to behead the first man that hesitated; Pryor steadily advanced, but slowly; and by the time that the three brigades had stormed the position, passed up the hill through timber, and over felled trees, Featherstone was far in advance. Quickly the Federals withdrew their pieces, and took up a fresh position to assail the three brigades advancing in perfect line of battle from the woods and upon the plateau. Officers had no horses, all were shot; brigadiers marched on foot, sword in hand; regiments were commanded by captains, and companies by sergeants, yet onward they rushed, with yells and colours flying, and backward, still backward, fell the Federals, their men tumbling every moment in scores. But what a sight met the eyes of these three gallant brigades! In front stood Federal camps, stretching to the north-east for miles! Drawn up in line of battle were more than three full divisions, commanded by McCall, Porter, Sedgewick, &c.; banners darkened the air; artillery vomited forth incessant volleys of grape, canister and shell; heavy masses were moving on our left through the woods to flank us! Yet onward came Wilcox to the right, Pryor to the left, and Featherstone in the centre—one grand, matchless line of battle, almost consumed by exploits of the day, yet onward they advanced to the heart of the Federal position, and when the enemy had fairly succeeded in almost flanking us on the left, great commotion is heard in the woods! Volleys upon volleys are heard in rapid succession, which are recognized and cheered by our men. "It is Jackson!" they shout, "on their right and rear!"

Yes, two or three brigades of Jackson's army have flanked the enemy, and are getting in the rear! Now, the fighting was bitter and terrific. Worked up to madness, Wilcox, Featherstone and Pryor dash forward at a run, and drive the enemy with irresistible fury—to our left emerge Hood's Texan Brigade, Whiting's comes after, and Pender follows! The line is now complete, and "forward" rings from one end of the line to the other, and the Yankees, over 30,000 strong, begin to retreat! Wheeling their artillery from the front, the Federals turn part of it to break our left, and save their retreat. The very earth shakes at the roar! Not one piece of ours has yet opened! all has been done with bullet and bayonet, and onward press our troops through camps upon camps, capturing guns, stores, arms, clothing, &c. Yet, like bloodhounds on the trail, the six brigades sweep everything before them, presenting an unbroken, solid front, and closing in upon the enemy, keep up an incessant succession of volleys upon their confused masses, and unerringly slaughtering them by hundreds and thousands!

But "where is Jackson?" asks all. He has travelled fast and is heading the retreating foe, and as night closes in, all is anxiety for intelligence from him. 'Tis now about seven p.m., and just as the rout of the enemy is complete—just as the last volleys are sounding in the enemy's rear, the distant and rapid discharges of cannon tell that Jackson has fallen upon the retreating column, broken it, and captured 3,000 prisoners! Far in the night, his insatiable troops hang upon the enemy, and for miles upon miles are dead, wounded, prisoners, waggon, cannon, &c., scattered in inextricable confusion upon the road. Thus, for four hours, did our inferior force, unaided by a single piece of artillery, withstand over 30,000 of the enemy, assisted by twenty-six pieces of artillery!

In total, we captured many prisoners and thirty pieces of artillery, up to five p.m. Friday, and in the Battle of Gaines's Mills, captured twenty-six field pieces, 15,000 stand of arms, six stand of colours, three Generals—Reynolds, Sanders, and Rankin—and over 4,000 prisoners including dozens of officers of every grade—from colonel to lieutenants of the line.

Money was found quite abundantly about the slain. Some men, in interring the dead, often searched the pockets, &c., one man finding not less than \$150 in gold; another fished out of some old clothes not less than \$500; another \$1000 in Federal notes. Watches, both gold and silver, were found among the spoils, one lucky individual having not less than six chronometers ticking in his pocket at one time. As a general thing, more money was found upon the dead on the field than on any other of which we have heard.

Clothing in abundance was scattered about, and immense piles of new uniforms were found untouched. Our men seemed to take great delight in assuming Federal officers' uniforms, and strutted about serio-comically, much to the amusement of dusty, powder-begrimed youths, who sat idling and smoking in the shade. Every conceivable article of clothing was found in these division camps, and came quite apropos to our needy soldiers, scores of whom took a cold bath and changed old for new underclothing, many articles being of costly material and quite unique.

The amount of ammunition found was considerable, and proved of very superior quality and manufacture. The exact amount captured we have not yet ascertained, but from the immense piles of boxes scattered through the camps, we conjecture that the enemy had laid in quite an unusual supply, expecting to use it, doubtless, upon our devoted men, and so they would, did our troops stand, as they do, at "long taw," and not come to "close quarters."

The cannon and arms captured in this battle were numerous and of very superior workmanship. The twenty-six pieces were the most beautiful we have ever seen, while immense piles of guns could be seen on every hand—many scarcely having the manufacturer's "finish" even tarnished. The enemy seemed quite willing to throw them away on the slightest pretext, dozens being found with loads still undischarged. The number of small arms captured, we understand, was not less than 15,000, of every calibre and every make.

Among the many heroic spirits who sacrificed their lives on the altar of our country in the dreadful, but glorious struggle of "Gaines's Mills," on Friday, June 27, we would particularly mention the name of the immortal Wheat, of Wheat's Battalion—the master spirit of the heroic band, who, from the dawn of our struggle until the present, has always been found in the vanguard battling manfully for our lives, liberties, and homes. At Manassas, the name of Wheat became historical in our annals, for as long as that victory shall remain known to fame, so long will the name of Robert Wheat be coupled with it. Despising petty intrigue, Colonel Wheat desired nothing more than to secure his own beloved South, and to be in active service was his chief delight. Joining Jackson in the Valley, and winning imperishable fame, this gallant man fought all through that arduous but all glorious campaign, and while leading the small remnant of his once numerous battalion to the charge, at Gaines's Mills, was mortally shot in the head. "Bury me on the field, boys," said he, and placidly expired. May he rest in peace.

It is impossible to get correct returns of the killed and wounded. Our loss is probably not over 2000 at the highest calculation. The Federal loss is estimated at 20,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, if not more. The following items we have from Featherstone's Brigade:—

The casualties in the 12th Regiment, Mississippi Volunteers, Featherstone's Brigade, Longstreet's Division, commanded by Major W. H. Lilly, are as follows:—Major W. H. Lilly, wounded early in the morning's action, while leading the regiment in the first charge. In the morning engagement this regiment lost 12 killed, 368 wounded, and 9 missing. The number taken into the field, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, 397. In the evening engagement (Captain S. B. Thomas commanding regiment) the loss was 6 killed, 38 wounded, and 18 missing. Number of officers and privates taken into battle, 308. The regiment thus lost 153 killed, wounded, and missing, during the day, out of 397 men.

The above is as near correct as it is possible to ascertain, as several reported missing have been found killed, and others wounded.

The 19th Mississippi Volunteers lost 31 killed and 150 wounded, out of 521 that went into action in the morning.

A Federal lieutenant, who was captured yesterday morning and brought to the head-quarters of General Lee, reports that two entire regiments had deserted during the morning.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, July 29.

There is very little change in Wall-street; the utmost uneasiness prevails, and before another month passes the elements now at work will produce some troublesome times. A Federal success could not galvanize old-fashioned life into operations, while a reverse would be a death-blow to all transactions.

In the non-seceding States, in ordinary times, the amount of specie and bank-notes used as currency is estimated at \$350,000,000. Mr. Chase has supplied already \$150,000,000 of irredeemable notes, and is about issuing \$150,000,000 additional, and \$60,000,000 Treasury "skin-plasters," warranted not to stick or stop the circulation. Commercial matters are also in a very awkward position, and we are tumbling back to rudeness and barbarism; credit is fast disappearing, or rather, the Government is monopolizing it, for the contractors do not get loans on their own names, but on the Stock Board quotations of the Federal scrip, which they give as collateral security. Even this cannot last much longer.

There is not a single statesman in power in the North; it is therefore believed that there will be no settlement of the difficulties with the South, but that the war will come to a ragged termination by the falling to pieces of the Washington Government. Lincoln is both dishonest and brainless, and his Cabinet is a scene of discord. Cameron was shrewd in getting out of the way; he will be followed by others in a non-official capacity. The Democrats in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Western States are in favour of peace, and are now making gigantic strides towards resuming power. The principal elections do not take place until October, yet there is considerable animation thus early.

The exports of gold since January 1, have been \$40,000,000, a sum just equal to the importations of the precious metals from Europe last year. If this has caused an advance of 20 per cent., what may be expected when the reserve is touched? The sales of bonds and stocks on account of foreign holders are estimated at \$40,000,000, only a small portion of which amount has yet been remitted for.

PARIS, August 13.

Our political world is in a rather excited state just now. It was asserted some time ago that the Emperor would deliver a speech on August 15, which would throw great light on many questions, at present so obscure. But from more recent indications, it appears that the report was unfounded. We have still to look upon *La Constitutionnel*, *La Patrie*, and more especially *La France*, to endeavour to guide ourselves, and form an opinion in the midst of the official complete darkness.

The creation of the new daily journal, *La France*, has caused some comment and excited great attention. Under the present French law, it is not an easy matter to get up a new political paper. It requires a considerable capital, and the editor must besides, especially the chief editor, be personally approved of by the Minister. M. le Comte A. de la Guéronnière, senator, has been the Director of the Press, and, of course, had no difficulty in getting permission to start his journal. He has been called, with justice, the political Lamartine—about the greatest praise that can be bestowed on a gentleman—uniting as he does the grandest talent, the most admirable honesty, to what was M. de Lamartine's one deficiency—statesmanship. He not only is a man of remarkable talent, but enjoys the friendship and high confidence of the Chief of the nation. In fact, everybody knows that in some of his most remarkable pamphlets he has been but the exponent of Napoleon the Third's political views. I gave you in one of my last letters the names of some of the members of the Directing Board of *La France*, and M. de la Guéronnière has

secured the aid of several of the best Paris periodical writers. The first number contained an *exposé* of the Imperial policy at home and abroad. "*L'Empire conservateur et libéral*" is the definition given of the present French policy. About England, it is remarked that "the less England and France shall be allies, the more they will be friends." "England's sympathy was Austrian before Magenta, and has been Garibaldian ever since Solferino." Speaking of the Italian question, "The reconciliation of Victor Emmanuel's Government with Europe strengthens it at Milan, and brings him nearer to Venice, but keeps him further from Rome." And again: "As the French army went to Rome from a sense of duty, so it will remain there from a sense of honour." I think M. de la Guéronnière quite right on this point. The idea of such a bombastic fellow as Garibaldi scattering away an Imperial corps d'occupation from Rome would provoke merriment, if it were not such a sad reflection on human absurdity.

The paragraph on the Eastern question concludes thus:—

The massacres in Syria, the risings in Servia against provoking tyranny, the conflict raging in Montenegro, the no longer to be restrained impatience of all the populations under the Mussulman yoke, are a warning to Europe that the time has come when her legitimate intervention has to bring forward the indispensable settlement of one of the greatest interests of the whole world.

It is a necessity to France, we repeat, not to confine her action in that great movement to one exclusively in common with England. And it is for that reason that the policy of France has to bring out such a situation as would make the great Continental Powers willing to act in concert with her, and would enable her to find allies among the very ones whom some might have supposed likely to oppose her.

Your readers have already been able to read from other sources the confirmation of the intelligence I transmitted to you, that Earl Russell's assertions of a most perfect accord between France and England on American affairs, do not appear to be sustained by facts. It is well known here now that the hesitating policy of the British Cabinet is the only reason which prevents, (and has been preventing for a long time) France from immediately acceding to the demand of recognition from the Southern Confederacy; and the only construction to be put on your Foreign Secretary's equivocal words that may reconcile them with history, is that the French Government agrees with that of England just thus far, that it will not act in contradiction with your own Government. But as regards their respective feelings on the subject, the one's opinion is immediate recognition, whilst the other's is, at least, postponement.

With numerous causes of political anxiety, Paris is rather bare of news. The Emperor has arrived, and will pass a grand review of the army and the National Guard to-morrow. The Bourse is to be closed up to-morrow and on Friday. The French Funds do not seem to have been depressed on account of the Italian *imbroglio*. Some favourable reports have arrived from Mexico, and it appears that the Mexicans have been worsted again in one or two skirmishes. The reinforcements sent are on a more and more important scale. It will be interesting to hear of the voyage of the iron-plated frigate *La Normandie* across the Atlantic. She is the first cuirassé man-of-war performing such a voyage. She carries the flag of Vice-Admiral Jurieu de la Gravière, and is reported to have arrived, after a very successful passage, at Funchal (Madeira.)

The following has some interest, as it shows the tone of one of the highest dignitaries of the French Church addressing his clergy. The Archbishop of Paris, in sending to the curates of his diocese the circular of the Minister of Public Worship, on the subject of the Emperor's *fete*, wrote to them thus:—

Monsieur le Curé.—The following is the letter which the Minister of Public Worship has sent to me on the subject of the grand solemnity of the 15th. The same religious ideas and sentiments which on former occasions inspired the hon. minister, possessing the confidence of His Majesty, and speaking in the name of the august Sovereign of France, are to be again found in the present communication. On our side, Monsieur le Curé, the eagerness to respond to it will be the same. In addressing our homage to the Queen of Heaven, patroness of France, and more particularly of this diocese, we will confide to her our most ardent prayers that France may never cease to be the object of her powerful protection. We will pray for the Emperor, who constantly watches over our destinies; for the Empress, associated in the constant solicitudes of the government of the Empire; and for the Prince Imperial, who grows up near that glorious throne, which he is one day to ascend. She whom the Church teaches us to call the Mother of Mercy, our life and our hope, will be propitious to our supplications, and will abundantly obtain for us, with the heavenly blessing, the grace to make the best and most holy use of it. For the *Te Deum*, which is to be sung with *Domine Salvemur* after the grand mass, nothing will be changed in the arrangement followed in preceding years.—Accept, &c., F.N., Cardinal Archbishop of Paris.

Again, I do not think that the Emperor is going to abandon the defence of the Head of the Catholic Church, and give up Rome to Garibaldi, Mazzini, and the like.

Next week there probably will be some interesting facts to transmit to you from the South of Italy; but we are most anxious to hear from America. We can

expect, in the present condition of affairs, nothing but news favourable to the Confederates. McClellan's and Halleck's united wisdom cannot help the Federal army out of a ridiculous position but by a dishonourable evacuation. Pope barks too much—he can't bite. I expect that Tennessee is now clear of the Federals, and Kentucky will be so before long, if the "old Kentucks" are the same fighting fellows as I knew them some years ago. The Northern Government is falling to pieces. In fact, I do not see any use for it. If I am not very much mistaken, there will be no more Washington Governments after a little while, and no more New York commerce. "Serve them right."

MR. SEWARD AND EARL RUSSELL.

The following correspondence has just been issued. We shall comment on it in our next number.

No. 1.

MR. ADAMS TO EARL RUSSELL.—(Received June 21.)
Legation of the United States, London, June 20, 1862.
My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the despatch from the Secretary of State to me of the 28th ult., which I desired to read to you in my interview of yesterday, but which I found I had accidentally left at home.
Renewing, &c., CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Enclosure in No. 1.

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

Washington, May 28, 1862.

Sir,—Your despatch of the 8th of May has been received. There is a statement in the public journals that thirty vessels which had left British ports with a common design to run our blockade, have gathered at Nassau, and that they are now remaining there awaiting the relaxation of the blockade at some of the Southern ports which the President has permitted to take place on the 1st of June, preferring to avail themselves of that lawful privilege rather than persevere in their prohibited operations. I think, therefore, that we may congratulate ourselves upon having advanced to a new stage in our intercourse with maritime Powers affecting the present troubles in the United States, a stage at which motives of sympathy in foreign countries with the insurgents, derived from the pressure of the blockade, will disappear.

This stage is also marked by another improvement of the case—namely, the withdrawal from the ocean of the pirates who have occasionally sought shelter and protection in friendly ports while committing depredations on American commerce.

Under the President's instructions I desire to improve the position thus obtained, to confer, if our representatives abroad shall think it discreet, with the friendly nations upon the prospects of the war and their future course in regard to it.

By way of introduction, I beg to recall to your recollection the facts that at the earliest proper moment I set forth most distinctly the opinions of this Government that the mutual interest, present and permanent, of all maritime nations, including this country, require the preservation of harmonious relations between them, and that the same interests demand that, so far as possible, peace shall prevail throughout the world, and especially in the United States, and upon the American continent.

In explanation of these views, I set forth the opinion that the industrial systems of Western Europe and the United States, including their agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are, in some respects, to be regarded less as distinct national systems than as one general combination of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial agencies, in which a jar in one country necessarily produces disturbance in all others, so that a serious disorganization of the machinery employed in production here cannot fail to result in derangement, probably in disaster, everywhere abroad.

There are now some painful evidences that these speculations were not unsound. There is distress among the peasantry of Ireland, in the manufacturing towns of Belgium, and the vine-presses and silk-looms in some parts of France seem to be coming to a dead stand. All the sufferers—I will not stop to inquire how justly—trace their misfortunes to the civil war of the United States. It is manifest that what the European nations want is an end of that war as speedily, and leaving the industrial system of this country as little disorganized as possible. It would seem impossible for any considerate person to doubt that this is the very consummation which the Government of the United States must want even more than it can be desired by the European States. This Government has expressed that want earnestly, decidedly, sometimes, perhaps, even impatiently. Nevertheless, the war has continued a whole year, against the wishes of Europe as well as of America. A new campaign is even beginning. In order to determine whether it is likely to reach the desired end, it will not be unprofitable to consider the causes of its prolongation to the present period. This Government at the beginning assumed, and it has constantly insisted, that the Union could, must, and should be preserved. On the other hand, the European nations, when they saw the storm burst upon the country, either doubted, or actually disbelieved the possibility of that great salvation. Europe had but a subordinate and indirect interest in the great problem, and it supposed that if the United States could be only convinced that the Union could not in the end be preserved, they would at once forego the contest, and consent to a national dissolution, which it was erroneously thought would be followed by peace, while we knew that it would only be the beginning of endless war. Thus European opinion has practically favoured the insurgents, and encouraged them with ephemeral sympathies and unreal expectations of foreign intervention, and has thus protracted the war to the present time.

Certainly this Government and the American people are even more confident of the preservation of the Union now than they were a year ago, and are, therefore, even less likely now than they were then to accept peace, with the inconceivable pains and perils of dissolution. Can it be presumptuous, then, for us to ask European statesmen to review, in the light of the events of the war, the opinion which they formed at so early a stage of it, that the opinion itself might, perhaps, properly be deemed a prejudice?

Of course, in such a review, the observer would not overlook the contrast between the position which the Federal Government held a year ago and its present situation. Then it had been practically expelled, with all its authorities, civil, military, and naval, from every State south of the Potomac, Ohio, and Missouri Rivers, while it was held in close siege in this capital, cut off from communication with even the States which had

remained loyal. Now, it has virtually retaken all the positions it so early lost on the seaboard; it possesses the Mississippi and all the other great natural highways, and has forced the insurgents to battle in the most inaccessible part of the insurrectionary district. The forces and the resources of the Government are unexhausted and increasing. Those of the insurgents are diminished and becoming nearly exhausted.

No one, either here or in Europe, now contests these simple facts. The only argument opposed to them is, that the insurgents have determined not to acknowledge the authority of the Union. The evidence of this is a certain resolute and defiant tone maintained by their organ.

Certainly, so long as the insurgents have any hope of ultimate success they could not be expected to discontinue otherwise than in just such a tone, nor will they fail to cherish such a hope so long as they find a willingness to meet it with sympathy in Europe. The very last advices which came from that quarter previous to the arrival there of the news of the fall of New Orleans and Norfolk were full of speculations about some newly-conceived form of intervention.

But it must be remembered that the insurgents are men, and that they may reasonably be expected to speak and to act like other belligerent factions under similar conditions. So, also, being men, and subject to the laws which determine the economy of society, they must in all cases conform themselves, however unwillingly, to the circumstances by which they are surrounded. They cannot, more than other masses of men, determine for themselves, under one state of circumstances what they will do under a different one. A writer upon war advises brave men never to nail their colours to the staff, remarking that if they shall be able, and find it desirable, they can maintain it there without nailing, while it will be more convenient to lower it if they shall find themselves unable or no longer desirous to keep it flying. But, speaking practically what has been the result thus far in the present case? Has disloyalty been found an indomitable sentiment in this war? It pervaded even this capital and this district at the beginning of the strife. It no longer exists here. It divided Maryland, and provoked conflict there. The Union is now as strong in that State as in any one of the always loyal States. It committed Missouri to the pretended new Confederacy. Missouri is now active and earnest amongst the loyal States. It placed Kentucky in an attitude of neutrality; but Kentucky is to-day firm, resolute, and even self-devoted to the Union. In other regions where disloyalty was more general, such as Eastern Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana, and North Carolina, acquiescence under the Federal authorities has promptly followed their appearance there, and the preliminary steps are taken for the restoration of the laws of the Union. It is a simple fact that loyalty reappears everywhere just so fast as the successes of the Government are deemed sufficient to afford a guaranty for reliance upon its protection. The dis-Unionists, even in their strongest holds are not a people, but only a faction, surpassing the loyal in numbers, and silencing them by terrors and severities in many places; but nevertheless too few and feeble to prevent the return of any district or any State to the Union, in the presence and under the protection of the Federal authorities.

The President asks foreign nations to consider that we are only at the end of one year now, and yet the whole effective mass of the insurrectionary region has been brought into the field by conscription. The credit of the revolution is dead before the first dollar has been raised by taxation to support it, and the territory which must bear taxation is at once reduced to the narrowest limits, and is exhausted of its wealth and supplies.

The power of a losing faction under any circumstances must continually grow less. But that of the dis-Unionists is abating under the operation of a cause peculiar to themselves, which it is now my duty to bring forward—I mean the practice of African slavery.

I am aware that in regard to this point I am opening a subject which was early interdicted in this correspondence. The reason for the interdiction, and the reason for the departure from it are, however, equally obvious. It was properly left out of view so long as might be reasonably hoped that by the practice of magnanimity this Government might cover the weakness of the insurgents without encouraging them to persevere in their treasonable conspiracy against the Union. They have protracted the war a year, notwithstanding this forbearance of the Government, and yet they persist in invoking foreign arms to end a domestic strife, while they have forced slavery into such prominence that it cannot be overlooked.

The region where the insurrection still remains flagrant embraces all or parts of several States, with a white population of 4,500,000, and a negro population of 2,500,000, chiefly slaves. It is thus seen to be a war between two parties of the white race, not only in the presence, but in the very midst, of the enslaved negro race.

It is notorious—we could not conceal the fact if we would—that the dispute between them arose out of questions in which the negro race have a deep and lasting interest, and that their sympathies, wishes, and interests naturally, necessarily, inevitably fall on the side of the Union. Such a civil war between two parties of the white race, in such a place, and under such circumstances, could not be expected to continue long before the negro race would begin to manifest some sensibility, and some excitement. We have arrived at that stage already. Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the negro, who hails his coming as a harbinger of freedom. Wherever the national army advances into the insurrectionary region, African bondsmen, escaping from their insurrectionary masters, come out to meet it, and offer their service and labour in whatever capacity they may be desired. So many of these bondsmen have, even without the invitation, and often against the opposition of the Federal military and naval authorities, made their way from bondage among the insurgents, to freedom among the loyalists, that the Government finds itself occupied with the consideration of measures to provide them with domiciles at home or abroad. Not less than 100 such escape every day; and as the army advances the number increases. If the war should continue indefinitely, every slave will become, not only a free man, but an absentee. If the insurgents shall resist their escape, how could they hope to prevent the civil war they have inaugurated from degenerating into a servile war? True, a servile population, especially one so long enslaved as the Africans in the insurrectionary States, require time and trial before they can organize a servile war; but if the war continues indefinitely, a servile war is only a question of time. The problem, then, is whether the strife shall be left to go on to that point. The Government, animated by a just regard for the general welfare, including that of the insurrectionary States, adopts a policy designed at once to save the Union and rescue society from that fearful catastrophe, while it consults the ultimate peaceful relief of the nation from slavery. It cannot be necessary to prove to any

enlightened statesman that the labour of the African in the insurrectionary region is at present indispensable as a resource of the insurgents for continuing the war; nor is it now necessary to show that this same labour is the basis of the whole industrial system existing in that region. The war is thus seen to be producing already a disorganization of the industrial system of the insurrectionary States, and tending to a subversion of even their social system. Let it next be considered that the European systems of industry are largely based upon the African slave labour of the insurrectionary States employed in the production of cotton, tobacco, and rice, and on the free labour of the other States employed in producing cereals, out of which combined productions arises the demand for European productions, materials, and fabrics. The disorganization of industry, which is already revealing itself in the insurrectionary States, cannot but impair their ability to prosecute the war, and at the same time result indirectly in greater distress in Europe.

On the other hand, this disorganization operates far less injuriously at present to the Federal Government and to the loyal States. Every African labourer who escapes from his service is not only lost to the support of the insurrection, but he brings an accession to the productive labour of the loyal States, and to that extent increases their ability to continue the contest in which they are reluctantly engaged. The failure of foreign importation as heretofore in return for the exportation of Southern staples stimulates the manufacturing industry of the loyal States. Immigration is accelerated by an activity in these States resulting from extended manufacture and the prosecution of the war. Thus has the phenomenon appeared, disappointing so many prophecies in Europe, that the war impoverishes and exhausts only the insurrection, and not the Union. I shall not contend that these effects would be perpetual. I know there is a reckoning for every nation that has the misfortune to be involved in a war, and I do not expect for the United States any exemption from that inexorable law; but it is enough for my present purpose that the penalties are neither more severe nor more imminent than the loyal States can endure, while bringing this unhappy contest to its desired conclusion. Let us now suppose that any one or more European States should think it right or expedient to intervene by force to oblige the United States to accept a compromise of their sovereignty. What other effect could it produce than to render inevitable, and even hurry on, that servile war, so completely destructive of all European interests in this country, which this Government so studiously strives to avoid? I know that the danger of any foreign nation attempting such a policy, if it has ever existed, has passed, as I am happy in knowing that no foreign Government has ever threatened such intervention, while several magnanimous Governments have repudiated all unfriendly designs. I have put forward that hypothesis only by way of preface to a question not less significant—namely, what must be the effect of such a policy abroad as will encourage the insurgents with hopes of an intervention which is never to occur? Is not that effect visible in the obstinacy of the insurgents, in their destruction of the cotton and tobacco already cultivated, and liable to be brought into commerce by the return of peace, and in their studied neglect of the planting the seed of their staples, and turning so much of the African labour as they are able to save into the production of supplies of provisions and forage, to enable them to continue the war?

The effect will be further developed as time goes on, in opening a way for that servile war, which, if it shall be permitted to come, will produce infinite suffering throughout the world, and can only at last result in an entirely new system of trade and commerce between the United States and all foreign nations.

I need not say that these views are not grounded on any proceedings or expressions of the British Government and are to be submitted to them only, as they will be to other States, from a strong desire on the part of the President that the true condition of the present strife may be everywhere fully understood.

I am, &c., WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 2.—EARL RUSSELL TO MR. STUART.

Foreign-office, July 28, 1862.

Sir,—I have left hitherto unanswered and unnoticed a despatch of Mr. Seward's, which Mr. Adams delivered to me more than a month ago.

I have done so partly because the military events referred to in it were, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, far from being decisive, and partly because there was no proposal in it upon which Her Majesty's Government were called upon to come to any conclusion.

Events subsequent to the date of Mr. Seward's letter have shown that Her Majesty's Government in their opinion upon the first of these points were not mistaken. Victories have been gained, reverses have followed; positions have been reached in the near neighbourhood of the capital of the Confederates, and these positions have been again abandoned. These events have been accompanied by great loss of life in battle and in hospital, while such measures as the Confiscation Bill, passed through both Houses of Congress, and the proclamations of General Butler at New Orleans, bear evidence of the increasing bitterness of the strife. The approach of a servile war, so much insisted upon by Mr. Seward in his despatch, only forewarns us that another element of destruction may be added to the slaughter, loss of property, and waste of industry which already afflict a country so lately prosperous and tranquil.

Nor on the other point to which I have adverted have I anything new to say.

From the moment when the intelligence first reached this country that nine States and several millions of inhabitants of the great American Union had seceded and had made war on the Government of the President down to the present time, Her Majesty's Government have pursued a friendly, an open, and a consistent course. They have been neutral between the two parties to a civil war. Neither the loss of the raw material of manufacture, so necessary to a great portion of our people, nor the insults constantly heaped upon the British name in speeches and newspapers, nor the rigour, beyond the usual practice of nations, with which the Queen's subjects attempting to break the loose blockade of the Southern ports have been treated, have induced Her Majesty's Government to swerve an inch from an impartial neutrality.

At this moment they have nothing more at heart than to see that consummation of which the President speaks in his answer to the Governors of eighteen States—namely, the bringing of this unnecessary and injurious civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.

As to the course of opinion in this country, the President is aware that perfect freedom of comment upon all public events is in this country the invariable practice, sanctioned by law, and approved by the universal sense of the nation.

I am, &c., RUSSELL.

MR. ROEBUCK, M.P., ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

At the Sheffield annual banquet held on Friday last, and at which Lord Palmerston was present, Mr. Roebuck, in acknowledging the toast of the Borough Members, spoke as follows in reference to American affairs:—

There are things which I would wish to say on the present occasion and which I don't think you will be unwilling to hear. I am the more desirous of saying them considering the great presence in which I speak. You may ask why I have not said these things before? I will tell you why. I did not want anybody to be responsible for what I uttered; and anybody speaking in the House of Commons ought to feel that he speaks under great responsibility, and that that which he says in that House will be, in spite of all he can say, reflected upon the House. But here I can say what I think ("Hear, hear," and laughter), and what I will say will only be reflected upon myself. (Cheers and laughter.) I have one or two things to say, which I shall be very glad for the noble lord to hear, but which I did not desire to say in that honourable Assembly. When I look at our manufactures, I cannot help regarding the persons who produce the things which have made England wonderful over the world; and when I look at the state of a large portion of our manufacturing population at the present time, I am filled with wonderment at their great resistance of all the pressure and difficulties by which they are surrounded, the great intelligence and the great probity they have evinced. Sir, an uneducated people wrecks its anger on the immediate instrument of its misery. If a child runs its head against a table, it beats the table. An uneducated people who suffer from the dearth of wheat, hang the baker (a laugh); and I must say it is greatly to the honour and credit of the people of this country that, during all the sufferings which they have undergone, we have not seen one hand raised against authority, nor heard one word expressed in condemnation of anybody. Sir, in times past I have seen the working man turn against the employer, but we have not seen that now; and why? Because of the effects of education. (Cheers.) One of the most exhilarating things that have happened in my time is, that I have seen this great pressure upon the working classes of this country without one single hand or voice of those working classes having been raised up against any one of the community to which they belong. I wish I could say so of all others, but I do say that it behoves us all to be wonderfully careful how we endeavour to make the working people of this country consider that their misfortunes are in any way attributable to any one of the classes above them. They themselves have looked upon their employers, and seen that they have not made the dearth of cotton, and therefore upon them no anger ought to be visited. And those who govern this country—those who wield the destinies—those who set example and create opinion among us, ought at least to take care that they give no voice to any expressions of blame upon any class in this country for the misfortune and misery which those people are now suffering. Well, sir, I think I am bound, while thus paying my tribute of praise and admiration to the working classes, to express my highest admiration of the conduct of their employers. Nobody less than I is inclined to flatter the rich. I expect nothing from them, but I am bound in justice to express my admiration of their conduct. I now come to that which I wish to utter here, but which I did not dare to utter in the House of Commons. How is it that these people suffer; why do they suffer, and through and by whom do they suffer? The people to whom I allude are the working men of Manchester. The fact of which I speak is the dearth of cotton—the cause of that dearth is the terrible conflict in America. When the dispute between what are called the Seceding States and the North arose, my first feeling was that of great depression and sorrow. And I must at once acknowledge that my feelings were on the side of the North. I have in my early life visited that country, and with all the ardour and enthusiasm of youth I looked upon the wondrous fabric which had been raised by the great heroes of the Revolution. I looked upon the Constitution of that country as a wondrous effort of human skill. Sir, there is now living amongst us a noble Lord who was born before the Declaration of American Independence. He lives now to see that combination broken up. I am speaking of Lord Lyndhurst. He may say very much in the language of Gratian, when speaking of the Irish Constitution—"I sat by her cradle—I followed her hearse." Lord Lyndhurst saw the rise of the American Republic. He has lived to see it shattered to pieces. Well, sir, when I looked, as I did with all the ardour of a young man, upon that wondrous combination, I thought something great and wonderful had arisen for mankind. I saw them with a continent before them wondrous in its fertility, great in its resources, with free navigation, in its capacities unsurpassed, in its extent marvellous. I saw a people of one language, possessed of free institutions from England, working them out for themselves. I said, here is the millennium of mankind—here is, if there be upon the earth, the opportunity for men to govern themselves with wisdom, for their own happiness. I have lived to see that all shattered—split asunder.—Eleven States separated from the remainder of the thirty-four States.—America divided into two, and I think likely to be divided into five, and for ever ceasing to be the United States of America. Well, sir, am I now to grieve at this? My first feeling was grief. My present feeling is one of rejoicing. (Hear, hear.) I say an irresponsible people, possessed of irresponsible and almost omnipotent power, is a people that cannot be trusted. (Applause.) I say that the conduct of the North in its endeavour to cement the union, and reunite the States of America, is an immoral proceeding, totally incapable of success. (Cheers and cries of "No, no!") You may say "No, no," but I have prophesied before, and now I tell you that they can never be united (applause); and that the fight they are now maintaining is a mere shedding of blood and wasting of treasure for no earthly purpose whatever. (Cheers.) I say, moreover, they put forward a pretence; and that they are not fighting against slavery. I know the United States well, and I say that in the North the feeling against the black man is stronger than in the South (hear); that tomorrow, if the States were reunited, slavery would be fixed more firmly than ever. (Applause.) Now, sir, I come to the last reason that makes me feel glad of the result, and that is, the insolent and unbearing conduct of the people of America. (Loud and protracted cheers.) Throughout our intercourse with America, we have been wondrously careful of their sensitive feelings. (Hear, hear.) On almost every occasion we have yielded. We may have thought them petulant, but pretty nearly on every occasion we have given up to them. What has been the consequence? [A Voice.—"They have been very saucy."] The consequence was their conduct towards the Trent; and if there be one bright spot upon the noble lord's escutcheon (protracted and enthusiastic applause), if there be a brilliant feather in the plume which now crowns his forehead, it is the grand stand that he took in the name of the people of England in the case of the

Trent. (Renewed cheering.) And I beg, before this great assemblage, and before the whole world—for there are those here who will send it to the world—to return my most grateful thanks for the great part that he performed on that occasion. (Loud cheers.) Well, sir, a divided America will be a benefit to England. [The Mayor of Manchester.—"No doubt of it."] And it will not be a misery to any portion of their own country; it will be a good. They will be all the better governed, and they will be all the more capable of bullying the whole world. (Cheers.) We, sir, are not a people who like to be bullied. (A laugh.) They have tried it pretty often. The noble lord has shown them the result on one occasion. Now comes the moral of this. I look to Lancashire, I look to her suffering people, and I entreat the noble lord to weigh well the consequence of what he calls "perfect neutrality." There has not been yet perfect neutrality. (Cheers.) England has shipped to the shores of America every possible store, every possible means of aggression, and in consequence of the fact of our merely acknowledging as a belligerent Power the Southern States of America, we could not prevent our people doing that. The noble lord knows as well as I do that all his labours have been totally inefficient, and that at this present moment we are supplying North America with every possible means of offence and injury to the South. (Hear, hear.) I would ask the noble lord deeply to consider—and I am not now speaking lightly; I am not saying that which an after-dinner speech may be supposed to convey; but I am telling my careful thoughts of many months' consideration, which I have reserved for the present occasion, because, as I have stated to you, I wanted no man to be responsible for what I uttered but myself. I ask the noble lord, and glad I am that he is here, to consider deeply whether the time has not come for him to be the first in Europe to ask the great Powers of Europe to recognize the Southern Confederacy. ("No, no," and cheers.) As a politician I say that I know what will be the result. Six months will not pass over before it is done. Then let me tell you why I ask the noble lord so deeply to consider this. The North will never be our friends. (Cheers.) Of the South you can make friends. They are Englishmen; they are not the sum and refuse of Europe. [The Mayor of Manchester.—"Don't say that; don't say that."] (Cheers and disapprobation.) I know what I am saying. They are Englishmen, and we must make them our friends. A hand held out from Europe would stay the great effusion of blood. It would stop to a great extent the exhaustion of their resources; more than all, it would make happy the homes of many of our working men here. Sir, I think of those homes, I think of those people, and I entreat the noble lord to think of them. These things I have said not in a hurry, not in haste, not inconsiderately. I throw them upon the world. I submit them to my fellow-countrymen. I believe they are true, and I think they will redound to our prosperity and honour. (Loud cheers.)

EXPLOITS OF THE CONFEDERATE RAM ARKANSAS.

(From the *Chicago Tribune*.)

United States' Gunboat Flotilla, Wednesday, July 15.

About 3.50 a.m. the gunboats Carondelet and Tyler and the ram Queen of the West got under way, steamed up the river a short distance, turned, and headed up the Yazoo. Rumours had been rife for several days that the Arkansas was preparing to come out, but a large majority hooted it down and scoffed at the bare idea. It seems, however, that those in authority placed some credence in the report, and consequently the two gunboats and ram were sent to look up matters. Upon entering the river the Queen shot up ahead of the rest, the Carondelet following, while the Tyler brought up the rear.

They had proceeded about five miles only when those in the gunboats were startled by the appearance of the Queen coming full speed down the river, with evidently every pound of steam she could make at work on her shaft. She flew by the Carondelet with the words, "The Arkansas is coming," and shortly after a long, low, mud-coloured craft, with a short, thick, black smoke-stack in her middle, puffing out huge volumes of black smoke, came swiftly around the point, and made for the Carondelet. The river was too narrow to turn back, even if Captain Walker had so wished; but the captain is one who knows no such words as "back out," and, swinging around broadside, to avoid raking shots, the Carondelet belched forth a whole broadside on to the rapidly advancing craft. Imagine the consternation produced when the balls were seen to strike and fall harmlessly in the water! "At him again," was the cry, and another broadside was poured into the monster at fifty yards' range, but with no more effect than if so many peas had been discharged. The Arkansas now ran into the Carondelet's starboard quarter with a fearful crash, pouring broadside after broadside into the gunboat, which, passing through the wooden casemate, raked the vessel from stem to stern. The Arkansas showed no intention of leaving her victim, but, remaining along her starboard quarter, raked her fore and aft with pointed shot. The Carondelet's stern and after division of starboard batteries kept up an incessant fire, but the huge solid shot flew off like indiarubber balls. There was no tangible shot to be seen; a very small round hole, just large enough to admit the gun, constituted her ports, and on elevating or depressing the porthole moved with the gun. Finding his guns were doing no service, Captain Walker had his boarders called away, and into the rebel craft they poured; but not a man or a passage could be found. The boarders now returned and the guns set to work, but it was so much powder wasted. The Carondelet's stern was now perfectly riddled, all the officers' quarters shot away, and everything literally torn to pieces. At length a shot cut away the steam pipe, and the scalding vapour spread to every part of the boat. Many of the men jumped overboard. At this juncture of affairs Captain Walker led a boarding party on the rebel's deck, but could find no possible way of getting below. The hatches were all secured underneath, and the smallest kind of aperture or hole was nowhere to be found. This discovered, the party returned to give up their boat only when the bottom of the river called for her. The flag which still floated from her stern was never to be struck to the rebels as long as one board floated to hold it up. What men were left stood by what guns could be brought to bear, and worked them until the Arkansas, thinking she had about finished her victim, pushed along past her and stood for the Tyler, which had stood by the Carondelet through the whole fight. The Tyler discovered her motive, and, knowing her thin frame would stand no chance when brought in contact with the enemy's invulnerable sides, headed down the stream, keeping just clear of the Arkansas and firing her stern battery. This chase was kept up until the mouth of the river was reached, when the Tyler, her boats shot away and badly cut up otherwise, came into view of the whole fleet. Not a vessel in

the whole fleet, from some strange fatality, had steam enough to move. The Louisiana shore was lined with our transports, ordnance boats, &c., while directly opposite them, three or four abreast, lay Farragut's and Davis's fleet, scarcely two of which could fire without pouring their broadsides into some of their own vessels. All eyes were strained to see the cause of the Tyler's commotion. The ram fleet, which lay near the mouth of the Yazoo, are scattering in every direction. A moment more and the long-dreaded Arkansas steamed into full view, and heads right for the centre of our fleet. Bang! goes a gun at the ordnance boat Great Western, while one from her port battery at the rams, who are leaving in every direction. She now passes the Richmond, whose splendid battery of 9-inch Dahlgrens is held quiet by the J. H. Dickey, who lies just opposite. Bang! bang! go two more guns at the ordnance boat. Passing down, she puts two balls into the Champion, while in the meantime her port battery is busy with Farragut's fleet. Steadily she pursues her way, nothing daunted, nothing checked. She is now more than half-way down. She passes the Hartford; but the noble old flagship is situated like the Richmond, for the same broadside which would have bailed on the Arkansas would have annihilated the splendid hospital boat Red Rover, with her cargo of human freight. The Oneida hits her with her 11-inch, but the ponderous missile produces no effect. The Weonona and Wissahicon engage her, but she passes their fire unscathed, unharmed. Can nothing burst the rebel monster? A dubious shake of the head is the only response, as ball after ball drops from her sides into the water. Steadily but surely she keeps on her way, firing one broadside at the transports, and the other at some vessel on the other side. She has nearly run the gamut. One more boat only to disperse her progress, and that the Cincinnati, which, far below the rest of the fleet is doing picket duty near the point. All eyes are upon her, and a repetition of her experience seems inevitable. On comes the Arkansas, seemingly like Anteus of old, picking up new strength at every step. She is sure of her prey, and is making right for it. The Cincinnati had not steam sufficient to tack on her or even hardly enough to hold her head up stream. She slipped her cable, however, and headed for the Mississippi shore, drifting down stream all the time, her own motive power being insufficient to stem the current. The Arkansas, discovering her intention, heads for her, when the gunboat opened a brisk and galling fire on the advancing rebel at short range, the rified Parrots apparently piercing her, the other shots dropping harmlessly off. The ram fires heavily as she advances, and is rapidly gaining on her opponent. When just as all were expecting a collision the Arkansas suddenly checks up, heads the other way, fires a parting broadside, and rapidly leaves the Cincinnati behind her. The gunboat had drawn her into too shallow water, which she had no intention of being caught in. The Cincinnati, assisted by the Weonona, kept up an incessant fire until she had rounded the point and was in the arms of her friends. This unparalleled audacity and boldness elicited unqualified admiration of all. Such a thing never took place before, and will probably never take place again. In broad daylight, in the very teeth of 200 guns, this craft slowly and deliberately made her way, selecting her own victims, and hurling the glove of defiance at the combined fleet. It is an example of cool, daring courage unexampled, and the name of "Caresby Jones," her commander, will be awarded by all men as deserving a place among the list of those "who know no fear." The fact of her success is undoubtedly owing to the circumstances under which she caught us. Our position and everything worked against us. The Essex had discovered a burnt boiler the night before, and a new one was being inserted at the time. The Louisville was lying at the blacksmith boat repairing. The Sumter had her waste pipe out and a new one being inserted. Everything worked in her favor. Those boats that were all ready could not use their guns for fear of doing more damage to their friends than their foes.

I will leave comments on this singular transaction for other pens than mine. Different persons will, of course, have different opinions. All that is left us is to say what might have been, and resolutions what we will do. The Arkansas is safe for a time. I won't answer for her being so long.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Tyler.....	40	33	10
Carondelet	5	20	13
Lancaster	18	10	—
Benton	1	3	—
	34	66	23

Lancaster shot in her boilers; Dickey struck three times; Champion struck three times; Great Western struck once.

THE CRUEL MURDER OF MR. LASLEY AND OTHERS.

The *St. Louis Republican* publishes the following outrage committed by the Federal troops:—"In Monroe county, Missouri, near the Salt River Railroad bridge, on Sunday last, as Mr. James M. Lasley and his family were returning home from church, together with a party of young ladies and gentlemen who were visiting them at their country home, they found their dwelling and grounds occupied by Federal troops, who had been stationed at the bridge. Suspecting no harm, though finding the grounds guarded, they advanced towards their residence, when Mr. Lasley was ordered to get down and go to Palmyra. He replied that they must permit him to enter the house and get a thicker coat, as he would be absent all night. This they positively denied, telling him the coat he had on would do for him. They then placed him and James Price (a young son of a widow lady) and young Ridgeway (an only son of aged parents, in front of the Federal lines. The young ladies, and Mrs. Lasley, with her two children, yet remained on the ground. Having separated these three gentlemen from the ladies, whom they had escorted from church, the officer in command addressed some very insulting words to them. The dreadful truth that they were to be shot at once flashed across Mrs. Lasley's mind, and she darted to join her husband and share his fate, but was caught and held by one of the young ladies present, just as Mr. Lasley and young Price fell, having been shot dead. Young Ridgeway rushed into the woods which were near, but delayed his death only a few seconds, for he was pursued and instantly killed. It is proper, further, to say that Mr. Lasley had taken the oath of allegiance, and was under a heavy bond; that young Ridgeway was also under oath and bond, and that Price was only fifteen years of age. Before this crime was committed, it is alleged that the soldiers had taken possession of Mr. Lasley's house—had helped themselves to everything they wanted—had partaken of a good dinner which the cook was ordered to prepare for them, and had destroyed many household articles."

EARL RUSSELL AND THE LIVERPOOL SHIP-OWNERS.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—A few weeks ago certain Liverpool shipowners presented, through Mr. Horsfall, a memorial to Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, setting forth, "that Federal cruisers were blockading the British port of Nassau, as if it were a Confederate port, and making prize of British vessels sailing from one British port to another with British goods, though such vessels were perfectly innocent of any attempt to run the blockade; that the confidence of mercantile men in the sanctity of the British flag was already so much shaken that underwriters were demanding 10 per cent. for insuring from risk of capture British goods in British bottoms sailing from one British port to another, and praying that steps might be taken by Her Majesty's Government to protect British shipping in the Bahama waters, and to put a check on the unwarrantable seizures so repeatedly perpetrated by the Federal cruisers."

Earl Russell, in his reply, affects to believe that these merchants are asking to be protected from the capture of their property in entering a Confederate port. He says "that it is alleged by Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams that ships have been sent from this country to America with a fixed purpose to run the blockade; that high premiums have been paid with this view." Really this is no answer to the petition of these gentlemen, who do not ask for redress from losses sustained by attempting to run the blockade of any of the Southern ports, but as British merchants they claim the right of carrying on a lawful trade between two British ports. Yet the Foreign Minister says that "he cannot be surprised that the cruisers of the United States should watch with vigilance a port which is said to be the great entrepôt of this commerce." On the same principle Yankee war vessels would have a right to annoy British ships off the port of Liverpool. He further states "that he is aware that many vessels are subject to harsh treatment, and that if captured the loss to the merchant is far from being compensated even by a favourable decision in a prize-court," and suggests that "the true remedy would be that the merchants and shipowners of Liverpool should refrain from this species of trade." What species of trade? The Liverpool merchants do not say that they were carrying *material* of war; but even if they were, have they not as much right to engage in that business as in any other between an English home and colonial port? As well might the Birmingham manufacturers be prevented by Yankee police-officers from sending their products to Liverpool. Earl Russell again dodges the point by saying "if the Confederates had command of the sea they would no doubt watch as vigilantly and capture as readily British vessels going to New York as the Federals now watch Charleston, and capture vessels seeking to break the blockade." But no complaint is made about the blockade of Charleston; it is with regard to the British port of Nassau that he has been addressed. Earl Russell concludes his reply by giving the following gratuitous advice, which is quite irrelevant to the case presented to him:—"That it is the duty of Her Majesty's subjects to conform to Her Majesty's proclamation, and abstain from furnishing to either of the belligerent parties any of the means of war which are forbidden to be furnished by that proclamation." It is only necessary to add, that Her Majesty's proclamation in no manner prohibits any trade between one British port and another, but according to Earl Russell's interpretation it renders unlawful the commerce that is daily carried on between Liverpool and New York, to which, if he had seen fit, he could have long since put a stop to.

London, Aug. 9.

Yours, &c.,

COMMERCE.

GENERAL HALLECK, AND THE EVACUATION OF CORINTH.

The appointment of General Halleck as Commander-in-Chief of the United States' armies, and the proclamation of General Pope to his soldiers in Virginia, warrants our republishing the following extracts from the correspondence of the *New York World*, of June 1, as an apt comment on the ability of one General and the veracity of the other.

CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI, June 1.

The fortifications about Corinth are plain, ordinary entrenchments, constructed of earth and logs, not elaborate or expensive, hardly first-rate, about six miles in length.

They are not superior to any of ours two miles from them, and thrown up in a couple of days, and not equal in strength and science to those of our right wing. To speak the truth, they are precisely such as a great army, advancing, retreating, or remaining in the face of an equal foe, would throw up in a night. I was immensely disappointed in them. I have really got up in the morning, ate my three meals, and went to bed again for the last month, in nauterable awe of these Gibraltar-Sebastopolian fortifications of the enemy at Corinth. I walked round about them to-day, marking well their bulwarks, telling the towers thereof till my sides were sore with merriment and my lips sore with chagrin. With the single exception of the abatis of fallen trees, 500 yards wide in front of them, there is nothing under heaven about the fortifications at Corinth—their situation, style, or strength—more than the most ordinary and temporary fortifications possess. They protect the north and east of the town, and lie about half a mile from its outskirts. My word for all this, of course, the military lightning to the contrary notwithstanding.

After describing the town, the fortifications and his conversation with several of the few remaining inhabitants, the writer proceeds:—

So I went all over the late tested field of the vast enemy—all over the fortifications—all over that town—talked with the frank druggist and the sturdy Irishman that had worked upon the railroad. And so I write what I saw in grief, mortification, chagrin, and shame. I said yesterday, "I'll write no more; others may; I can't. Patriotism will not let me write what I have seen and can swear to. I will not stir, nor wince, nor speak a word." To-day, gradually, almost imperceptibly, my pen has gone after the theme that frets and stings me—the evacuation. Let "hot irons burn out both my eyes" if I do not love my land, my nation, my Government better than I love anything below the heaven where God is. And when I write such words as I am sometimes compelled to, if I write at all, I am afraid lest in exposing military ineptitude I shall wound and damage the beautiful commonwealth that struggles so tremendously for existence and perpetuity.

But I do religiously believe that it is best now for the commonwealth to hear and heed what is bitter, undisputed fact—the Confederate strategy since the Battle of Shiloh has been

as successful as it has been superior. Taking the enemy's stand-point, and writing when and where I do, I cannot possibly imagine how it could have been more eminent for perfection or success. Taking our stand-point, the stand-point of the Union's hopes and Halleck's fame, I cannot possibly imagine how it could have been more mortifyingly disastrous. If the attack at Shiloh was a surprise to General Grant, the evacuation of Corinth was no less a surprise to General Halleck. If the one ruined Grant, the other has laid out in pallid death the military name and fame of Major-General Halleck. That order, "Don't bring on a general engagement,"—now a household word that makes this army wince,—lasted, I am reliably informed, down to an hour when there was no enemy with whom it was possible to bring on a general engagement.

The druggists says he was two weeks getting away. But aside from such testimony, could the army of Beauregard be removed so cleanly and completely and noiselessly during a night, or a day and night, or two days and two nights? Could it? Did it require the tremendous concussion of the magazine explosion to get into our ears what we would not get into our eyes—the evacuation? Why, that was the final act of the mortifying drama. On Friday morning we went in. The prisoners that we captured amounted to about 400. Four hundred! Even the heggarly account of picket regiments and light artillery that fought us so boldly got away. Those that we caught declare that they were kept in ignorance of the movements at Corinth, and were as much surprised at the evacuation as ourselves. Corinth has been searched in vain for a spiked or disabled gun. Shame on us, what a clean piece of evacuation it was!

Never shall I forget the pertinacity with which that long, lean line of Confederate pickets, backed, perchance, by some 5000 muskets and a few six-pounders, disputed every inch of our advance, while the vast, imposing host behind them—leaders, stores, cannon, commissaries, knapsacks, shoe-strings, tooth-picks, and all—quietly and leisurely flowed away from its entrenchments. I haven't seen the telegram that the censor sent you. Surely it concluded with the stereotyped encouragement, "Our cavalry in hot pursuit of the flying enemy." At this writing there are no results from the "pursuit." I prophesied a fight at Corinth, and believed there would be down to the moment that I heard the magazines explode. Beauregard fooled me. I am not much ashamed of that. I am no strategist. I am no scout or spy, and employ none. It is my business to record the doings of the National rather than the Confederate army. General Beauregard fooled, hoodwinked, outwitted General Halleck. I am ashamed of that. I winced under it as much as if General Beauregard had spit in General Halleck's face—Oh, more, of course! I did not see how an illustration could be equal to the case. I am speaking the unvarnished, the unpalatable truth. My eyes are writing what they saw, my ears what they have heard, my conscience what it believes. And to say the galling fact, there is nothing here but chagrin and shame, disappointment and disapprobation over these empty entrenchments, this bootless, bloodless, occupation of Corinth.

Better for General Halleck that he had remained in St. Louis, or had never been born, than to have taken the field. Shiloh only killed a chief that was half dead before. Grant never had universal confidence. Corinth has killed a chief that took the field, everybody his friend. He had no field fame, however. It was fame as executive head of a department. He did ably and well at St. Louis. We reasoned from St. Louis to Corinth. General Halleck had the popular vote on his side. His army hoped mightily in him; it was such a change from Surprise Grant, they say. The press was his friend; the most powerful friend he had. A score of gifted and able pens within his lines wrote for him. Every letter had his name in it in a proud way. Not for his sake especially, but for the blessed Union's sake, we help him. The press can help the sword, or hinder it, or render it as harmless as a tea-spoon. Look what aids he had. Not beardless blackheads with an inch of yellow on the shoulder, but giants in influence, scattering his name with high praise from the rivers unto the ends of the earth—men at the pen in the great city and the tented field.

Who spoke against General Halleck? Whom would the omnipotent newspaper permit to speak against him? His field fame, negative as it was, was fair and promising, and everything that he could desire. He had never fought a battle or led an army. "But he can do it and will—as no other man can or will." That was what we all said and insisted on. Certainly I said it. In almost every letter I had something flattering for the chief. I have no more modesty than to say that I wrote for him as if I had been bribed to write for him. I started the story of "Old Brains." Every little helps, I thought. I gave it to another correspondent. He published it, and I had the satisfaction of seeing it printed far and near. "Good!" cried the newspapers in chorus, "He is familiarly known as Old Brains." He wasn't.

I had an appetite for everything in the way of incident, or what not, that should create enthusiastic confidence in him. I know how much depends upon it.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES.—Upon this subject the *New York Caucasian*, of July 26th, has the following editorial:—"The supporters of Mr. Lincoln's Administration are constantly declaring that the doctrine of State sovereignty, as taught by Jefferson and Jackson, and all the great leaders of the American Democracy, is the cause, the very original sin that has brought all the existing troubles on the country, and that there will be no peace, or safety, or order in the future, unless this doctrine is exploded, and the Federal Government consolidated into irresistible and unquestioned supremacy over the States. Indeed, Mr. Lincoln himself declared, that State boundaries and State authority are much the same as county regulations, and if a State may resist the rule of the Federal Government, why, forsooth, a county may, with equal propriety, resist the rule of a State! Furthermore, it is constantly assumed that Mr. Lincoln was not only fairly elected, but elected by the majority, of course, and the South, out-voted and beaten at the polls, turned about and resisted the will of the majority, duly and legally expressed through the ballot box. Indeed, this falsehood is so constantly repeated, and so unquestioned by the Democratic press, that almost every one has the impression that Mr. Lincoln is the far exponent of the majority of American votes, and that the doctrine of "State sovereignty" has been perverted by bad men in the South, to nullify the popular majority and defeat the will of the American people. But the facts are just the reverse of all this. Mr. Lincoln did not receive one-third of the popular vote, and holds power alone through the organism of State sovereignty. If, therefore, the doctrine of State sovereignty be unsound, Mr. Lincoln is a gross imposter, and has no right to hold office an hour, for he holds it alone through the sovereign will of a majority of the States, and against the will of two-thirds of the American people.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN A DEAD WEIGHT FROM HIS BIRTH.

The *Washington Sunday Morning Chronicle* of June 22, published the following interesting and authentic anecdote of "the Infant M'Clellan." The late defeat and retreat of the young Napoleon is a strange comment on the wonderful incident and the justifiable conclusion deduced from it by the authentic narrator:—

"Thou art weighed in the balances, and art 'not' found wanting."—Daniel, v. 27.

An incident, which occurred in the city of Philadelphia, in the winter of 1826-27, is particularly worthy of record in our present crisis, inasmuch as it relates to the early history of one who fills a position commanding the attention and admiration of the world, and particularly of our own country.—In order to better authenticate the statement, as well as to refer to certain antecedents, I will premise that I visited Philadelphia that winter for the purpose of attending a course of medical lectures, and became the private pupil of a distinguished surgeon, then a professor in one of the medical institutions in the city.

Now for the incident. In the winter above referred to, a son was born to this distinguished surgeon. The event had scarcely transpired before the father announced it to his delighted pupils. In a few moments more, scales were brought from a neighbouring grocer. Into one dish he placed the babe—into the other all the weights. The beam was raised, but the child moved not! The father, emptying his pockets, threw in his watch, coin, keys, knives, and lancets, but to no purpose—the little hero could not be moved! He conquered everything! And, at last, while adding more and more weight, the cord supporting the beam gave way, and broke, rather than the giant infant would yield!

That father was George M'Clellan, M.D., late of Philadelphia, and that son is George B. M'Clellan, our young commander of the Potomac.

The country will perceive a prophetic charm in this incident. Truly he was weighed in the balance and not found wanting. May his present and future life stand the test as well. Surrounded as he is by traitors at home, while rampant rebellion is before him, I hear him, amidst the jealousy and envy of cavaliers, quietly praying with Job, "Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity!"

Philadelphia, June 17, 1862.

THE OUTRAGE IN ALABAMA.

The correspondent of the *Louisville Democrat* writes as follows in reference to the conduct of General Turchin's soldiers in Athens, Alabama:—

General Turchin said to his soldiers that he would shut his eyes for two hours, and let them loose upon the town and citizens of Athens—the very same citizens who, when all the rest of their State was disloyal, sailed the national colours to the highest pinnacle of their Court House cupola—these citizens, yet to a wonderful degree true to their allegiance, had their houses and stores broken open and robbed of everything valuable, and what was too unwieldy to be transported easily, broken or otherwise ruined; safes were forced open and rifled of thousands of dollars—wives and mothers insulted, and husbands and fathers arrested if they dared to murmur—horses and negroes taken in large numbers—ladies were robbed of all their wearing apparel, except what they had on—in a word, every outrage committed and every excess indulged in that ever was heard of by a most savage and brutal soldiery towards a defenceless and alarmed population. All, too, by those who pretend to represent the United States' Government. This is an everlasting disgrace, that can never be wiped from the page of history, but which demands immediate and prompt action, and the execration of all lovers of law and good government.

I am responsible for these statements. I have no more doubt that they occurred just as stated than I have of my own existence. I know similar acts disgraced the same brigade of our army when we occupied Bowling Green, Kentucky, and the matter was hushed up to save the credit of our army, hoping it would occur no more; but this leniency failed to have its proper effect, and it is no longer endurable. The good of the service, and the character of every Union soldier, cries for the punishment without mercy of such disgraceful conduct.

I am yours, &c.

THE TEXT OF MR. LINCOLN'S CONFEDERATE PROCLAMATION.

In pursuance of the sixth section of the Act of Congress, entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which Act, and the joint resolution explanatory thereof, are herewith published, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim to and warn all persons within the contemplation of said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding, countenancing, or abetting the existing rebellion, or any rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to return to their proper allegiance to the United States, on pain of the forfeitures and seizures as within and by said sixth section provided.

CONFEDERATE CURRENCY.—The following letter has appeared in the *Times*:—"In the *New York* letter of the 25th July, published in your impression of this morning, I find the following remarks:—"New York made itself merry a month ago at sight of a few Confederate notes for ten cents that had been rifled from the pockets of the slain, and brought North to be exhibited as curiosities of the war. But the Confederates, in all their distress, never issued notes of a less denomination than ten cents." Your correspondent refers to Southern bank notes, the Confederate Government never having made any issues below the value of \$5. All their notes are made payable six months after the treaty of peace with the United States, and are convertible at any time into coupon or inscribed bonds having twenty years to run, bearing 8 per cent. interest, but redeemable in ten years, at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. The bonds and notes are secured by a direct tax of a-half per cent. on all real estates, slaves, merchandise, bank notes, railroad, and other corporation stocks, money at interest in the purchase of bills, notes, and other securities, except bonds of the Confederate States, and cash in hand or on deposit. Colleges, schools, charitable and religious corporations are exempted. The Treasury notes of the Confederate States are not a legal tender, except in payment of dues to the Government, but the patriotism of the people is such that they pass from hand to hand as currency for all transactions."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no rumour or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1862.

The Latest Intelligence.

THE news per City of Washington affords the most complete evidence of the perilous position of General McClellan's army. His troops are suffering severely from scurvy, the inevitable consequence of being cut off from supplies of fresh provisions. But this is not the only cause for great anxiety, or that induces the open discussion of the prospect of the evacuation of the Peninsula. The Confederate batteries on the south bank of the James River have become harassing and dangerous. On August 1, the "Federal shipping was damaged," a significant admission; and further, the head-quarters of Colonel Ingall were effectually shelled. The position of McClellan is untenable. He receives "but few reinforcements," and since his troops are suffering from disease occasioned by want of fresh supplies, the fewer reinforcements he has the better for him. The reported reconnaissance to within fourteen miles of Petersburg is a very palpable blunder, for Petersburg is on the south side of the James River, where the Confederates are in great force; and we need hardly add that under the circumstances it is utterly impossible for the Federals to have crossed the river.

From General Pope's antecedents, it was to be expected that he would write some sensational despatches, and therefore we are not in the least surprised to hear that he has announced the evacuation of Richmond. Possibly a contraband, having seen large bodies of troops moving to the south of the James River, informed the Federal commander that the Confederates were evacuating the city, and the Federal commander believed the information, and transmitted it to the Government. At Washington it was thought so incredible that the Confederate capital, though not threatened with attack, should be evacuated, that pestilence was suggested as the only possible solution of the enigma.

General Pope is said to have driven two regiments of cavalry from Orange Court House, which is an outpost of the Confederate army at Gordonsville. We are not told that General Pope kept possession of Orange Court House.

The recruiting makes "little or no progress," and Mr. Lincoln has ordered 300,000 men to be drafted from the militia, and further notified that if the 300,000 who are already called for are not forthcoming by August 15, the deficiency will be made up by a special draft from the militia. In five weeks, notwithstanding the offer of liberal bounties, not more than 10,000 men have volunteered, and therefore the Government decides to press 600,000 men into the service. This enormous addition to the army is no doubt necessary for the prosecution of the war, but the wholesale conscription will be eminently unpopular and may probably be resisted.

The proclamation of the Federal Governor of Kentucky is considered treasonable. Where can Mr. Lincoln expect to find loyalty, if an officer elected under the pressure of a Federal army, is guilty of treason?

The intelligence from Vicksburg is important. An unsuccessful attempt has been made to capture the rain Arkansas, which resulted in severe damage to the Federal gunboats Queen and Essex.

Position of the Federal Armies.

THE new aspect of the war has brought about a marked change in the conduct of the Washington Government. Until lately every defeat was called a victory, and the Northern armies were represented as unconquered and unconquerable. Even after the seven days' battle the disaster of General McClellan was designated as a "brilliant strategic movement," and there were abundant assurances that his army was perfectly secure and would shortly advance on Richmond. Since then the Government has been dead-locked for recruits; and as soldiers have not been obtained by means of these glorious reports an opposite course is being tried. Confederate triumphs are not altogether ignored; the danger of General McClellan is paraded; General "Stonewall" Jackson is reported to be in half-a-dozen places at the head of large bodies of troops; and though the conquest of the South, if need be by the extermination of the Southerners, is still treated as an inevitable consummation, it is declared that more men are immediately required to accomplish the "manifest destiny." The appeal is in vain, and more than in vain. The Irish, Germans, and the scourgings of the Atlantic cities, which are the staple of the Federal army, did not enlist from any feeling of patriotism, but for pay, the prospect of plunder, the expectation of getting a share of the rich and fertile South, and from the promises held out that the war would be neither long nor bloody. But instead of booty they have ghastly wounds; instead of victory, death and disaster; instead of the subjugation of the Confederates being effected in a single campaign, at the end of the second campaign the North, after making tremendous sacrifices in men and money, is as far as ever from the attainment of its ambitious object. So the Irish, Germans, and scourgings of the Atlantic cities, refuse to recruit the army, not esteeming the large bounty as sufficient recompense for the dangers of battle and pestilence; and so far from this repugnance having changed by the avowal of danger, it is thereby intensified. They were ready to enlist for a triumphant march through the South, but if the Union is in danger she must look to herself. And, indeed, it is but fair that the native-born Americans of the North should take their turn. But will they? Only under compulsion; only if King Mob, tired of recruiting the army, insists upon their so doing. We do not mean that the best classes of the North lack courage, and that they would not defend their country and homes if invaded; but to risk their lives in an invasion of the South is another matter. They are patriotic enough to attend recruiting meetings; they do not mind expending a goodly sum in bounties; for the conquered South would be an inestimable treasure, and would save the North from ruin; but they are not patriotic enough to enlist at the bidding of Mr. Lincoln to help him in the war of aggression. The imminence of the crisis is admitted, yet after five weeks of ceaseless effort not more than 10,000 men respond to an urgent call for 300,000; and at Washington, as well as at St. Louis, the Irish are manifesting their unwillingness for fighting. It is not unusual for a country depending upon mercenary troops to be thus deserted in the hour of need.

The Washington Government proclaims the danger of General McClellan; and truly, they cannot easily conceal or exaggerate it. We are told, "the present position of General McClellan's army is said to be good for defence, but neither favourable for offensive purposes, nor for a retreat." Can we conceive a worse position for an invading army than being placed unfavourably for offensive purposes or retreat? Suppose its position for defence to be so good as to be impregnable, what then? Is it not a useless charge to the country? But General McClellan is not unassailable; and he must move, be the movement ever so disastrous and costly, or he must surrender. The remnant of the once great army of the Potomac is resting on the North bank of the James River, and from Richmond to the Federal camp the Confederates are masters of both sides of the river, and further up the river, on the other side of

Richmond, they have massed an army of reserve, readily available for active operations. Such are the obstacles that make a Federal advance "unfavourable," not to say impossible. On one flank General McClellan is threatened by the Confederates on the south bank of the Chickahominy; a little to his rear and on his other flank, by the Confederates on the south bank of the James River. The latter position is particularly menacing. The stream that divides the armies is at that point narrow. McClellan occupies ground ten feet above the level bank of the river, but the Confederates, nearly opposite to him, occupy ground nearly 350 feet above the level bank of the river. With light artillery they have been able to shell a part of the Federal camp, and when their heavy guns are in position they will be able to shell a much larger portion, if not the whole, of the camp. Thus, on either flank he is harassed and menaced by the enemy, as well as in his front, and further, the enemy is in his rear threatening to cut off his supplies. These are the circumstances which render his position untenable, although it may be good for defence against an attack. We do not say that McClellan could resist a combined Confederate assault; on this point it is unnecessary we should offer any opinion; but we do say that McClellan cannot endure the state of siege. Well, since it is unfavourable to advance, and impossible for the army of the Potomac to remain where it is, what are its prospects of retreat? At a considerable distance in the rear of McClellan, on the south bank of the James River, the Confederates occupy some more elevated ground, which, being planted with heavy artillery, will give them the command of the James River, so far as the passage of transports is concerned. Let it be remembered that the Confederates on the Chickahominy, though nearer, are also in the Federal rear, and that on both rivers they can be easily reinforced from Richmond or from the army of reserve to which we have already referred. Thus McClellan is completely surrounded, and to add to his anxieties "a new Merrimac and another ram" have come from Richmond and put in an appearance at Turkey Bend. We will not speculate on the possibility or probability of these Confederate vessels emulating the exploit of the Arkansas, and defying and even repulsing the whole Federal fleet of gunboats; but their presence cannot fail to dispirit the army, and in the event of an attack from the land forces, preventing the Federal fleet assisting McClellan in his defence. Assuming, however, that the appearance of the "new Merrimac and another ram" is only a demonstration, and that the passage of the river is not rendered impassable by them, it is evident that McClellan's evacuation of his present position must be made under particularly unpromising circumstances. We will not paraphrase Northern arrogance, and say his escape is impossible, but we submit that an army was never more critically situated.

The other movements in Virginia, reviewed through Northern reports, are simply unintelligible. General Pope has taken the field, and, it is said, with 60,000 men, and that he has advanced beyond Warrenton. As usual, General Jackson is ubiquitous, though now it is confessed that nothing definite can be ascertained about him, and that it is uncertain whether he is going to attack McClellan or Pope. General Ewell is reported to be at Gordonsville, in command of a corps 30,000 strong—a position, be it remembered, which a few weeks ago was said to have been occupied by General Pope. The conclusion from these contradictory rumours is, that the Federals are quite in the dark as to Confederate movements, and that General Pope is not able to make a diversion to relieve McClellan from his perilous position.

In the West Federal affairs are not one whit more hopeful. Grand Junction has been occupied by the Confederates, who have also taken possession of the greater portion of the railroad between Memphis and Corinth. What now have the Federals gained from General Beauregard's withdrawal from the last named place? We have no news respecting Confederate movements in the neighbourhood of Nashville, and we may be sure that if the Federals had had

any good news from that quarter it would not have been concealed. Kentucky, as well as Missouri, is again reported to be swarming with guerilla bands, and the Governor of Kentucky—the Federal Governor, be it observed—thinks the juncture so critical that he has convened the Legislature to consider the military condition of the State, the late action in reference to slavery, and for the purpose of devising measures for the protection of Kentucky institutions. The sole glimmering of Federal success in the West is a report that two guerilla bands have been repulsed—not a very unlikely or a very important triumph, when the whole country is swarming with such bands. These guerilla bands, we learn from the Confederate Secretary of War, are under the direct control of the Government, and so can be amalgamated into armies with facility; and these armies, if necessary, can be poured into Tennessee. The army in the West appears to us to be in as bad a plight as the army of the Potomac.

A body of Confederate troops have entered Florence, Alabama, destroyed the Federal stores, advanced along the line of railroad, and burnt large quantities of cotton to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; they have also succeeded in capturing a part of General Mitchell's army. These successes are not only considerable in themselves, but they make it improbable that General Mitchell will be able to advance into Tennessee to assist the Federal army in that State.

The situation of Vicksburg is remarkable. Commodore Farragut has not taken his fleet to New Orleans, as was reported a short time since; but he no longer threatens Vicksburg, and his remaining near to that city, is in all probability, compulsory. Whether the report of his sending a flag of truce to General Van Dorn is true or false, thus much is certain, that the ram Arkansas did him considerable damage; that the sickness in his fleet is so great that half his crews are disabled; and that not only has the river receded so much as to prevent him operating against Vicksburg, if there were no other obstacle, but on the 25th of July it was estimated that there was only eighteen feet of water between Vicksburg and New Orleans; the draught of his larger vessels is sixteen feet, and the waters of the Mississippi were still steadily falling. In some respects the positions of Commodore Farragut's fleet and General McClellan's army are analogous. The fleet may be in a "good position for defence, but neither favourable for offensive purposes, nor for a retreat."

There is a startling rumour that the port of Mobile has been opened by ten Confederate gunboats, purchased in England. This, of course, is a fabrication, but it is not impossible that the port may have been opened by gunboats fitted out at Mobile. The Federals have no longer an undisputed naval supremacy. A few months ago Lieutenant Maury announced the formation of a Confederate fleet, and the announcement was received with a shout of derision in the North; and certainly to people who could not thoroughly appreciate the unswerving energy of the South, excited to the utmost by the presence of the hated invader, and the conviction that a fleet was indispensable to prevent the complete blockade of their rivers, it was not altogether unreasonable. But the Confederates have triumphed over the apparently insurmountable difficulties, and they have not only been enabled to equip formidable vessels of war, but they have found commanders whose skill and deeds of naval daring have covered the nascent Confederate fleet with glory.

The Cotton Manufacture and the Cotton Famine.

POLITICIANS, and especially official politicians, appear to take a very loose and inadequate view of the actual state of things in the manufacturing districts. The Ministerial measure of relief, the Ministerial speeches in its defence, the language held on all

sides by, men not connected with the suffering counties, all indicate a general misapprehension of the nature and extent of the prevalent distress. Our leading statesmen do not love the Cotton interest; they will never forgive the triumph of the Anti-corn-law League, or forget the mortification with which some of them submitted to follow its guidance, and others opposed it in vain. Nor do they understand the condition and circumstances of this great industry; they have never been forced to study them; and we know that in these busy days a statesman has little leisure for political investigations which are not forced on his attention. Generally prosperous, Lancashire has in the worst times contrived to take care of itself. Even at the commencement of the present crisis, it was long before any serious cry of alarm from the threatened trade reached the ears of Cabinet or Parliament; it was long before any serious alarm was generally felt by the manufacturers themselves. The Session of 1861 closed before the pressure had reached the operatives, or affected wages. Throughout the autumn and winter the case became gradually worse; the majority of the manufacturers had been losing steadily since April, if not since January; their losses became more and more severe, until many of them found it necessary first to work half-time, and then to close their mills entirely. In the meantime the more fortunate few, who had hitherto contrived to make a small profit, began to lose. Gradually the price of cotton rose, and the amount of employment fell; and when Parliament met at the beginning of this year, it was notorious that the distress in Lancashire was great, general, and increasing both in extent and in severity. Still the Ministers remained incredulous, and their incredulity naturally influenced Parliament, conscious of their access to better and fuller information than private members enjoyed. The truth seems to be that from the first the Cabinet had treated the question as one for the management of a single Department; had conceived that the case was quite within the reach of the regular system of legal relief, and might be safely left in the hands of the Poor Law Board. Now, the Poor Law Board is likely to be more widely, elaborately, and obstinately mistaken on this subject than any other observer, official or private, because it has immediate access to a great store of information, and all that information is of a kind likely to mislead it entirely. It trusted to the returns from the Unions of the number of persons in receipt of parish relief. In agricultural districts, where the labourers are poorly paid and have no resources to fall back upon, the increase of pauperism may very fairly measure the diminution of demand for labour, and the consequent distress. Not so during the first six or nine months of distress in Lancashire. First, the people are accustomed to regular work at ample wages; and before they are really in a condition to come to the parish for aid, they may have been subsisting for a very considerable time upon half or less than half their usual wages. If, in any district, there are mills stopped which employ 2000 hands, and mills employing 8000 are running short time, it is clear that the amount of loss of wages, and consequent distress are not to be measured simply by the first number. Yet even of the 2000 a very small proportion will immediately find their way into the parish books. The Lancashire operatives have resources; they have savings; they have furniture; they have credit; they receive in many cases liberal and long-continued aid from their employers. When all these are exhausted, it is with extreme shame and passionate repugnance that they are forced to accept parish aid. In their eyes, the distinction between a duke and a day-labourer is trifling as compared with the distinction between a labourer and a pauper. Therefore, until a point has been reached which even yet is very far off; until half-time has entirely given place to closure, until all the resources of the people themselves and of private charity are exhausted, until the self-respect of the artisan yields to his own hunger and the hunger of his children, the increase of pauperism is no measure of the suffering endured. The disposition to rely on the evidence of the Poor

Law Returns has contributed to maintain the political world in ignorance of the amount, the generality, and the depth of that suffering; ignorance which time and information are gradually dissipating.

We believe the truth to be this. About 500,000 operatives are immediately engaged in the cotton mills, and these represent a population of about 2,000,000. Probably as many more are indirectly dependent on the same trade. A very small number, of the first class, employed in special branches of the trade, are still and may possibly remain in full work. Of the rest, some are employed for two or three days a week, under which circumstances the more fortunate of them—those whose families do not number many young children, and who have not many more mouths to feed than hands to earn—may contrive to live from day to day on their wages; having nothing wherewith to buy clothes, and no reserve for the increased expenses of winter. The majority are wholly unemployed; the half-employed will soon be in the same case. This state of things has endured for six months; for six months previously it had been gradually approached. The longer it lasts the more intolerable is the suffering it produces. At first, the more industrious or more thrifty contrived to meet the pressure by withdrawing from savings banks, or co-operative stores, the accumulations of better seasons. Then they had recourse to the credit always to be obtained—at whatever indirect expense—from the small shopkeepers, until the capital of the latter was exhausted, and they could give credit no longer. Finally, they must pawn or part with their furniture—break up the neat and comfortable homes which they had pinched and toiled to adorn, and in which they take an honourable and manly pride. They do this, and they do it without a murmur. Without one angry expression towards their masters, without a resentful feeling against the rich, without discontent or disloyalty towards the Government, they submit to ruin. They see their wives part with their humble finery, go shabbily dressed to Church, or walk out on Sundays in patched cotton garments—things which they feel as keenly as a poor curate or broken-down gentleman. They see their children insufficiently clad and scantily fed; see them grow pale with unaccustomed and unexpected want; and yet they are patient. It is only of degradation that they are impatient, only against pauperism that they murmur. And yet into that dreaded gulf must sink ere long nearly all the direct dependents of the cotton trade, and a large number of those connected with it in a secondary sense; for cotton is scarcely to be had, and, at present prices, that which can be had can hardly be worked.

Not only do people unacquainted with Lancashire generally underrate the extent and depth of the present wretchedness, they still more greatly underrate its permanent effects. There has been not merely a cessation of profits, but a very large waste of capital. First, the manufacturers have been, on the whole, working at a loss for eighteen months—at an enormous loss for the last nine or ten months. They are losing at least 5 per cent. when they resort to short time; at least 10 per cent. when they close their mills. In many cases the loss has been very much greater than this. In the hope of relief, manufacturers have kept their mills open when losing the whole amount paid in wages, or even more, partly out of kindness towards the workpeople; partly in order to keep their hands together until better times. While the mills stand, this consumption of capital is going on; and if the present state of things should last much longer, Lancashire must by this process of waste be permanently and severely impoverished. Next, the working classes of Lancashire had, at the beginning of the pressure, a great deal to lose. They had amassed very considerable sums, which were invested, and very well invested, in those "joint-stock companies" of the workman, the co-operative societies. Other large sums were in the hands of various friendly and benefit societies; a good deal of money was laid up in savings banks. The homes of the people were generally comfortable—much money had been invested there. The working classes, in fact, were capitalists on a small scale;

and capital was raising them in character, in self-respect, and in social position. Now a great part of that capital is gone, and another year of the Cotton Famine will see it all swept away. It had seemed not improbable that the co-operative movement would introduce improvements of incalculable value into the relations between Capital and Labour; but the Cotton Famine threatens to swallow up the co-operative societies, and destroy in two years the laborious work of twenty. The operatives were learning thrift; they had become a saving class. but the Cotton Famine has untaught the lesson so hardly instilled. The savings of many a life-time of self-denial are now swept away at once; years of thrift fail to do more than delay the hour of inevitable pauperism. Who, with this text before him, will ever again preach thrift to the existing generation? Who, on such a theme, will find willing and believing hearers? It will be well if the experiences of this terrible season have not demoralized, as well as pauperized, the most intelligent, best, and most self-reliant class of English working men. Be that as it may, twenty-years will not repair the ruin which this distress, if prolonged for another year, will have wrought.

There is no possibility of remedy or relief but in a speedy, ample, and cheap supply of the indispensable staple. It must be speedy, or our manufacturing industry will be ruined, masters bankrupt, and operatives dispersed, before it comes; it must be ample, to give full work to mills which can use 50,000 bales a week; it must be cheap, for otherwise its quantity will be of little service. At present prices we cannot consume the cotton we have, for manufacturers cannot work it at a profit; and, therefore, the hope of some Job's Comforters, that present prices must bring a supply, is as unsatisfactory as experience has proved it erroneous. Whence is it possible, then, that a supply, cheap and abundant, may be obtained, and obtained in time to save the manufacture from perishing? It must be remembered that we have to take into account not merely our own demand, but that of the world at large; for foreigners have equal access with ourselves to the cotton fields and to the cotton market, whether on British soil or elsewhere; even if Liverpool take the place of New York and New Orleans, and become the sole cotton emporium, the foreign demand, as well our own, must be met in Liverpool. We have, then, to provide not 2,500,000, but about 5,000,000 bales a year. From whence?

First. There might be such encouragement given by the present prospects of the trade to cotton cultivation in Africa, Egypt, Brazil, and the West Indies, and perhaps in Australia, as might in time supply the required amount.

Secondly. The development of internal communications in India might open to us a cotton field of indefinite extent, supplying an inferior but abundant article.

Thirdly. It is possible that the American supply may yet be set free, in which case our need would be immediately and fully met.

We will pass over the innumerable doubts and difficulties which beset the question of increased cultivation in the minor cotton-fields. We will not even stop to point out that so long as the American stock exists, and the possibility of its release, and the resumption of cultivation, is not too remote to influence calculations, no prudent man will enter on so extensive a speculation as that of cotton-growing, liable to irremediable ruin if that possibility should be realized. We will simply remind our readers that both the former sources of supply—extended communication in India, and extended cultivation elsewhere—fail in the essential requisite of immediate availability. The creation of a new cultivation, or the large development of one already existing, requires not months, but years. The development of internal communication in India, however energetically carried out, must also be a matter of time—must occupy a very considerable period. As yet little or nothing has been done in either direction; it is not likely that much will be done during the next three or four years. Meantime, by depreciation, by wear and tear, by actual expenditure, the

fixed and floating capital of Lancashire, engaged in the cotton manufacture, is wasting at the rate (at least) of 15 or 20 per cent. per annum. Before, from India or elsewhere, an adequate supply can be obtained, the manufacture will have perished from inanition, the capitalists will be without capital, the workpeople pauperized, starved, scattered, or driven to emigration.

Unless, then, the third resource can be rendered available—unless by some means our trade with the South shall be restored in time to encourage the planting of a sufficient crop in the spring of 1863, and to save the existing stock—it is not easy to escape the terrible conclusion, that the cotton manufacture of Lancashire must share the doom of the silk trade in Spitalfields and in Coventry; that it must be extirpated as it has extirpated the handloom trade, and die out amid the ruins of the wealth which it has created, and amid the agonies of a starving population whom it has called into being—to whom cotton is bread, and whom the Cotton Famine has already reduced to penury, to hunger, and almost to despair. Thankful that no part of a responsibility so awful rests upon us, we would earnestly entreat those who have the power, and have assumed the responsibility to consider well, before it be too late, the vastness of the ruin which a continuance of the present condition of affairs must spread over the most flourishing districts of England, and the impossibility of restoring an industry which it may even now be possible to save.

The Sheffield Manifesto.

THE press has been designated "the Fourth Estate;" and we would suggest that there is in this realm of England a very powerful institution which might appropriately be named "the Fifth Estate." We mean the political, we may almost say the parliamentary, campaign in the provinces, that lasts from the end of one session until the commencement of the next. The speeches delivered at corporation dinners, at county meetings, at agricultural shows, at institutes, everywhere, and on all possible occasions, by peers, ministers of the crown, and members of the House of Commons, exercise a vast influence on public opinion. English legislators are always held responsible for their words whether spoken in St. Stephen's, or out of doors—excepting, perhaps, the hustings' speech on the day of nomination—and therefore, after the session, when the restraining etiquette of the House, but not the individual responsibility, is removed, we can more readily ascertain the views of members. And be it observed, that views enunciated during the recess are avowed and repeated in Parliament. Mr. Roebuck's speech at Sheffield was not a mere after-dinner effusion, but a solemn declaration and manifesto of an influential member of the House of Commons—of a politician whose fame is European—of a gentleman whose inflexible integrity of purpose has made him respected by his political enemies, and loved by his political friends. The gravity of the occasion was increased by Mr. Roebuck's introductory remarks. He expressed his anxiety to speak in the presence of the Prime Minister, and said he had not spoken in the House of Commons that the House might not be held responsible for his utterances. The same feeling has restrained many members from fully expressing their sentiments on the American crisis; but now the ice is broken, and there will be no more such hesitation. Mr. Roebuck informed his auditors that he was "telling his careful thoughts of many months' consideration, which he had reserved for that occasion." Listening to the brilliant language of the Member for Sheffield was the First Minister of the Crown, who had received a gratifying ovation, because of his high office and his personal popularity. If Lord Palmerston thought the cheers that greeted his cautious remarks about American affairs were a sign that the people of this country are indifferent to the gallant efforts made by the South to secure independence—or to the injustice, brutality, and barbarism of the North—he must have been undeceived by the

tumultuous applause that endorsed Mr. Roebuck's stern denunciations.

The hon. member confessed his former admiration for the United States, that in the ardour of youth he had looked upon it as the millennium of mankind, and that when he first heard of separation he deeply lamented the event. Yet he no longer regrets the separation, but, on the contrary, his present feeling is "one of rejoicing." He has found that an irresponsible people possessed of irresponsible power is not to be trusted; and with honourable frankness he declared, "a divided America will be a benefit to England; and it will not be a misery to any portion of their own country; it will be a good." Having commented on the uselessness of the Northern aggression, and disposed of the sham plea of slavery, Mr. Roebuck spoke of the violent and overbearing conduct of the North. And the actions of the Federal officers, especially such men as Butler, Mitchell, Turbin, and the ruffian who decreed and enacted the massacre of Mr. Lasley and his friends, proves that when the opportunity serves this bullying is supplemented by actual and savage brutality. The insolence of the North, not only in the press and Congress, not only in the insane hostility of the people, but in official acts, in insults to the British flag, in blockading a British port, in threatening an attack on Canada, has disgusted the people of this country, and made them agree with Mr. Roebuck's emphatic declaration, "The North will never be our friends." On the contrary, the hon. member truly remarked that "we can make friends of the South." "They are Englishmen; they are not the scum and refuse of Europe. I know what I am saying. They are Englishmen, and we must make them our friends." Of course, when Mr. Roebuck spoke of the "scum and refuse of Europe," he did not include the whole people of the North, but the dominant mob and the unscrupulous leaders thereof. How are we acting towards the kindred South? Lord Palmerston says we are maintaining a perfect neutrality; Mr. Roebuck recites the notorious fact that we are "supplying North America with every possible means of offence and injury to the South."

Mr. Roebuck, therefore, urged upon Lord Palmerston the duty of recognizing the South. He told him a hand held from Europe would stay the effusion of blood and waste of treasure, and that it would make happy the homes of many of our working men. All honour to those who thus care for the welfare of a class who, under the most trying circumstances, have exhibited heroic patriotism. Famine-stricken Lancashire artisans have not turned against their employers, because they know their employers are not responsible for the dearth of cotton. Let them not feel that any class is responsible for the prolongation of their sufferings for a single hour. Mr. Roebuck asks the noble lord to think of these suffering people and of their no longer happy homes. Surely not an unreasonable request. Surely the affliction of our artisans and their wives and children is as worthy of the consideration of the Prime Minister of England as is the sensitiveness of the New York mob.

The Two Campaigns.

WE do not purpose in this article to give a history of the war from its commencement until the end of the second campaign, for such a survey could not be compressed into our available space, and, moreover, the events are too fresh to be treated historically. Our desire is to point out a few prominent features, so that we may be able better to appreciate the present position and future prospects of the belligerents, by glancing at the past and its manifest results and lessons.

On April 15, 1861, Mr. Lincoln made a call for 75,000 men; but that he determined on hostilities before that date is unquestionable. Mr. Seward, on May 1, thus wrote to the Union Defence Committee: "There is not a word of truth in any of the newspaper reports of the armistice, made or proposed; that sort of business ended on the 4th March." That is, Mr. Lincoln's inauguration did

away with any chance of a pacific solution, and from then until April 23, when the Confederate Commissioners received their answer, the Washington Government was, with unsurpassed duplicity, dallying with peaceful envoys when war had been fully determined on. The call of the Federal President was immediately responded to, and, further, the New York and other Northern Legislatures voted additional supplies of men and money. President Davis replied to this menacing attitude by calling for 32,000 men—2000 from Florida, and 5000 from each of the other States then comprising the Confederacy. This moderation is a remarkable proof that the South, even at that crisis, did not contemplate any aggressive movements; and so far from assuming a threatening position, the demonstration was purely defensive. With this fact before them, we do not wonder at the holiday alacrity with which the 7th New York Regiment of Militia marched down Broadway *en route* for Washington. On April 20, Northern excitement was increased by the burning of the Gosport navy-yard by the Federals, and Mr. Lincoln was enabled to get the additional troops he called for at the beginning of May. Notwithstanding these preparations, and the blockade of the James River and Hampton Roads, there was so little appearance of determined hostilities that it is not surprising the idea, that after all there would be no war, should have been entertained in Europe; but on May 24 the Rubicon was passed by the invasion of Virginia, the Mother of Presidents and the generous donor of Sovereign States, by Federal forces under General Mansfield; and that may be considered the opening act of the first campaign, though Mr. Lincoln's call for 175,000 men was the first act of the war. As soon as the Confederates became aware of the strength of the invading force, they withdrew from Harper's Ferry, and other frontier places, and massed their forces at and near Manassas Junction, so as to offer an effectual resistance to the contemplated Federal advance on Richmond. These movements were hailed by the North as joyful omens of the coming victory that was to crush out the "rebellion;" and the enthusiasm of the populace was further increased by the surrender of General Pegram, with 600 men, to Generals Rosencranz and McClellan. On the whole, the Confederates had the best of the preliminary skirmishing in Virginia; but, nothing damped the confidence of the Federals, and consequently, the complete defeat at the Battle of Manassas, commonly known as the Battle of Bull Run, was a terrible surprise. Bull Run was not merely a panic, and a rout, but it was a battle resulting in the defeat and ruin of an army. In its consequences it was an important, because a decisive battle. It proved the futility of the Federal policy of making a little war to conquer the rights and will of millions of a superior race, and it determined the North to go to war in earnest. In the South the victorious issue of the first great battle induced a feeling of confidence in the ultimate issue of this great struggle not to be shaken by reverses incidental to the war. On Europe the effect of Bull Run was tremendous, for it proved conclusively that the South had been grossly misrepresented by the North as to her spirit and physique. From that moment the dissolution of the Union was regarded as *un fait accompli*.

The Northerners were disappointed, not disheartened. They could afford to confess, and even exaggerate, their defeat, for their resources were unimpaired, we might almost say, untried. The miserable fiction of Union sentiment in the South was still credited by those who honestly wished the restoration of the Union. Resolute efforts were made to retrieve the disaster. The Irish, the Germans, and the scourings of the Atlantic cities, stimulated by the hope of plunder, readily enlisted, and a large army was collected. General McClellan was placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac, and in October displaced General Scott as Commander-in-Chief.

Whilst gigantic preparations were being made for the renewal of the attempt to advance to Rich-

mond, there were not only numerous skirmishes in Virginia, but other important operations were in progress. On July 5, there was a battle between Governor Jackson of Missouri and Colonel Siegel, in which the Federals were compelled to retreat, but notwithstanding the loss of men, baggage, and position, they claimed the victory. On August 20, General Butler bombarded the fort at Hatteras Inlet, which was, after a sharp contest, evacuated by the Confederates. On September 10, the Confederates were defeated at Summerville. There was skirmishing in many places, but no decided engagements. The Federal Government, not being able to cope with their adversary on land, wisely determined to make an effort with their gunboats. On the 12th of that month, a naval expedition left Hampton Roads for Port Royal. This incident marks the termination of the first campaign. What had been the gains of the invaders, or the losses of the invaded? There is, we conceive, a large balance against the North. The South had been surprised, but not defeated. On the contrary, the army that was to overcome the rebellion had been subjected to a mortifying defeat. In other places Federal advantages had been fully compensated by Confederate advantages. It is an axiom of war that an invader who does not conquer is virtually conquered. Tried by this test, the North had failed in the first campaign; but, further, the North had really been beaten in the only great battle fought, and so beaten that the army was destroyed, for the participants in such a fight as that of Bull Run must be greatly demoralized. If the issue of the campaign did not warrant despondency, it certainly did not justify arrogant triumph and overweening confidence; yet, in November, General McClellan made a speech in Washington, in which he remarked, "the war cannot be long, but it might be desperate;" and about the same time Mr. Cameron, the then Secretary of War, made a speech at Astor House, in which, according to the summary telegraphed to Europe, he said "the day of reverses for the Federal army had passed. He urged the people to wait patiently till General McClellan's preparations were completed, and said that General would pledge his life on victory." We do not find fault with General McClellan for not redeeming his pledge.

The next campaign may be divided into three principal series of movements—the operations of the gunboats on the Mississippi, the proceedings of the army of the West, and the contest in Virginia. The achievements of the Virginia (Merrimac), the blockade of Southern ports, and the doings of the Sumter and Nashville, had an indirect, though important, bearing on the war; but with regard to naval matters, it will suffice to observe, that when we consider the smallness of the Confederate means for constructing a fleet to compete with the enemy, that to cover the celebrated Virginia they were obliged to use railroad iron, that in the whole of the Confederate States there is not a rolling mill, we may wonder that the South has been able to do so well as she has done. The Southerners have an hereditary fondness for the sea, whilst the Northerners do not take kindly to it, and even the mercantile marine of the United States, which is, or ought to be, the nursery of the navy, is largely recruited by foreign sailors.

The great success of the Federals on the Mississippi was the capture of New Orleans. It is true that this was due to natural causes beyond calculation and resistance, but it was not the less painful to the South. It has, however, turned out a worse than barren victory to the North. It made Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, and Vicksburg urgent in defence, and so far successful. It has demonstrated to the North and to Europe that there is no Union sentiment in the South, but that, on the contrary, the mere mention of a renewed connection with the North induces an expression of bitter loathing. The heroic bearing of the people under the infamous rule of General Butler is a Confederate triumph. The cotton burning that preceded the Federal occupation of New Orleans and Memphis was a terrible blow to the invading hordes, whose hopes of plunder were thus frustrated. To complete

the list of Federal gunboat successes, we must record the taking of Port Royal, of Fort Henry, of Roanoke Island, of Fort Donnelson, and of Island No. 10. It has been said, and we think rightly, that the North has gained the most in the Mississippi; yet how valueless those gains have turned out. The attempts on Vicksburg, Charleston, and Savannah have been abandoned, and the fleet under Commander Porter has returned to the Hampton Roads, and Commander Farragut is reduced to a state of inactivity, and will, if he can, go to Memphis.

The campaign in the West may be very summarily described. On April 8 the Federals were defeated at Pittsburg Landing, and from then General Beauregard kept the army of General Halleck in inactivity until it was decimated by sickness, and surrounded and hemmed in by the enemy. Beyond the writing of despatches giving accounts of victories never gained and of captures never effected, General Halleck has done nothing, except to place his army in an unenviable position. The result of the Western campaign is a general uprising, and the paralysis of the Federal army. Kentucky is manifesting its detestation of Northern rule; in Missouri the Confederates are stronger than ever; and the Federal General has been driven out of Arkansas.

The war in Virginia has been exciting and brilliant. In that State the greatest efforts of both sides were made. The Confederate victories in the Shenandoah Valley, under General Jackson, were glorious, and all-important from their bearing on the fate of the army of the Potomac, for they deprived McClellan of reinforcements, and disconcerted the Federal plans. General McClellan has exactly followed the lead of his enemy, and has been most completely out-generaled. He remained before Manassas until the Confederates found it convenient to evacuate that place, and then the Young Napoleon discovered he had been kept at bay by wooden guns. He remained before Yorktown, making careful approaches, until it suited the Confederates to evacuate that position. In this case he followed the enemy with more daring, and was rewarded by some severe repulses. Lastly, he has been beaten at Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks; although his weakness was exposed by the celebrated cavalry exploit of Colonel Stewart, he remained before Richmond till the Confederates were ready to give him battle, and to drive him back for six days until the bleeding remnant of his army found rest under the shelter of the gunboats on the James River.

At the end of the second campaign we see the North despondent. The revenue has been taxed and strained to the utmost. Their great army is annihilated. The general who pledged his life on victory has been completely beaten. Instead of Richmond falling, Washington is supposed to be in danger; but the cry of "Wolf" has been raised once too often, and the President calls in vain for another army. The whole South has become a hostile camp. Not only is there a total absence of Union sentiment, but an unmistakable resolve on the part of the South to achieve independence at any sacrifice of property or life. Both campaigns have resulted triumphantly to the South, but the latter is by far the most significant, because it shows that, after unparalleled sacrifices in men and money, the North has not made any step towards the conquest of the South. At the end of the first campaign gold and recruits were abundant; at the end of the second campaign there is no likelihood of recruiting the army, except by a conscription; and gold is at 17 per cent. premium, silver at 15 per cent. premium; even the copper currency has failed, and the Government have issued notes for half a cent.

We have continually to record heart-sickening instances of Federal atrocity. We confine ourselves to those cases that are authenticated by Northern witnesses and reports, and they are sufficiently numerous and savage to make the name of the United States execrable. We were mistaken in supposing that General Butler's infantry would be without parallel.

Last week we noticed the outrage sanctioned by General Mitchell, perpetrated under the orders and personal direction of a Federal colonel, and as yet not condemned by the Federal Government. We could not dwell upon the diabolical scene enacted at the girls' school; such a deed cannot be described in print, and can only be spoken of amongst men with bated breath. The massacre at Monroe, Missouri, though peculiarly horrible, demands no such reticence.

The tragedy, even when told in the limits of a newspaper paragraph, is terribly graphic. Mr. James M. Lasley was returning from church, with his wife and children, and accompanied by some young ladies and gentlemen, who were visiting at his country house. When Mr. Lasley reached his home he found it in possession of Federal soldiers, but he advanced without fear. What should he fear, seeing that he had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and was under a heavy bond? Suddenly he was stopped, and ordered to go to Palmyra. Still the unfortunate gentleman had no thought of danger to his life, and asked for permission to go into the house to get a thicker coat. He was told the coat he had on would do. He was then seized, together with Mr. Ridgeway, the only son of aged parents, and a poor boy fifteen years old, the young son of a widow lady; and the three victims were placed in front of the Federal lines. Mark the infernal barbarity of every detail of the proceeding; till the last the pretence of a journey to Palmyra was kept up, so that the murdered men and boy might not have an instant to prepare for death. As soon as Mrs. Lasley saw the position in which her husband was placed, a horrible presentiment of the awful tragedy that was to ensue flashed across her mind, and she rushed forward, but was kept from her husband by the soldiers. The officer in command for a few minutes amused himself with grossly insulting Mr. Lasley and his friends; then he gave the order to fire, and Mr. Lasley, in the presence of his wife and children, fell dead, as did the boy Price, the young son of the widow. Mr. Ridgeway, the only son of his aged parents, was wounded, and rushed into the adjoining woods, whither he was instantly pursued and butchered.

Any comment on this narrative would be worse than superfluous.

"BREVITY is the soul of wit." The truth of this well-worn adage was never better illustrated than it is by a letter written by the eminent Lieutenant Maury to a friend in France, and which we reproduce in another page. This letter, which opens with a dignified and touching avowal of patriotic devotion, cannot fail to produce a deep impression upon Europe. With wonderful conciseness and admirable clearness, it eloquently reviews the position of the belligerents at the commencement of the struggle; the conduct of the Federals, the sham plea of humanitarianism, the resources of the South, the large benefits derived by the North from the late connection, the defensive attitude of the Confederacy, and the much-vexed question of intervention. The condition of the Southern army just before and even at the Battle of Manassas completely answers the malicious and vindictive charge of Southern conspiracy and preparation; and shows the indomitable energy and determination of the people in facing and overcoming such difficulties. The exposure of the Northern trick of forging Southern newspapers will account for many seeming inconsistencies, and be a caution not to believe any Southern extracts that appear in the Federal press, nor, indeed, any Southern newspapers that are not received direct from the South, and not through the agency of the United States' Post-office. This newspaper juggle is surely the *coup de grace* of Northern deception. The account of the "cute dodge" will be found in Lieutenant Maury's letter elsewhere given; it is however, sufficiently significant and important as a warning to be here repeated.

Happily, for the cause of truth, you, in Europe, are beginning to find the Yankees out, and to understand their mendacious proclivities. They know it, and have recently resorted to a "new dodge." You have ceased to believe their newspapers,

and have begun to find out that their representations of the Southern cause, of Southern prowess, sentiments, and feelings are not to be depended on; so they now send you what purport to be Southern papers; but they are counterfeits printed in the North.

They will take one of our Richmond papers, for instance, duplicate its form and type, copy its advertisements, fill its reading columns with their own inventions, give it the Richmond imprint, and send it abroad as a *bona fide* Southern paper which you will be sure to believe. From this counterfeit their own papers are filled with extracts credited to the Richmond papers. Thus the designing men there still seek to deceive their own people and the world.

They boast of this as one of their "cute Yankee tricks." They are a curious set.

The Yankees, in this war, have equalled the Chinese in falsehoods. Their generals lie to their soldiers, to one another, and to their Government, and their Government to the world.

THE exploit of the ram Arkansas is one of the most curious and startling incidents of the war. When the Virginia (Merrimac) made her memorable *debut* in the Hampton Roads, and achieved a success which set the Governments of Europe thinking about the immediate reconstruction of their navies, it was supposed, the affair having settled the question of the superiority of iron to wood, that there would not be another such surprise unless another iron-clad vessel encountered a wooden fleet. But here we have the ram Arkansas damaging a fleet of iron-clad gunboats, and gaining a victory against overwhelming odds, from which we may learn that since a single ram may pass through an iron-clad fleet, we cannot dispense with the protection of iron-clad batteries. In another part of our impression will be found an account derived from Federal sources, and we direct attention to the skill, coolness, and courage displayed in the execution as well as in the plan of the exploit. The gallant commander of the Arkansas richly merits the praise bestowed upon him by the Confederate Government. The substitution of iron for wood in naval warfare does not render daring and ability less conspicuous and effective.

Reviews.

A NORTHERN VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WAR.*

"In the name of the Prophet—nothing!" The mountain has been in labour and has not brought forth so much as a mouse. All the ideas in the Count de Gasparin's book are plagiarized from the orations of Wendell Phillips and from such authors as Mr. Olmsted; all his prophecies have been falsified by the events of the last four months; and as for the principles promised in the title page, we have not been able to find a vestige of them, unless the author refers to the practice of naming black white and white black, as a principle. We cannot call the volume before us a hash of stale Northern advocacy, because a literary hash implies some skill in cooking up old materials; and the Count de Gasparin may, for ought we know, be very skilful as an agriculturist; but in "America before Europe" he does not manifest the slightest aptitude for authorship. Nor should we be justified in designating this work a compilation, because the word "compilation" conveys some idea of arrangement; and the only approach to order we can perceive is in the table of contents. However, this book has the merit of being harmless, excepting that it is rather profane in frequently quoting the name of God and the principles of Christianity in support of suggestions palpably false. Moreover, "America before Europe" is extremely funny, but the humour is a lucky accident, and not due to the ability of the author, for it consists in its being read when its dull oracles have been falsified by events. There are one or two references to a book published last year, the "Uprising of a Great People." We confess we have not read Count de Gasparin's first deliverance on the American war, but we have read the present volume from the beginning to the end, and any one of our readers who may in this respect follow our example will be convinced that the virtue for which Job is celebrated flourishes in the nineteenth century of the Christian era. The author's style is beyond criticism; but the pungency and dignity of his sarcasm may be inferred from the instance of his always speaking of the President of the Confederate

States as Jefferson Davis, and of the President of the United States as Mr. Lincoln.

According to his own admeasurement, Count de Gasparin is a very great man, a huge Colossus; yet he professes to be modest, peculiarly modest, and to have no desire to boast of his second sight. In page 3 he proclaims to the pigmies of the earth, how in 1860 he said there would be an uprising of a great people, and that the American people have arisen. It is not the Count's fault that some millions of persons prophesied the same thing at the same time; it was exceedingly naughty of the dogs to bark when Sir Oracle was about to hold forth. Now and then our author throws off his modest mask, and grandiloquently parades the immensity of his powers. Here is a specimen:—

Do not fear. I shall cite neither Grotius, nor Puffendorf, nor Vattel, nor Burlamaqui. I am not a juriconsult, although I have studied legal points like others, and the debates of the Council of State have familiarized me with that sort of discussion. Let us lay aside the rubbish of schools, and use the language of common sense.

Some men despise learning because they are ignorant. Not so the Count de Gasparin. He is well up in Puffendorf, Vattel, and the host of them; although not a vulgar juriconsult, he has studied the points, his senatorial wisdom has familiarized him with that sort of discussion. But, good people, all the learning of the world is rubbish compared to the common sense of our author. The Count de Gasparin "has laid aside the rubbish of the schools," but it happens, unfortunately, that "his language of common sense" is unintelligible.

Our author is inconsistent, and his opinions undergo a wonderful change in twelve pages. At page 7 we read:—

We would have said that Europe leaped with joy at the thought of reading the United States in twain. From the first moment, she seemed to cling to this idea, and to be unwilling to renounce it.

Turning to page 19 we find these words:—

The first impulse of Europe was warmly in favour of the North; its right, at least, was doubted by no one. * * * Our convictions have become modified by degrees, and we have repented of our first innocence.

The only way of reconciling the above passage is to assume that the author believes that "the first impulse of Europe was warmly in favour of the North," because "Europe leaped with joy at the thought of reading the United States in twain." If this is his meaning, the Count de Gasparin is the most candid Northern partizan we have encountered; if not, his meaning is involved in impenetrable obscurity.

In the preface we read:—

I owe thanks to those persons from whom I have been continually in the receipt of information of all kinds. I have been particularly gratified with the collection of official documents which the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, has had the kindness to send me.

What the documents are is information not vouchsafed to us, but if "America before Europe" is in any degree a reflex of them, the European estimation of United States' official documents is fully confirmed. Still, we would not, if we could, shatter the faith of Count de Gasparin in the documents emanating from the Washington Government. Such simple faith must greatly comfort him, and it hurts no one. When he heard of his demi-god, General McClellan, being driven from before Richmond, losing his artillery and numbers of men, what a satisfaction he must have derived from hearing officially that it was "a brilliant strategic movement," and from Mr. Lincoln, that the army of the Potomac "had not been whipped, and never would be whipped."

The sum of Count de Gasparin's opinions is this:—Secession is a wicked rebellion to support slavery, and the North is a holy, virtuous, unselfish nation, making enormous sacrifices to benefit the negro whom it so fondly loves. Europe ought to have cursed the South, and not lost "the single occasion of seconding otherwise than by words the most glorious work of modern times." Europe has neglected her duty from envy of the beautiful system of Government of the United States, and its results. The war would not have gone on if Europe had refused to recognize the belligerent rights of the South, which recognition was extremely wicked. The conduct of England has been unexceptionably bad; "through misapprehension of America, England has ceased to be England;" but what England has become the Count de Gasparin does not inform us. In the Trent affair Captain Wilkes was a little out of order, but England was monstrously in the wrong, and the Governments "at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Turin, as they were unanimous in deciding the technical question of right against America, so were they unanimous in deciding the moral question against England." The South Carolinians hate the people of New England because "freedom of speech, freedom of the press liberty of labour, everything that wounds the susceptibilities of slaveholders, is found in the frontier

* *America before Europe: Principles and Interests.* By COUNT ALEXANDRE DE GASPARIN. Translated from advance sheets by MARY L. BOOTH. London: Sampson Low, Son and Co.

States, peopled by Roundheads." The suspension of the *habeas corpus* Act and the censorship of the press in the United States must, of course, be myths. The South can be brought back into the Union. As for the burning of cotton and tobacco, "this doubtless will not be done." The currency of the South is "paper rags, and nothing else." The author omits to add that in the North such a thing as a paper currency is unknown. The general impression that the present is a war between the United States and the Confederate States is erroneous. "It is true that this is not a war of the North against the South, but of the United States against Europe." And many other equally astounding propositions may be found in the book before us; but possibly our readers have had enough of Count de Gasparin's opinions.

Our author speaks of the South finding the Northerners "brothers in country, religion, and blood." Certainly invasion, robbery, and confiscation are very brotherly acts. The Count de Gasparin applauds the way in which the war has been conducted. "Upon the whole there has been fighting [wonderful admission!]; but the horrors which have polluted civil wars have been avoided with care." There is nothing horrible in the conduct of General Butler. There is nothing horrible in an officer permitting his soldiers to treat schoolgirls in a way that cannot be written. There is nothing horrible in butchering a man before his wife and children without an hour's warning, or in shooting a boy fifteen years' old in cold blood.

The Count de Gasparin finished his work on March 4, and being fully assured the United States would prevail, he wrote as follows:—

It is for them to demonstrate by facts that these are so many calamities. Their armies are ready, their fleets are built. The season favourable to operations in the South has arrived, the question is to go forward with energy, and inaugurate an era of brilliant successes. At the price which their war is unfortunately costing them, it is necessary that it be short, under pain of its becoming impossible. Their paper currency disquiets their best friends. They have a few months of real security before them—a few months, and no more. Let there be no illusion on this point! If in a few months the superiority of the North be not established, if the issue of the conflict remain in the least doubtful, seditious interests will, perhaps, intervene in favour of the South.

To act to day, therefore, to act quickly, to act energetically—such is the first article of their programme.

And this is now their second—in case that, contrary to all appearances, the campaign which is about to open should not result in the brilliant triumph of the North; in case that, contrary once more to all appearances, the decisive successes of the North, and the measures taken by it for the progressive abolition of slavery in the conquered South, should not bring forth the manifestation of the Union sentiments now suppressed, it would then be necessary to take one of those difficult resolutions which a great people should know how to adopt at need. To take necessities into account, to see things as they are, to be resigned to what cannot be helped, is also to serve one's country.

He who is resigned too soon is cowardly: he who is resigned too late is in danger of entering into conflict with the very designs of God. Perhaps God has willed precisely the course that grieves us most; perhaps, according to His sovereign plans, emancipation must be wrought by separation; perhaps the South must be chastised by its victory; perhaps the uprising must be accomplished by great sorrows.

If this should be unhappily true, it would be wisdom to recognize and become resigned to it. After an unfortunate or inefficient campaign, when the mediation of Europe should be offered (and it would be in this case, without doubt), when the question would be to order new Treasury bonds, to brave ruin, to hasten to bankruptcy, to defy the great allied Powers, to undertake a new war, a colossal war, a hopeless war, good citizens would be those who should counsel peace.

Will Mr. Seward follow the advice of his friend? Will the North obey the counsel of one of its most unscrupulous partisans? What possessed Fortune to make the unpalatable advice so applicable. Even the Northern vindicator admits the time has come for mediation.

We will conclude by quoting "a Jubilee Song" which is sung secretly in the South, 1862 being the year of jubilee. The following is the chorus:

"In eighteen hundred and sixty two,
My people must be free;
It is the year of jubilee,
My people must be free."

The tune to which this doggerel is sung, in the Count de Gasparin's heated imagination, is not stated, but probably it is the popular melody of "Bow, wow, wow."

On the Recognition of the Southern Confederation. By JAMES SPENCE, Author of "The American Union," and the S. Letters to the Times. London: Richard Bentley.

MR. SPENCE'S pamphlet is marked by that logical acumen, and is written with the clearness and animation that together make his works both popular and convincing. In forty-eight pages we have a lucid résumé of the principal claims of the South to be recognized, and a refutation of the objections urged against recognition; an unanswerable historical argument to show that the United States cannot be the first nation to recognize

the South; and it is shown that the policy as well as the duty of England is to recognize the Confederation without delay. A lengthened review of Mr. Spence's pamphlet in the columns of THE INDEX is needless; but we quote his concluding remarks, which are particularly pertinent at the present crisis.

Why should we procrastinate? Winter will not procrastinate, nor the hunger of hundreds of thousands. The last Poor Law Returns shows within certain districts 141,560 paupers, and these, as representing the usual average of three persons, give 424,680 souls now in beggary. That return, too, shows an increase of 1760 paupers, or 5280 souls, in the previous week, and this will now go on at an accelerating rate. Even this represents but a part of the misery; and those who doubt this may read the account of the poor widow who died last week in London of absolute starvation rather than beg. Are we to shrink from trouble or evade responsibility with this before us? the existence of the famishing, the welfare of commerce, the claims of humanity, the laws of nations, the interests of America—all demand our decision. Beyond all, it is our duty. We have no right to say to the people of the South, "We know you have an established Government, but we decline to own the knowledge; we see you are independent, but it is our policy to be blind; we witness your gallant effort for self-government, and are certain of your success; but waste another hundred thousand lives, impoverish yourselves still more, and at some quite convenient season we will acknowledge you." Instead of this, our duty is to say, "We have just acknowledged, and at once, the right of Tuscans and Neapolitans to change their Government when they deemed it essential to their happiness to do so. We cannot dispute the same right with those of our own kin. Justice requires us to take the same course in America as in Europe, holding in respect the wishes of a people in preference to the claims of discarded Governments, and it requires us without fear or favour to recognize as a fact what all the world knows to be a fact—that the Southern States are now a distinct community or nation, with an organized Government, in conformity with their will, and a power that entitles them to respect as well as recognition."

FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

PARIS, August 12.

SIR,—You naturally desire to know how the American question progresses here, and as far as I can I will give you the information. Everybody in and out of official circles is satisfied that the Emperor and his Ministers are and have been most seriously considering the expediency and propriety of an immediate recognition of the Confederate States, and the very delay which has taken place in giving Mr. Slidell his answer, shows very strongly the delusion under which Lord Russell labours in supposing his policy identical with that of France.

Au contraire, all the official persons on this side most unreservedly say that the only stumbling block to that recognition, as far back as Bull Run, was, and continues to be, the adhesion of the British Cabinet to what, with a plagiarism from John C. Calhoun, "it terms" "masterly inaction." Mr. Calhoun's phrase was "masterly inactivity"—and he never had occasion to apply it to a civil war, where it tied the hands and closed the eyes and ears of a great and generous people to the sufferings of their own kindred abroad, and their own brethren at home.

There is also good reason to believe that the Ruler of France does not look with the same philosophic composure on the great drama which has both continents for its theatre, and has determined that the frenzy of the North shall have its limits. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as France has no Nassau nor Bermudas in a state of blockade; nor has the Seine lately seen, like the Mersey and Southampton waters Northern cruisers watching to pick up British ships under British colours sailing from one British port to another. Both Frenchmen and Englishmen over here regard with intense astonishment the long-suffering and patience of Lord Russell under these circumstances.

It is believed here that the British Cabinet was divided in opinion equally on the question, Lord Palmerston standing neutral. People think it very strange that the answers of France and England should not have been conjoint, and after consultation; neither of which seems to have been the case: and as the *entente cordiale* was badly strained by the Mexican rupture, so it is thought the last strands may give way on the American imbroglio. Indecision is not a characteristic of Napoleon III., and his silence means more than much talking of smaller men.

It will require, however, all his confidence in the energies of France to intervene in the American question at this moment, for the Mexican war is to be actively prosecuted against a people and a country difficult to subjugate and flushed with success; and the Garibaldi insurrection looms like a thunder cloud over Italy and Europe.

The special interest which the Emperor has in Rome makes this a matter of vital importance to France, and it would require heroic courage to abdicate at this moment another difficulty to those already existing.

But of the sympathy of the Emperor's Government we are well assured; even should external causes prevent its

actual demonstration for the moment, it will not be long delayed, and Lancashire may yet have cause to bless the foreigner it has so often banned under the teachings of Demagogues, who love their own political consistency more than the interests and lives of their people.

If I state clearly and broadly the reasons which may prevent immediate recognition, do not understand me to allege that any actual decision has been arrived at by the French Cabinet; for it is the universal belief that the matter is still under anxious deliberation, and the *coup* that may startle even "masterly inaction" in England may even now be planning in a brain fertile of surprises. But while every mail brings us tidings of new Confederate successes and new Federal reverses, we can afford to practise patience, even though the blood of our brothers calls from the ground against Europe for its inhuman delay. It will not, however, tend to inspire in the hearts of the citizens of either section of what were once "the United States" any sentiments of lively affection or gratitude towards the only nation which speaks the same language and boasts itself progenitor of the Young Giant.

Of other matters now transpiring I have little to tell you.

The Emperor and all his Ministers are now in Paris, and on the 17th or 18th he will again leave for Châlons. Before that time, his programme for the American question will be known. The new journal, *La France*, under the direction of La Guéronnière, and (as is supposed) under the indirect inspection of the Emperor, is making quite a sensation. In yesterday's issue appeared an editorial on the South and Slavery, which you shall have translated for your next paper. There are also publications on the same subject, of which you shall have a review. The name of the new journal has been made a subject of dispute by another journal here, the *Union*, which claims to have incorporated a forgotten journal of that title years ago.

Apropos of the same subject, the troubles of the new mammoth hotel have been really farcical. Firstly, it had to drop the name of Paris, after a law-suit, for which it substituted "Paris." Being threatened with three law-suits by three establishments so styled, it has at last despaired of finding any name unappropriated, and, by circular from its proprietor, is henceforth to be called "Grand" only.

Yours, &c.,

A

FEDERAL OUTRAGES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—The events of the week past have been extremely encouraging. The notion of Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, whose sound and temperate views always entitle his remarks to the highest consideration, elicited from Lord Palmerston a view of the right of the Federal cruisers to interfere with legitimate trade, which it required more than even the unscrupulous advocacy of the great Government supporters to stomach; while his allowance of the monstrous proceedings at New York with regard to the destination of merchandise imported in American bottoms, shows how much reliance is to be placed in the only remedy Her Majesty's Ministers propose to apply, viz., remonstrance to such men as now rule despotically in that happy country which we call, diplomatically, the United States. Again, it hardly required Mr. Roebuck's energetic denunciation at Sheffield of the disgraceful force which Lord Palmerston calls "neutrality," to express the feeling among men of sense and propriety, that our present neutral position most cruelly weighs in favour of the side which all honest and honourable men and women of England abhor, and against the cause the success of which they all earnestly pray for. But what are we to say of the news which last week brought us of the proceedings in what is supposed to be a State remarkable for Union feeling? Can any language be strong enough to denounce such a warfare? And English readers must be well aware that these events, which from time to time eke out, are by no means isolated instances of brutality. What do Englishmen think of the agony of poor Mrs. Lasley, who saw her husband slaughtered; and of the cause which has fostered the officers who permit such murders, if they do not expressly authorize them? And yet we are ordered by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen and Mother of England to hold our hands. How long? Is not the Government responsible which endorses such proclamations as General Pope's? As the *Times* leader of Aug. 11 puts it, "the tone of recent public documents do give too much probability to the occurrence of such murders as Mr. Lasley's. Mr. Lincoln himself has, in a solemn proclamation, declared war against private property, and has instructed his invading soldiery to take what they require from their vanquished enemies. How largely this license will be interpreted we need not suggest;" and adds most significantly, "there is a step lower to which even this war may degenerate; and that is, to wholesale butcheries in cold blood under the name of reprisals." Look, again, at Mr. Roebuck's words:—"I say that the conduct of the North in its endeavour to cement the union, and reunite the States of America, is an immoral proceeding, totally incapable of success. You may say 'No, no,' but I have prophesied before, and now I tell you that they can never be united; and that the light they are now maintaining is a mere shedding of blood and wasting of treasure for no earthly purpose whatever." Shedding of blood and

wasting of treasure!—the blood shed is that of boys of fifteen, and peaceable men of family in the very presence of their wives and children returning from worshipping God in their parish church; and the treasure is the bread of honest and hardworking men who have no more to do with this wicked war than the poor operatives of Lancashire. The history of Spain and Prussia can tell us the certain *Nemesis* that follows the vile maxim of making war support itself. And if it failed there, if it recoiled with tenfold violence upon the heads of those who tried it with overwhelming powers on a beaten and hostile country, how can it fail to exact a more bitter, a more dire retribution, in a defiant and victorious country of men speaking the same language, and knowing all the thousand means whereby to wound and destroy those whom their quondam relationship invests with the bitterest hate—that of brothers. And yet Lord Palmerston cannot find stronger anticipations than these:—"We may hope, as all evils must have an end, that better feelings and more charitable sentiments may make way on the other side of the Atlantic. And, although hitherto there has appeared no relenting of the animosities between the contending parties, we may devoutly pray that peace may at length arise out of this afflicting contest, and that another year may not see the continuance of that effusion of blood which now deluges the American continent." And we may pray—many a poor wife and mother in that wretched country hopes and prays till her heart aches with apprehension. But men with arms in their hands do more than hope—they dare; and long before Peace has any chance of spreading her golden wings, the red dogs of war will lap up the blood of tens of thousands who are following the dishonoured standard which has finished its career of insult to Europe by waving over the destruction of its own noblest and most honoured dominion. The sympathy with the South, which has increased from the very first day of the contest, till it now undeniably embraces all England, is fast changing into bitter disgust and indignation at the butchery perpetrated in the name of liberty and law. The Parliamentary Session has closed with the urbanity which was forced upon both parties by the desire of the nation to avoid disturbing the Queen's private sorrow. But this indignation will find a louder vent than the polite phrases of St. Stephen's, and the Washington Cabinet will do well to look to it. They have sown the wind, and most assuredly will they reap the whirlwind.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

LIEUTENANT MAURY ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

A recent number of the *Richmond Daily Enquirer* contains the following letter from the pen of the above distinguished man:—

My Good Friend,—Your excellent letter of August last has reached me only now. Notwithstanding its long tarrying by the way, I hasten to thank you for it with all my heart, and to assure you that its kind words and generous sentiments have lost none of their force by the lapse of time.

I hope you will not think me insensible to the honours with which you tell me I would be welcomed in Europe, if, at present, I appear deaf to your assurance of their high import.

It is true that the *role* which, up to this time, I have been permitted to play in the great drama which my country is enacting before the world, is humble; still our cause is just; to me the blood of my children has consecrated it, it is precious to my heart. All I have and all I own are in it; therefore, I prefer to tarry here—a refugee from my home and my little ones—watching and waiting.

That we have no navy is also true. Nevertheless, something may turn up. Chance may throw opportunity in my way. If so, here I am in place, and here I prefer to tarry, content to wait upon events, and patiently to bide my time.

It has now been but little more than a year since this war was forced upon us. We, on our part, had to commence it without an army, without a navy, and even without a governmental organization.

On the other hand, the enemy, surrounded with all the appliances of war, and complete in his organization, arranged his legions for battle and rejoiced in his strength.

We found ourselves, purely an agricultural people, cut off from the world and suddenly thrown upon our own resources, while he was backed by all the appliances that the workshops of Europe could supply or that commerce could furnish. Notwithstanding this, our people bravely and deliberately resolved to withdraw from all political association with the North, and to accept the consequences, be they what they may.

There was no haste, coercion, or intimidation about this move. Never was the popular will more fairly expressed than when the Southern people uttered their voice for secession.

Our enemies have sought to make the impression abroad that the reverse was the case; that this so-called "Rebellion was hatched by a faction, and is led by a few fire-eaters." No such thing. We were pushed into it, all unprepared as we were, by the tyranny and the usurpations and the factions of the North.

In every Southern State the people were regularly consulted on the question of separation from the North. They expressed their opinions freely, and after full deliberation; and never were people more unanimous at any ballot box than were ours for instant, complete, and eternal separation from the North; and that, too, at the instant, all unprepared as they were. There is now no Union feeling in the South, but the Yankees would fain have you believe that there is.

It is a fact not generally known abroad, but I may state it now, that when this war commenced, and even

after we had assembled an army in the field, such was the want of preparation, and such the lack of munitions of war on our part, that there was not only not a percussion-cap machine in the Confederacy, but when the army of Manassas took up its position it had but four rounds to the man. Had the enemy joined battle with us there a few weeks sooner than he did, we should, for the want of percussion caps, have had to quit the field or fight him entirely with the bayonet.

But see what we have accomplished in the way of preparation. At this moment the great army of the North, said to be the most superb with equipments that the world ever saw—an army which we have stood still and permitted the enemy to raise, and discipline, and to bring against us at leisure—that grand army, before which our capital was to fall and our people succumb, is now driven from its trenches, routed and flying before our braves—armed, some with flint locks, some with fowling-pieces, some with percussion, and all of divers patterns, just as we could fabricate or rake and scrape them together. This fighting and fleeing has been going on since yesterday week.

In all probability you and the whole of Europe will first hear of it as a great Yankee victory, for your first intelligence of it will be from the North.

Happily, for the cause of truth, you, in Europe, are beginning to find the Yankees out, and to understand their mendacious proclivities. They know it, and have recently resorted to a "new dodge." You have ceased to believe their newspapers, and have begun to find out that their representations of the Southern cause, of Southern prowess, sentiments and feelings are not to be depended on, so they now send you what purport to be Southern newspapers; but they are counterfeits printed in the North.

They will take one of our Richmond papers, for instance, duplicate its form and type, copy its advertisements, fill its reading columns with their own inventions, give it the Richmond imprint, and sent it abroad as a *bona fide* Southern paper, which you will be sure to believe. From this counterfeit their own papers are filled with extracts credited to the Richmond papers. Thus the designing men there still seek to deceive their own people and the world.

They boast of this as one of their "cute Yankee tricks." They are a curious set.

The Yankees, in this war, have equalled the Chinese in falsehoods. Their generals lie to their soldiers, to one another, and to their Government, and their Government to the world.

About a month ago the heart of all Yankeeedom was made by General Halleck to rejoice over the reported capture by Pope of 10,000 men and 15,000 stand of arms, from Beauregard's rear; when these 10,000 prisoners, with the 15,000 stand of arms, had no more existence in reality than Falstaff's men in buckram. A friend of mine brought up Beauregard's rear. He waited and offered Pope battle, but Pope made no attack except upon a train of cars with a few sick.

You recollect that Mr. Lincoln reported to his Congress last December that he had an army of 667,000 men already raised to "crush out the rebellion"; and that France and England were asked to wait ninety days, when they should have plenty of cotton.

Now let us inquire where that army is, for I have never been able to make it out. You know that we have never pretended to have on our side more than 400,000 men in the field at any one time, and that in every advance that Lincoln has attempted to make upon us he has been brought to a stand-still, or driven back as soon as he parted from his ships and gunboats. Neither Hunter in Georgia, nor Benham in South Carolina, nor Burnside in North Carolina, have found themselves in sufficient force to advance against us. Halleck had to be called with his army from Missouri to reinforce Buell, so as to enable him to advance upon Beauregard at Corinth, where we have held the two armies in check for months. Butler has not been enough to venture out of New Orleans—and our Jackson, with an army all told of not over 21,000, drove the Yankee Banks out of the Valley of the Shenandoah two or three weeks ago. With this small force he created such a panic in Washington that Lincoln called out the militia by telegraph to defend his capital. He also called General Fremont with his "division," from the mountain, and McDowell with his from the Rappahannock, to reinforce Banks, and hold in check this handful of Confederates, while McClellan, with his "grand army," has been chased from Richmond.

Either we are superior to the Yankees in prowess as two to one, or they have lost in this war since December last, not less than a quarter of a million of men; or the "universal Yankee nation" has attempted a fraud upon the Governments of Europe, by misleading them as to the extent of the preparations to "crush out" the so-called rebellion in ninety days. Moreover, in all of our engagements with the enemy, he claims that we outnumbered him. How could this be with his 667,000 against our 400,000?

Where are these 667,000 men? I cannot account for more than about 400,000. It is true we have inflicted many and heavy losses upon the enemy in what he has proclaimed to you as victories. But great as these losses have been, they do not account for the difference between 667,000 and 400,000.

Actum est de Republica. The Union is gone; and the sooner the world addresses itself to that fact the better will it be for humanity and commerce.

Most that Europe knows of us has been learned through Yankee sources, and I have taken up your precious time with this disgusting recital merely to disabuse your mind of any Yankee falsehoods that may have found a lodgment there, and to give you practical illustration of the despicable character of the people with whom, unfortunately we find ourselves enbroiled, and from whose association we wish to withdraw.

I pass by Butler's infamous proclamation at New Orleans, and the arming our slaves against our wives and

children, to tell you of a Yankee refinement upon savage barbarity which we have to contend with.

To shoot with poisoned arrows is universally admitted to be both savage and barbarous, but our men have been shot with explosive bullets. Imagine a Minié bullet to be cut in two transversely, and a wire to be inserted axially through the front half or cone: the other part is then hollowed out into a cup, filled with fulminate or some other explosive preparation, and then securely fitted into the front part, and in such a manner that when the ball strikes the wire is driven back, and so by percussion explodes the ball inside the wounded man. Is not that, think you, equal to the poisoned arrow? There can be no mistake about it, for I have seen the missile itself, and would send you one if I could find a safe conveyance for the dangerous thing. The true aim of savage warfare is to kill and murder—of civilized to wound and disable. Which is it that the Yankees are waging?

The negro is not, as the Yankee would have the world believe, the cause or the object of the war. The tariff and hatred of the Yankee character—these are the true causes. They are a nation of shopkeepers and pedlars; and under pretext of raising revenue to maintain the Government, Southern industry was taxed to support Yankee workshops. With this they waxed fat and grew insolent until their insolence became unbearable.

We chose no longer to submit to their rule, and so sought simply to withdraw from all political association with them. We ask nothing of them. All we want is simply to be left and let alone; and the simple fact that they should attempt to force us to remain in political association with them, is proof enough as to the inequality of benefit which the old Union conferred upon the two sections.

The fuss and turmoil about slavery is merely incidental in this unhappy state of affairs. In most of the Northern States it is against the law for a freed negro to come there. They will not allow a negro from the South to dwell among them.

After supplying the North with whatever they required of our produce, and buying of the North, upon their own terms, whatever we required of their manufacture, there remained annually to the South a quantity of surplus produce which requires 20,000 ships and more than 200,000 seamen to carry abroad and distribute among the markets of the world.

In the handling of this produce, Northern factors and Northern shipping did the principal part. Besides this, the laws of the Union gave the North the preference over all the world in the markets of the South. These were great advantages, and the North waxed fat and strong upon them. Their correlatives were waiting to the South—for the South could sell dearer and buy cheaper in other countries.

Twelve millions of such customers as inhabit the South are enough to make any people rich, and they are such as no nation can afford to lose. But let Secession be acknowledged as an accomplished fact, and the North will lose this preference, this trade, and these customers, with all the benefits derived from their political association with us. It is, therefore, not for the negro, but solely on account of pecuniary and selfish considerations, that the North is waging this war. She is vainly seeking to compel us to renew an association that we abhor.

Hitherto we have acted purely on the defensive. We have not sought to invade the North, but, panopied in the triple armour of a just cause, we have stood still, and ever since the battle of Manassas—now a year ago—quietly looked on while the enemy raised his armies and completed his preparations for the war in his own way. Having destroyed his "grand army," we shall now carry the war into Africa, I hope, compelling him to withdraw his forces from our borders and to sue for peace.

But peace is very difficult at present, I admit; in the North reason has lost its sway over the mind of the people, and the judgment of their rulers has been taken away. In the South passions run high. Therefore, in the present temper of the two peoples it would be impossible just now for them to agree upon the preliminary step to any lasting peace—viz., the adjustment of boundaries. We are, therefore, drifting into a war of exhaustion.

There are rumours of an armed intervention from your side; but upon what basis this intervention is to take place the many-tongued dame has not deigned to enlighten us. Any such intervention cannot but work mischievously if it fail to recognize the right of the people in the disputed States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, freely and fairly to decide for themselves whether they will cast their lot with the North or the South. Neither can it be supposed that intervention would recognize any dismemberment of present States.

With us this is not a war of conquest, but a war for a principle which is dear to every French heart—a principle by which your Emperor sits upon his great throne—the right of every people to be governed in their own way.

The strong arm of mighty nations may force a peace upon some other basis, but any such peace will prove a hollow truce.

There has, permit me to say, been already at least one error committed by France and England in this war. When these difficulties commenced all Europe viewed them through Northern media. This was natural enough, perhaps, for all Europe depended upon Northern statements for information concerning us. These have now been found to be erroneous; but not until France and England had committed themselves to a blockade that was against all rule. The effect of that blockade upon our industry is likely to prove lasting, and certain classes in France and England may yet find cause to rue it, even if Ministers do not.

You can well conceive that the blockade affords most effective encouragement to home manufactures in the South. The energies of the people have by it been

diverted into new channels of industry, and manufacturing establishments are rapidly springing up on all hands.

So that, when France and England decided to respect Lincoln's paper blockade, they unwittingly, perhaps, called influences into play which are rapidly converting us into a manufacturing as well as an agricultural people. The operatives in your workshops may yet have cause to lament a policy which cannot fail to call into existence many rival establishments to your own, and which would not have found existence but for the course which the two Governments thought proper to pursue.

As for the preservation, restoration, or reconstruction of the Union, it is simply an impossibility. Laying aside all questions of military power and prowess between the contending parties, the mere hatred of one for the other, and which is obvious to every intelligent being who has attentively observed the events of the contest as they have developed themselves, is enough to destroy all hopes for any such union.

Harmony between the States, good will among the people, are essential to any such reconstruction or preservation, and you see enough, even from your distant stand-point, to satisfy you that we are two people, and that so long as our favourite doctrine holds good, viz., that every rightful Government rests on the consent of the governed, no power on earth can unite us again or make us one.

But enough of this.

Let me thank you for remembering me with your wind charts of the Eastern Coasts of South America. I had, as you know, watched their progress in your hands with a lively and active interest, and had waited the publication with anxious solicitude. Imagine my disappointment at their loss. Nothing from you, save the letter to which this is an answer, has reached me since I left Washington.

I am rather proud of the abusive attacks which you tell me have been heaped upon me in the North. You generously denounce them, but I draw consolation from them, for it shows that I am of some importance still in the eyes of the Yankees. They have offered a reward for my head, and classed me among the chief rebels in the cause of civil liberty; and so they have honoured me with a place among the great rebels of whom our Washington was first, foremost, the greatest, and the best. What he fought for, for that I contend.

Adieu, my friend, and let me hear from you, and believe me yours, most truly,

M. F. MAURY.

Viscomte de Chabanne,
Admiral French Navy, Paris.

THE CONFEDERATE CAUSE IN EUROPE.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

It has been the misfortune of the South that it has not been fairly heard in the cause which it is defending with heroic valour and constancy before the tribunal of the civilized world. The South has, perhaps, suffered as much from this "intellectual blockade," as the London *INDEX* aptly calls it, as from the blockade which has deprived her of the material resources of war. Our friends in Europe cry loudly and earnestly for the light of facts from Confederate sources to counteract the falsehoods which are distilled through the alchemic of Northern official and newspaper reports. It is not known to the foreign world under what disadvantages we have fought—with what crippled means our brave troops, illy clad and provided, have rushed to encounter the disciplined battalions of their foes, supplied, not only with every necessary, but with luxuries before unheard of in the history of armies in the field. At Shiloh, when Halleck's men were driven from their camps, our soldiers were astonished at the wealth of preparation for the comfort and princely provision of the Federal armies. Not only an abundant commissariat, but liquors, wines, ice, and all the luxuries of the city were found in the vast stores in their camps. At the close of the first day, after our men had been fighting from early morning until late evening with empty haversacks, steadily driving the foe before them, they feasted upon the Yankee larder and slept in their splendid tents. While our soldiers were unprovided even with axes for cutting fuel and building roads and bridges, Confederate scouts, creeping up to the Federal lines, have been amazed to see a steam engine wheeled up to a mammoth tree, cut it down in a twinkling of time, and its great carcass rolled up to a portable saw-mill, and cut into timber and boards for building purposes. If Europe could see the two armies, mark the poverty and raggedness of the one and the complete equipment of the other—could hear McClellan exclaim to his Government, after everything that money could purchase had been lavished upon him, "I want nothing more," and then mark the hearing of the soldiers of the two armies when the hour of conflict arrived, it would say, at least, "These people are in earnest." The spirit of the army is the spirit of the people. They, too, have their privations and trials; not only are they cut off from the luxuries of foreign commerce, but its commonest commodities. But in whatever the war pinches, whether in the deprivation of the ice of the North—so essential in this tropical climate—and the wines of Europe, coffee and tea, or in the fabulous prices of salt, homespun and pins, needles and thread, there is but one sentiment—and that is, "We bear it all for the cause; we will bear even more, and will live on corn-bread, and, if necessary, acorns and roots, sooner than submit to the indignity and ruin of Black Republican subjugation."

The Battle of Shiloh marked a great era in the Southern war sentiment. The disasters on the Tennessee River, the defeats at Forts Henry and Donelson, and the capture of Nashville, awakened the South from the dream of invincibility and easy triumph induced by the Manassas route. Our people believed up to that time that to whip the Yankees two to one was but a pastime to Southern pluck. So it was with untrained Northern armies, like that which was scattered at Bull Run. But while we slept, the North worked. The result was the armies of Halleck and McClellan, trained and disciplined after the strictest rules of the organization of regular troops. The South was aroused from its dream to realize the presence of a great danger to be averted by a great effort. The army of Corinth was concentrated in an incredibly short time to stay the threatened invasion of the Cotton States. Our men fought with desperate bravery at Shiloh, and the first day drove

unequal numbers back upon their gunboats, occupied their camps, captured their artillery, and put 20,000 Yankees *hors de combat*. The second day's fight was more extraordinary than the first, for in that conflict the Confederates had but 15,000 or 20,000 tired troops in the field, while the Federals came to the work reinforced by Buell's fresh army, which had crossed the river the night before; yet Beauregard held his ground until the Yankees gave over the attack, and the battle ended with Beauregard's men drawn up in line of battle; and after waiting an hour and a half without any signs of a renewed attack, he marched back slowly to his lines at Corinth. Nothing but the highest fighting qualities saved our troops from destruction. The enemy was checked, and for six weeks waited for reinforcements, to bring forward heavy siege guns and dig his way up to shelling distance of our entrenchments at Corinth. Having done so, at an expense of millions of money, and thousands of the lives of his troops, he woke up one morning to find the Confederates had vanished with all their stores and trains, and without the loss of a single man. The great Federal military effort came to nothing. Halleck attempted with one division to follow Beauregard, but his troops were driven back howling for water and cursing the inhospitable country into which they had been led. Since then Halleck's grand army has been looking in vain for new fields of subjugation, and so far has not found them. Meantime, General Bragg succeeded to the command of the "Army of the Mississippi," and he has been working with indefatigable zeal and all his well known ability, to organize for active operations in the great Western Valley.

The loss of New Orleans, at first regarded as a terrible blow to the Confederate cause, has proved fruitful of the greatest advantages, moral and material. Its first effect has been to arouse the Southern cities. The word has gone forth, no more surrenders of seaport towns except in ashes. Savannah and Charleston have proved the effect. The enemy has been forced to abandon the siege of both these cities—the latter very recently, after the bloody defeat he suffered on James Island, and the former after two months of most formidable demonstrations by sea and land. Mobile has put on its armour, encircled itself with entrenchments, and made its water approaches frown with batteries. Vicksburg, on the Mississippi River, has stood for five weeks a lion in the path of the enemy on that great highway, and has withstood, and still withstands the whole power of the combined Federal ships and gun and mortar boats, which have met there from above and below. Not a Confederate battery has been damaged by this prolonged and terrific bombardment, while one Yankee frigate has been sunk, and many of their squadron crippled in the contest. The possession of New Orleans is not the possession of the Mississippi. The Yankee calculations of a reopened trade with the Valley have all failed. Commerce is impossible on a river lined by a hostile population and armies. Yankee ships sail out of New Orleans without cotton, and Yankee speculators are still afraid to trust their ventures of Northern goods in so uncertain a market. New Orleans is more effectually blockaded than ever since General Butler commenced his beastly reign of tyranny. The price of flour is limited by military authority to \$24 the barrel. As for cotton, it has been burned everywhere within the probable reach of the Yankee clutches. Butler's rule has intensified Southern hatred of Yankee rule, and our troops grasp their muskets and rush into the battle with the war-cry, "Remember New Orleans and Butler the Beast!"

The Mississippi is still defended by a powerful army. The gallant Van Dora and Breckinridge are at Vicksburg to meet the Yankees, if they attempt a land attack—their fleet attack has already failed. The Federal pickets in the suburbs of Memphis are nightly picked off, while the woods opposite to New Orleans are filled with Texas sharpshooters, who keep the enemy within their lines. As we have already said, General Bragg is ready with a powerful army to take his place in the picture of the coming Western campaign. The demonstrations of the enemy upon Eastern Tennessee have so far failed. General Kirby Smith is there to watch the Gaps of the Cumberland Mountains, and to guard Chattanooga and Knoxville.

It is well known that the two great expeditions of Burnside and Sherman, against the coasts of the two great Carolinas, have accomplished nothing but to enter poorly defended harbours to lie there and rot. These expeditions were only two "big jobs," gotten up for the benefit of Northern owners of old hulks laid up by the loss of Southern trade.

Last comes the most recent but grandest scene in the drama—that just enacted before Richmond. Before this capital the Lincoln Government had massed an army upon which the science, the genius, and treasure of the North, backed by the open armories of the world, had exhausted all their riches. That army had been incessantly drilled and disciplined under McClellan's own eye for a whole year. It was as perfect as money, talent, and the material of which it was composed could make a Yankee army. That army sat down before Richmond, and neither its officers, its men, nor its people at home had an earthly misgiving that Richmond would fall before its highly organized powers. Nay, the North would not wait for the bulletins that declared the victory. It held the rebel capital as conquered, the rebellion crushed, and boldly indulged its triumph and speculated upon the punishment to be meted to the rebel leaders. On the 26th June the Confederates commenced a series of assaults upon the invincible army. For ten successive days their blows were followed up; McClellan was driven from his chosen lines; his batteries were carried; his right wing doubled back on his rear; his centre pierced; his base of supplies lost and cut off, and his whole army beaten back towards the James River, thirty miles from Richmond, with a loss of his stores, tents, 140 pieces of artillery, innumerable small arms, and 30,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including two Major-Generals and four Brigadier-Generals.

Facts like these never get to Europe; or if they do, it is only months after they happen that they leak through the openings of Lincoln's blockade. If the Governments and the people of Europe know the truth of the temper and determination of our people—and if possible, the women are more brave and implacable than the men—and if they have any interest in a reciprocal trade with this rich agricultural region of the earth, which produces what they want, and consumes what they produce, they would certainly hesitate to continue to starve their own markets and operatives by waiting for peace through the conquest of the South, and the restoration of the Union. Neither of these is within the pale of possibilities. The South is sworn never to yield, and its men and women have deliberately made up their minds that death is sweet in comparison with a detested Yankee domination. But we have ceased to look for justice, much less mediation and active sympathy, from the Governments of the Old World. We mean to fight for our independence with such means as "God

and Nature have put into our hands," just as if intervention was out of the question of hope. We have been deceived, and have suffered by the indulgence of false hopes from this quarter. Henceforth our trust is in God and in Southern steel. They will give us the victory, as God is just. Meantime, we are prepared to wait, to suffer, to endure, and to fight to the end, until in His good providence He shall pronounce that enough of the precious blood of our brothers and sons has been spilled to water the tree of a vigorous independence. In preparation for a long struggle, our farmers have planted less than a fourth of the ordinary cotton crop, the yield of which cannot exceed from a half to three quarters of a million of bales. The other three-fourths of cotton land have been sowed in grain. The whole Southern country now waves with a rich crop of corn. It is estimated that we shall make a surplus of 150,000,000 bushels of this prime staff of life.

GENERAL T. J. JACKSON.

The *Richmond Dispatch* publishes the following particulars of the early life of General Jackson:—

He was born in Clarksburg, in the county of Lewis, in the year 1825, of highly respectable parents, both of whom died during his infancy, leaving him without a cent in the world. During his early childhood he resided with an uncle, whose name we did not hear, and at the age of sixteen he had conducted himself so well, and produced such a favourable impression of his energy and integrity, that he was chosen Constable of the county. In the year 1842 a cadet had been appointed from his district to West Point, who declined to go. Jackson immediately conceived the idea of filling the place he had left vacant. Our informant says, that one day, while it was raining exceedingly hard, he suddenly burst into his office, the rain streaming from his clothes, and told him that he must give him a letter to Mr. Hayes, at that time representative in Congress from the Lewis District. Upon being asked what he wanted with such a letter, he replied he wished to go to West Point. His friend pointed out to him what he regarded as the absurdity of such a scheme, seeing that he was very deficient in education, and would, therefore, probably not be able to stand the preliminary examination. He acknowledged the alleged deficiency, but said he was sure he had the perseverance to make it up. He obtained the letter without further difficulty, and that very evening borrowed a horse, under promise to send him back by a boy, whom he carried with him, and rode to Clarksburg, to take the stage. It had been raining for weeks, as it can only rain in that country; the roads were muddy, as they are muddy nowhere else that ever we heard of. Jackson arrived in time, but on account of the muddy roads the postmaster had furnished the mail an hour before time, and the stage was already gone. With characteristic fidelity to his promise, Jackson sent the horse back, instead of riding him in pursuit of the stage, and took it on foot through the mud. After a run of thirteen miles, he overtook the stage, jumped in, went to Washington all muddy as he was, presented his letter to Mr. Hayes, and was by him, in turn, presented to the Secretary of War, who gave him the coveted warrant. At West Point he severely felt the want of early education; but his indomitable spirit overcame every obstacle. He was never marked for a demerit during the four years, and graduated with the class of 1846, the same in which McClellan graduated.

The young graduate was ordered off immediately, with the rank of Second Lieutenant, to join General Taylor's army in the Valley of the Rio Grande. He arrived after the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey, and before that of Buena Vista was ordered to join General Scott before Vera Cruz. At the siege of this latter place he commanded a battery, and attracted attention by his coolness and the judgment with which he worked his guns, and was promoted First Lieutenant. For his conduct at Cerro Gordo, he was brevetted Captain. He was in all Scott's battles to the city of Mexico, and behaved so well that he was brevetted Major for his services. On one occasion he commanded a battery upon which the fire of the enemy was so severe that more than half his troops, who were raw, incontinently ran; Jackson was advised to retreat; but he said if he could get a reinforcement of fifty regulars, he would take the enemy's battery opposed to him, instead of abandoning his own. He sent for the named reinforcement, but, before it came, he had already stormed the obnoxious battery.

Jackson's health was so much shattered by this campaign that he was compelled to resign. He accepted a professorship at the Military Institute, where he continued until the secession of Virginia. In height he is about six feet, with a weight of about 180. He is quite as remarkable for his moral as he has proved himself to be for his fighting qualities—being a perfectly conscientious man, just in all his ways, and irreproachable in his dealings with his fellow-men. It is said he is a fatalist, as Napoleon was, and has no fear that he can be killed before his time comes. He is as calm in the midst of a hurricane of bullets as he was in the pew of his church at Lexington, when he was Professor of the Institute. He appears to be a man of almost superhuman endurance. Neither heat nor cold makes the slightest impression upon him. He cares nothing for good quarters and dainty fare. Wrapped in his blanket, he throws himself down on the ground anywhere, and sleeps as soundly as though he were in a palace. He lives as the soldiers live, and endures all the fatigue and all the suffering that they endure. His vigilance is something marvellous. He never seems to sleep, and lets nothing pass without his personal scrutiny. He can neither be caught napping nor whipped when he is wide awake. The rapidity of his marches is something portentous. He is heard of by the enemy at one point, and before they can make up their minds to follow him he is off at another. His men have little baggage, and he moves, as nearly as he can, without encumbrance. He keeps so constantly in motion that he never has a sick list, and no need of hospitals. In these habits, and a will as determined as that of Julius Caesar, are read the secret of his great success. His men adore him, because he requires them to do nothing which he does not do himself, because he constantly leads them to victory, and because they see he is a great soldier.

Captain McMillan, of the Davis Rifles, 12th Regiment of Georgia Volunteers, fell a sacrifice to his country's cause in the battle of McDowell, on the 8th instant. All the sufferings of the 12th Georgia in the mountains of North-western Virginia have been shared by this unflinching chief. He was always at his post—always cognizant of the claims of his superiors in rank and his subordinates. His company are bereaved of a kind, firm, brave leader. Captain McMillan was a South Carolinian by birth, but was reared in Georgia. The son and adopted son of two glorious States, well has he sustained their honour, both as a warrior and a citizen.—*The Mobile Register*.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consignors of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

RED AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHERIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLBO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer
of MANHATTAN, Thos and Sax Card Soap,
Cottons, Coltona Balls, Knitting, and Embroidery
Garners. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Savannah, Va.; F. RIMALHO AND FLYREY,
New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denies, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hay, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books—Biblical, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organized,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organized in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World; and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganized trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of ad-
vertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

GENTLEMEN requiring an excel-
lent Tailor are recommended to the establish-
ments of A. M. CAUTHER, 223, Regent-street,
London (above Verrey's Restaurant), and 20, Rue de
la Chausée d'Antin in Paris.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
On Wednesday, the 30th, will be published, in
1 vol. 8vo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an His-
torical View of Democracy in America. By
CORNELIUS DE WITT. Translated, with the Author's
sanction, by R. S. H. CHURCH.
London: LONGMAN, GREEN, AND CO., 14, Lud-
gate-hill.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of policies to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice- President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,008 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 690,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrip of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poux.
C. Hould.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevius.
S. O. Nelson.
S. S. Scomb.
B. F. Voorheis.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 831,876 11
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,059 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 30th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATE, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PAYMENT PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.
Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 329th section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aqueducts, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty and forfeiture: and the master or
owner of any ship who refuses to take on board
any party that he has suspected to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XVI. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political,
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesmen, the Journalists, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the lenders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.
The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Cannon-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E. C.—August 14, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 17.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 21, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	257
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	258
Manchester Letter	258
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
The Battle of Seclusionville—Lists of Killed and Wounded	258
Private Letters	259
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	260
Paris	260
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	261
LEADERS—	
The Tug of War in the North	264
Strength of the Belligerents	264
The Despatch of the 28th of May	265
Federal and Confederate Finances	266
English Neutrality and American Gratitude	267
Garibaldi's Attempted Revolution	268
Editorial	269
REVIEWS—	
The Home and Foreign Review	269
Three Letters from a South Carolinian relating to Secession, Slavery, and the Trent Case	269
THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF "STONEWALL" JACKSON	270
A NORTHERN VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE NORTH	270
THE RAM ARKANSAS	271
THE NORTHERN HATRED OF THE NEGRO	271
ADVERTISEMENTS	272

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

No one will be surprised to hear that there has been fighting in the Virginian Valley, and that the Federal account of it is rather contradictory. Before we attempt to analyze it we will reproduce the telegram *in extenso*. Under date New York, August 11, we are informed:—

Severe fighting has taken place in the Virginian Valley. General Jackson having crossed the Rapidan, General Pope sent forward two army corps, under General Banks, to check him. At daylight they were discovered by General Jackson, who immediately advanced, and the numerous Confederate batteries being unmasked, a very severe contest ensued, about a mile and a half from Cedar Mountain. The conflict lasted from three o'clock till dark, when the Federals retired to a position beyond the Confederate guns, but to what distance is not stated.

The Federal infantry was badly cut up, and the Federals lost two guns.

The Confederate force was estimated at 20,000 men, and that of the Federals at 7000. Large reinforcements have been sent to the Federals, and more fighting is anticipated.

And further, under date August 12, evening:—

Late reports from Virginia Valley, dated to-day, say that the Confederates retreated from Cedar Mountain, under cover of the night. Their rear crossed the Rapidan in the direction of Orange Court House. The Federal cavalry and artillery were in pursuit.

It is said that the Confederate loss in the late fight was heavy. The Federals only lost one gun.

The corps under General Banks appear to have been surprised, for "at daylight they were discovered by General Jackson, who immediately advanced, and the numerous Confederate batteries being unmasked, a very severe contest ensued." And perhaps the Federals were trapped, for it is not likely that, unless surprised or led into ambuscade, that they would place themselves in a position to be opened upon by numerous Confederate batteries. The conflict, we are told, "lasted from three o'clock till dark." Does this mean from early morning till night? We pre-

sume so, for it was at daylight that General Jackson discovered the enemy, and advanced upon him; or it may mean that instead of General Banks advancing on the Confederates, General Jackson advanced to meet the Federals, and the engagement commenced at three in the afternoon. Who gained the victory? "The Federal infantry was badly cut up, and the Federals lost two guns." "The Federals retired to a position beyond the Confederate guns, but to what distance is not stated." According to European ideas the Federals were defeated.

Next, we are told, the Confederates retired from Cedar Mountain and crossed the Rapidan in the direction of Orange Court House. This is the key to the movement:—General Jackson advanced upon the Federals under General Banks, inflicted upon them a defeat, drove them back, and having accomplished his work recrossed the Rapidan. "Large reinforcements" have been sent to the Federals," but the Confederate commander did not meet the arrivals. This sending forward of large reinforcements is a confession of disaster, and shows the report that "the Federal cavalry and artillery were in pursuit" is a flight of imagination. It will be noticed that upon reflection General Halleck, assisted no doubt by the experienced Mr. Stanton, declared that the Federals lost one gun and not two. To attack with a superior force a detachment of the enemy, beat it, drive it back with heavy loss, and then to go elsewhere is the well known strategy of General "Stonewall" Jackson.

General Burnside is reported to have concentrated his forces at Fredericksburg to co-operate with General Pope, and, it is added, "but whether their destination is Richmond or any other point is not known." That they will not operate against Richmond is, we think, tolerably certain, for if they did so Washington would be open to a Confederate attack.

It is intimated that the Federals have been driven back from City Point, and that General Hooker's division has fallen back from Malvern Hill. These movements indicate that the Confederates are closely pressing the enemy. The only item referring to General McClellan's army is, that the sickness had abated in consequence of a supply of vegetables. The reported advance to within ten miles of Richmond is not confirmed by latest advices.

The Northern papers give an account of the skirmish near Petersburg, which says that the Confederate loss was six men wounded and two taken prisoners, and the Federal loss "one horse killed."

General Pope's order has led to indiscriminate plundering throughout the Virginia Valley; but the savage edicts of this general are likely to be checked by the resolute attitude assumed by the Confederate Government:—

President Jefferson Davis has issued an order, in which he refers to the conduct of the Federal General Pope, who has directed that all civilians found guilty of violating their oath of allegiance shall be shot.

The President of the Southern Confederacy also refers to General Pope having begun to maintain his troops by plunder. President Davis directs that the Federal Generals Pope and Steinwehr, and all commissioned officers under their command, shall not be considered soldiers, or entitled to the benefit of

cartel, if taken prisoners; if any of them are captured, they are to be confined, so that in the event of any unarmed citizens of the Confederacy being murdered, with or without trial, under pretence of being spies or hostages, or any other pretext, an equal number of prisoners shall be shot by command of the Confederate General-in-Chief.

The order does not extend to Federal private soldiers, nor to any other division of the Federal army.

Thus the Northern commanders will understand that they cannot carry on a savage warfare with impunity.

The rumour of the evacuation of Richmond is, of course, contradicted; but the contradiction is accompanied with the assertion that a pestilence is raging in the Confederate capital. Our latest private advices from Richmond give no intimation of the presence of pestilence in that city, though, of course, there is the sickness usual at this season.

There has been an engagement near Memphis, which the North styles an unimportant affair. The Federal General McCook was shot by guerillas in Alabama, and "some Federal soldiers went to the neighborhood of the occurrence, burnt some houses, and hung seventeen men, suspected of being concerned in the affair." The Federal troops in Alabama seem to be pre-eminently brutal, and their acts loudly call for reprisals. No one, we think, could blame the Confederates for retaliating this outrage on Federal prisoners. To hang seventeen men on the mere suspicion of being concerned in the death of one man is intolerable. Indeed, severe reprisals will be merciful by checking Northern brutality.

General Butler does not feel safe in New Orleans, and clamours for reinforcements. And this danger and anxiety is the only reward for conduct that has made his name execrable throughout the civilized world.

The Federal fleet below Savannah is expecting an attack from a Confederate ram equipped at Savannah. At the same time the land forces at Hilton Head expect an attack from the Confederate army at Bluffton.

In Missouri the Confederates have captured Newark and Alexandria. At Mount Pleasant there has been an encounter between the citizens and State troops, the former being united to resist enrolment. The Federal power in Missouri seems to be at a low ebb.

In Indiana a Secret Society has been discovered, numbering 15,000 persons, for preventing Federal enlistments, Federal taxation, and for aiding the Confederates generally. This information is highly important. Some portion of Mr. Lincoln's new levies will be required to preserve the loyalty of the United States.

General Morgan is in Kentucky, which State is again and again reported as swarming with guerillas. There is a rumour that several Secessionists have been shot in Nashville by Unionists. The Federal Government is totally unable to preserve order even amongst its supporters.

Cotton burning continues. Large quantities have been consumed in Columbia, Tennessee. General Sherman has rather unnecessarily forbidden the purchase or sale of cotton for Treasury notes or gold, either by Unionists or Secessionists, but purchases

can be made on credit or note of hand payable after the termination of the war.

By far the most important news of the week is the accounts of the excitement and panic caused by the conscription. In the Western States it is openly resisted. The offices of the Foreign Consuls are besieged by applicants for certificates of foreign citizenship. The rush of Irishmen at the British Consulate, at New York, was so great as to call for the interference of the police. Persons are endeavouring to escape from the country by every available route, but the frontiers are strictly guarded. The *Habeas Corpus* has been suspended. The European steamer was searched, and fugitives were taken disguised as sailors. No one is allowed, under any circumstances, even to proceed to California without giving a bond of \$1000 to provide a substitute. Baltimore is being deserted for Canada. The police of New York is constituted a Provost Guard. In a word, the United States is virtually in a state of siege, and the Washington Government may find a large army necessary to compel its unwilling citizens to enlist.

A war meeting has been held at Washington, attended by Mr. Lincoln, who made a speech, in which he defended General McClellan and Mr. Stanton. The former, he said, was not to be blamed for asking Mr. Stanton for what he wanted, and Mr. Stanton was not to be blamed for refusing what he could not give. No one can quarrel with Mr. Lincoln's logic, but it occurs to us that it is more candid than wise to parade the inability of the Government to supply the army of McClellan with necessities at a time when it is asking for 600,000 more men. After Mr. Lincoln's speech the following resolutions were passed by acclamation:—

We deliberately and solemnly declare that rather than witness an overthrow of the Union we would prosecute the present war until our towns and cities should be desolated and we and all that are dear to us should have perished with our possessions. Let the Union be preserved, or the country be made a desert.

That, if at the present time there is any hesitation among the people of the loyal States in devoting themselves and their property to the cause of the country, it arises from the misgivings as to the manner of prosecuting the war, and in the apprehension that there is a want of readiness on the part of those who direct the military operations, whether in the Cabinet or in the field, to employ at once the full power of the nation, which all know to be overwhelming.

We therefore urge the President to take means to assure the people that he is resolved to prosecute the war on a scale limited only by the resources of the country. We hail with joy the recent order directing immediate drafts. We are convinced that the leaders of the rebellion will never return to their allegiance, and therefore they should be regarded and treated as irreclaimable traitors, who are to be stripped of their possessions and deprived of their lives, or expelled from the country.

That Washington is the place where treason should be instantly denounced and punished, and that stringent measures should be adopted to discover and arrest all disloyal men and women infesting the district of Columbia.

The Federal Government must be sustained under any circumstances.

In another part of our impression we reprint an article from the *Morning Post*, denouncing the brutal character of the above resolutions. Their folly is very apparent, for it is evident, from the dread of a conscription, the people of the United States are not prepared to sacrifice their property and their lives to carry on the war. Surely a more undignified spectacle was never witnessed than the President of the United States haranguing a mob and sanctioning resolutions which excite a feeling of disgust throughout the civilized world.

In Western Virginia the guerillas are "becoming very troublesome to the Federals."

It is reported that the ram Arkansas has been blown up. No details are given, and we are not able to form any conjecture as to the authenticity of the rumour.

The yellow fever is raging at Key West; a vessel arrived at Boston with thirty cases on board from that place.

The siege of Vicksburg is finally abandoned, and the canal that was to turn the waters of the Mississippi turns out to be an unfinished ditch not eight feet wide.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, August 20, 1862.

Our cotton market, after six weeks of comparative quietness, has again been plunged into wild excitement, and the week under review presents the most extraordinary advance yet recorded in this eventful year.

Our last report left it quietly bordering on the basis of 19½d. for middling Orleans, and 18½d. for fair Dhollerah. On Thursday and Friday the demand became very active, with sales each day of 10,000 or 12,000 bales, bringing middling Orleans to 20d. and fair Dhollerah to 14d.

On Saturday the Asia's news was to hand, whose whole tenor was most adverse to the prospects of peace. Attention was chiefly occupied by the progress of the enlistment question, and the truth flashed upon the public mind in this country that the North was actually prepared to raise a gigantic force by conscription. This proposal had previously been scouted by our press as absurd and impracticable. It was alleged that such a mass of men could never be drawn by compulsion, and that if the North could only carry on the war by means of a conscription, the sooner it yielded with a good grace the better. But the Asia's news effectually dispelled these pleasant illusions, and the conviction has since then taken deep root in the public mind, that the North is now fairly committed to another winter campaign. The object of these advices was to stimulate the market strongly on Saturday, and the sales reached 15,000 bales at ½d. advance on American cotton, and ½d. in Surats. On Monday, however, the full effect of the news developed itself, and resulted in perhaps the wildest excitement yet witnessed in our market. Spinners attended in unusual numbers, speculators and exporters competed with them eagerly, and the sales were estimated at the prodigious amount of 30,000 bales, or one-fourth of the total stock according to the figures of the circulars on the previous Friday! American cotton opened in the morning at 20½d., and advanced ½d. to ½d. per hour, leaving off at 22d. per lb.; the sales in that class alone were estimated at 8000 bales, upon an available stock of about 24,000 bales. In Surat cotton, though the demand was heavy, not more than ½d. to ¾d. advance could be quoted, while longstaples took a medium place between Surat and American.

On Tuesday the excitement continued unchecked, and very soon after the market opened, Middling Orleans was alleged to have been sold at *two shillings* per lb. Great irregularity, however, prevailed, and discrepancies of 1d. were often occurring simultaneously; for some time the market fluctuated between 23d. and 24d., and finally closed about 23½d. for middling. Considerable parcels of cotton have been brought out for sale at 2s., which checked the upward movement in America. Surats were also sold very largely, but the advance was not more than ¾d. to 1d., while longstaples gained about 1d. per lb. The total transactions were estimated at 22,010 bales. In Manchester there was nearly as much excitement as in Liverpool, and an average advance of 2d. per lb., which placed spinners in a better position as regards yarn spun from Surat cotton, but a much worse one from America.

To-day there has again been a large attendance of the trade, and a buoyant demand, resulting in sales of 15,000 bales; but American is restrained for the moment by the barrier of 2s., which seems to be the common price fixed upon by sellers. At that rate it has been done pretty freely in the course of the day, and, in some cases, even higher; but latterly there has been a general disposition to sell, and a little weakness in prices.

Attention has been gradually turned to the enormous disparity in price between American and Surat cotton, and speculators have been anxious, in many cases, to change their interest from the dearer into the cheaper article. There has accordingly been a great run upon Surats, which have improved to-day full ½d., and even more in the better grades, while Brazils and Egyptians are also ½d. and 1d. dearer. It is impossible to give accurate quotations, but the following may be taken as approximate:—Middling Orleans, 23½ to 24; Bowed and Mobiles ½d. lower; fair Dhollerah, 15½d.; Omrawutta, 15½d.; Broach, 16½d.; Complati, 15d.; and Sawginned Dharwar, 19d. to 19½d. In cotton to arrive an enormous business has been done—probably as great as on the spot—and the closing quotations may be given as 16d. for Broach nearly due, 15d. for May Dhollerah and Omrawutte, 14½d. for June, ditto, and 14½ for July, ditto.

The business of the week presents many curious points of interest, it is probable that the value of the cotton turned over on the spot, and to arrive, is much the largest on record, and not less than *five millions sterling*; the sales on Friday will sum up far more than the stock remaining in the port, and as the import is very trifling, it is probable that item will stand below 90,000 bales! Neither would it be surprising if the stock next Friday should prove to be the minimum of the year. A very large import of East India cotton is now due, and the arrivals of that class, with Brazil and Egyptian cotton for the next three months, should be close upon 40,000 bales per week, against a demand for consumption and export that is not likely to exceed 30,000 bales per week. It is also curious to observe that our quotations for American cotton to-day are just 7d. per lb. above those of July 2, while Surats are only 2d. higher; but it is probable that even yet the disparity between the two is not greater than is justified, and it is likely in the long run to be rather increased than diminished.

The news by the *Etna* to-day has had no sensible influence on the market, though for a moment it slightly damped it. Attention was called to the violent measures adopted in the North to carry out the conscription, and to local displays of opposition to this policy. Though it is not likely that these petty obstructions will much impede the warlike preparations of the North, they are apt to be magnified in this country. And inference may be drawn from them which will frighten holders of cotton. There are symptoms that the fire in our market has nearly burned out for the present; and if any uneasiness from political causes coincided with large arrivals of Surats, a sharp reaction may be expected.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, August 19, 1862.

The later telegrams from Calcutta and Bombay, up to the 24th ult., which were received here on Wednesday last, imparted a more lively tone to our market in general. The Calcutta telegram advised us of an advance upon shirtings of from 20 to 25 per cent., and that from Bombay of an advance of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per piece during the fortnight, with a prospect of still higher prices being paid. During Thursday and Friday there were many inquiries for shirtings, jaconets, madapollams, &c., suitable for the India market, and offers of from 3d. to 6d. per piece advance on Tuesday's quotations for shirtings, and 3d. upon jaconets, were made, but only accepted in few

cases, the rest of the holders requiring extreme rates, or with-drawing from the market altogether.

On Saturdays, inquiries for cloth were still more numerous than the day before, on its becoming known that the Liverpool market was excited, and that sales were being effected at an advance of about 1d. per lb. upon Thursday's quotations. Agents were loath to name any figure for cloth, feeling confident that any sudden rise in the price of cotton would still further tend to check what little production was then going on among manufacturers, and place themselves in a position to command higher rates for this staple.

Yarns [arc, upon the whole, in a more favourable position even than cloth, especially those kinds suitable for Continental shipment; and wherever a buyer meets with yarn spun from American cotton, entirely, in such numbers as 24s. to 30s. water, 30s., 32s., 40s., and 42s. mule, and 36s. twist-cops, he has to pay extreme prices, owing to the exceedingly great scarcity of these qualities.

Monday was again an excited day in Liverpool, when an advance of 1½d. per lb. was obtained for American cotton. This intelligence caused almost a general withdrawal of all cloth and yarn from the market, although buyers were willing to pay, during the afternoon, a considerable advance upon offers made during the morning.

To-day, our market has been much excited, in consequence of a further advance in Liverpool of from 1d. to 2d. per lb. on yesterday's rates.

Very few transactions have taken place in cloth and yarn, as holders are unwilling to name a figure at which they are disposed to sell, and in many instances, buyers are equally reluctant to make offers.

In yarns suitable for the home trade, some small orders were placed at an advance of 2d. per lb. upon Friday's rates, but there are very few spinners who will accept such an advance, as they think it very probable that American cotton will go up another 6d. per lb. within the next few days.

The German buyers have been equally unsuccessful in placing orders to any extent, although they have advanced their offers by about 2d. to 3d. per lb. upon Friday's quotations, for 20s. to 30s. water, and 1d. to 2d. per lb. upon 30s. to 40s. mule, and 36s. twist cops.

Cloth has been very irregular in price to-day, especially 8½-lb. India shirtings, which were quoted at from 13s. to 15s. 6d. per piece, just according to quality of material, and position of the holders.

Printers may be quoted at 2s. per lb., and all other kinds of grey goods are held for very extreme figures.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

THE BATTLE OF SECESSIONVILLE, ON JAMES ISLAND. LISTS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*.)

THE CASUALTIES IN THE CHARLESTON BATTALION.

We give below the list of casualties in the Charleston Battalion. The commanding officer, Lieut. Col. P. C. Gaillard, was wounded in the knee, but kept his place in the action notwithstanding.

SUMMER GUARDS—(CAPT. H. C. KING).

Killed: Lieut. J. J. Edwards, Corporal Isaac Valentine, and Private G. Pozanski. Wounded: Capt. H. C. King, mortally, in the breast; Privates H. S. Newville, slightly in the neck; H. Valentine, shot through the right arm; R. C. Evans, in hip; Dr. E. S. Tennant; G. W. Dingle, left shoulder; S. F. Edgerton, slightly; T. P. Lockwood, slightly, in the foot; A. Roumillat, E. L. Terry, W. W. Johnson, and Sergeant Joseph T. Wells.

CHARLESTON LIGHT INFANTRY—(CAPT. T. Y. SIMONS).

Killed: Private J. B. N. Hammetts. Wounded: Private J. Lacy, slightly.

IRISH VOLUNTEERS—(CAPT. RYAN).

Killed: Private D. Howard. Wounded: Lieut. Burke, slightly; Private Fitzgerald, slightly; John May, seriously.

CALICOON GUARDS—(CAPT. F. T. MILES).

Killed: Thomas Parker. Wounded: Capt. F. T. Miles; Lieut. J. W. Axson, Sergeant S. C. Black, Privates C. B. Buist, C. Pinckney Brown, thigh and head; H. E. Choate, Isaac Holmes, left hand, and J. E. Smith.

UNION LIGHT INFANTRY—(CAPT. SAMUEL LORD).

Killed: Sergeant R. S. Henry. Wounded: James Davis, seriously; W. Commins, in the foot.

CHARLESTON RIFLEMEN—(CAPT. JULIUS A. BLAKE).

Killed: None. Wounded: Capt. Julius A. Blake and Lieut. F. Lynch, slightly.

THE EUTAW REGIMENT.

The enemy had become convinced that all efforts to carry our works by storm would be futile, and he was endeavouring, by throwing out strong flanking bodies, to gain the rear of our position. The Eutaw Regiment was led into action just in time to baffle one of these flank movements. They charged impetuously, and forced the enemy back as far as Legare's, where the gunboats effectually protected the fugitives. In this movement, however, the Eutaw boys encountered a very heavy fire of musketry. The members of the regiment speak in high terms of the cool and skilful manner in which Colonel Simonton handled his command. The following is an official list of the casualties in the Eutaw Regiment:—

ST. MATTHEWS' RIFLES—(CAPT. SELLERS).

Killed: None. Wounded: Private E. V. Shuler and Private G. L. Dantzler, in hand.

YEADON LIGHT INFANTRY—(CAPT. S. LE ROY HAMMOND).

Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant R. A. Horton, in shoulder, severely.

WASHINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY.

Company B (Capt. Lloyd).—Killed: Second Lieut. R. W. Greer, First Sergeant Fleetwood Linnean, junr. Privates T. N. Gadsden, junr., and S. Saltus. Mortally wounded: J. H. Tavner. Severely wounded: Lieut. S. J. Burger; Privates J. B. Glover, A. S. Trumbo, and T. G. Simmonds, junr. Slightly wounded: J. H. Devoe, and J. C. Martin.

SMITH'S BATTALION.

Company A (Capt. Smart).—Killed: None. Wounded seriously: Privates Henry Cooper and Alexander Brown. Slightly: Sergeant Wm. T. Smith. Captured on Picket: Brevet Second Lieut. Sarvis, and Privates Wm. Russ and S. M. Jordan.

Company B (Capt. Evans).—Killed: Private Duncan Deas. Wounded seriously: Sergeant W. L. McFarland, since died; Private Jesse Pierce; Privates John R. Threalt, R. D. Morse, and Isaac Hirst, slightly.

Company C (Capt. Davis).—Killed: None. Wounded seriously: Privates Wm. Cole and Leonard Oxenden. Slightly: Private Thomas Cole, Corporal John Roller, arm shot off.

Company D (Capt. Best).—Killed: Privates J. T. Alford and J. H. Lay. Wounded slightly: First Sergeant H. Beatty, and Privates S. Jones and M. Stalvey.

Company F (Capt. Carter).—Killed: None. Wounded seriously: Corporal E. F. Lanabash. Slightly: Privates W. D. Rollins, J. E. P. Hickson, and C. C. Anderson.

Company G (Capt. Graham).—Killed: None. Wounded seriously: Privates L. Stricklin and Wilson Elliot. Slightly: Orderly Sergeant John H. Williamson and Private J. W. Fripp. Total—killed, 3; since died, 1; wounded, 21; captured, 3. Aggregate loss, 28.

LAMAR'S REGIMENT.

We regret that we were not able to obtain the full list of casualties in this fine command, which contributed so materially to the repulse of the enemy. The companies engaged were those of Capt. Keitt and Reed. For fourteen days, while having the most arduous and laborious duties to perform, they had been constantly exposed to the shelling of the enemy's gunboats. Of course, the attack found them very much wearied, yet they fought with all the spirit and persistence that could have been expected from fresh troops. Among the casualties were the following:—Col. T. G. Lamar, wounded by a Minié ball passing through the ear and back portion of the neck. Capt. Samuel J. Reed, of Company B, from Barnwell district, killed. Sergeant Baggett, of the same company, killed. Lieut. Humbert, of the same company, slightly wounded.

OTHER CASUALTIES.

Of the casualties in other commands we have no full accounts.

In the 24th Regiment, S.C.V., the following were wounded:—R. G. Geron, Company K, left shoulder; Pickens New, Company K, left shoulder; Sergeant G. W. Burden, Company K, neck; Sergeant D. W. Bowers, Company D, right leg; Francis Connel, Company E, left ankle.

Of the Louisiana Battalion, whose conspicuous gallantry is universally acknowledged we have not yet obtained the casualties.

Our battery was a common earthwork, behind which were mounted one 8-inch columbiad, two 24-pounders, and one 18-pounder. There were no flanking defenses.

47TH GEORGIA REGIMENT—(COLONEL WILLIAMS.)

Sergeant T. N. Mulry, Company E, slightly, in left side; R. W. King, Company E, slightly, in abdomen; J. Prigden, Company E, slightly, in thigh; Richard Youmaus, Company F, three flesh wounds, not dangerous; John Williams, Company F, slightly, in thigh; C. C. Falls, Company H, wounded in left shoulder; James J. Rowe, Company H, flesh wounds in arm and shoulder; P. R. Cone, Company K, wounded in ankle, slightly; T. H. Mikell, Company K, collar-bone broken; A. J. W. Kiekliter, Company K, flesh wound in right side; L. J. Proctor, Company K, wounded in side, slightly; S. Hagan, Company K, contusion, caused by splinters from a tree; E. H. Martin, Company K, seriously, shot through arm and right side; J. H. Martin, Company K, slightly wounded in shoulder; E. Dragers, Company K, wounded in thigh; John Hilton, Company K, slightly wounded in knee; J. Denmark, Company K, wounded by a falling tree top; J. J. Johnston, Company K, wounded in the right arm.

22ND REGIMENT SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Below is a list of the killed and wounded of the 22nd South Carolina Regiment, Colonel Goodlett. The casualties occurred among those who constituted a detachment, which was sent to Secessionville early Monday morning for fatigue duty. The detachment numbered 100 men, ten from each company, under command of Captain J. Jamison, who was at Reid's Battery during the fight:—

Company A (Capt. Adams).—Killed: Robert Cohen, Benjamin Harris.

Company B (Capt. Foster).—Wounded: John Wheeler, severely, in the arm.

Company C (Capt. Wakefield).—Wounded: Edward Sizemore, both thighs, severe.

Company D (Capt. O'Connell).—Killed: Henry Presher, William Roach.

Company E (Capt. Hilum).—Killed: Jeff. Spray. Wounded: W. R. Connell, ankle, very severe, leg amputated; F. Connell, ankle, slight.

Company F (Capt. Stuart).—Wounded: W. R. Gilstray, arm, severe.

Company G (Capt. Jamison).—Killed: Harvey Orr, Thos. Stribling. Wounded: Berry Sizemore, shoulder and hand, severe.

Company H (Capt. Peach).—Wounded: Thomas Bowers, chest, slight.

Company I (Capt. Millhouse).—Killed: Duncan Wooly, L. Justice.

Company K (Capt. Messer).—Killed: Alfred Carver.

C. E. FLEMING.

Surgeon, 22nd South Carolina Regiment.

Capt. Henry C. King, of the Sumter Guard, Charleston Battalion, who was announced as mortally wounded in our last issue, died last evening. Private Samuel F. Edgerton, of the same company, whose wound was at first reported not serious, also died yesterday. The loss of the Sumter Guard has indeed been heavy. Their First Lieutenant, J. Ward Hopkins, was severely wounded in an action a few days before, and the company is now left with but one commissioned officer, Lieut. Barbot.

The following is a list of the Confederates wounded in the battles before Richmond previous to the seven days' fight, who were taken prisoners by the enemy and confined in Fortress Monroe.

Hampton Cowan, Company B, 22nd North Carolina, from Marion, South Carolina; Joseph A. Saunders, Company E, 6th South Carolina, Chester; Joseph B. Thompson, Company

F, 6th North Carolina, Saxaplaw; William Brown, Company A, 4th Georgia, Irvington; Joseph Hays, Company C, 41st Virginia, Petersburg; W. B. Simonton, Company H, 6th South Carolina, Winsboro; S. T. Chandler, Company C, Hampton Legion, Clarendon district; Alex. Craig, Company E, 2nd Arkansas Battery, Scotland; E. M. Hollar, Company L, Palmetto Sharpshooters, South Carolina; John R. Martin, Company K, 49th Georgia, Ogdenville; H. Ella, Company K, 5th North Carolina, Salisbury; Thomas B. Brunet, Company D, Hampton Legion, South Carolina; S. F. Cole, Company C, Hampton Legion, Clarendon district; M. V. Blodch, Company C, 6th North Carolina, Orange county; W. C. Perry, Company I, 6th North Carolina, Wake county; Fred Bauck, Company F, 3rd Alabama, Montgomery; E. Keith, Company B, 16th North Carolina, Marshall; M. Bucke, Company C, 7th Tennessee, Gillespie, Tennessee; H. H. Davis, Company G, 41st Virginia, Petersburg, Virginia; L. F. McMaster, Company K, 22nd North Carolina, Franklinton, North Carolina; J. M. Lovell, Company C, 7th Tennessee, Gallatin, Tennessee; M. Cobble, Company G, 6th North Carolina; W. M. Mendenfree, Company C, 2nd Alabama, Tuskegee; E. Wilson, Company I, 14th Tennessee, Nashville; J. H. Canty, Company H, 3rd Alabama; A. Selickshurg, Company D, 18th Alabama, Selma; J. A. Brice, Company H, 6th South Carolina, Youngville; J. Kirksir, Company C, 11th Mississippi, Crawfordville; E. Handlin, Company I, 8th Alabama, Mobile; W. H. Askew, Company K, 11th Mississippi, Carro county; G. Gibner, Company G, 3rd Alabama, Lenthem; R. B. Jordan, Company K, 3rd Alabama, Mobile; William Woods, Company C, 6th North Carolina, Orange county; J. W. Lawson, Company H, 22nd North Carolina, Stokes; A. Benn, Company G, 13th Mississippi; R. Footman, Company K, 6th South Carolina; J. A. Crause, Company F, 22nd North Carolina, Alleghany; J. Q. Jones, Company A, Hampton Legion, South Carolina; B. Thompson, Company B, 2nd Mississippi, Tiphah; S. Derachio, Company C, Hampton Legion, South Carolina; W. J. Robinson, Company D, 11th Mississippi; J. J. Woodson, Company A, 53rd Virginia; Capt. W. G. Freeland, Company C, 6th North Carolina; W. J. Walker, Company H, 6th North Carolina; J. Jennings, Company C, 35th Georgia; A. Einhorn, Company F, 3rd Alabama, Montgomery; W. C. May, Company E, 22nd North Carolina, Guilford; C. Arnold, Company D, 4th Georgia, Cobb county; S. Lee, Company E, 11th Mississippi, Noxabee; S. W. Corly, Company B, Hampton Legion; A. T. Matlock, Company B, Hampton Legion; M. M. Little, Company A, 46th Virginia, Stafford; W. F. Bradford, Company E, 41st Virginia, Norfolk; W. Price, Company F, 11th Mississippi, Noxabee; J. Crushern, Company H, 3rd Alabama, Lowndeshoro; T. Walker, Company G, 3rd Alabama, Benton; L. Thomas, Company B, 41st Virginia, Hanover county; W. G. Bradfoot, Company E, 11th Mississippi, Lounds county; E. Cochnan, Company A, Hampton Legion, Georgetown, South Carolina; — Shell, Company I, 11th Mississippi; G. W. Cone, Company D, 16th North Carolina, Rutherfordton; J. B. Beaumont, Company D, Southern Rifles, Union Springs; Sergeant Pat Hearn, Company I, 8th Alabama, Mobile; William McCready, Company I, 8th Alabama, Mobile; S. B. Day, Company D, 3rd Alabama, Union Springs; W. A. Bayard, Company E, Hampton Legion; A. Pugh, Company M, 2nd North Carolina, Randolph county; S. W. Ward, Company E, 22nd North Carolina, Beauford; L. V. Green, Company D, Hampton Legion; Tom Pierce, 41st Virginia; C. A. Dougherty, Company C, 3rd Alabama, Tuskegee; E. A. Thomas, Company F, 11th Mississippi, Camden, Arkansas; J. F. Conner, Company K, 16th North Carolina, Lincoln; S. Bell, Company E, 22nd North Carolina, Guilford; W. C. Drawpen, Company C, 14th Tennessee, Springfield; B. H. Keiser, Company C, 3rd Alabama, Tuskegee; T. G. Loftons, Company H, 11th Mississippi, Houston; E. Anderson, Company F, 22nd North Carolina, Alleghany county.

The ladies of the Atlanta Hospital Association have presented Colonel John Morgan with a beautiful cane, in token of their gratitude and admiration of his deeds of daring in defence of their oppressed country.

The wife of General Beauregard, reported to be dead, is living, and in health.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following letter needs no introduction:—

Richmond, July 10.

My dear —,—You would not recognize Richmond, as the Richmond you knew, if you were suddenly transported into our midst. The city is crowded with soldiers and strangers, and since the last battles it is like one vast hospital. We cannot walk in any direction without meeting maimed or sick soldiers. I spend every morning in the hospitals. My time, as well as that of many, many other ladies, is spent almost entirely in preparing delicacies, and ministering to the comfort of thousands of poor sufferers. Oh, how often do I wish you were here to aid us in the work. My Heavenly Father has given me an unusual degree of health and strength during the past year, and I thank Him truly that I can use it in so good a cause. The large warehouses, as well as many others, have been fitted up for hospitals, and I visit there also. We have 300 patients there. The ladies are organized into societies and committees, and we often have large donations sent us from the country to distribute amongst them. I am so interested in the work that I will write you too much about it I fear. We have many heart-rending scenes around us, and our sympathies are daily called forth in behalf of some poor bereaved wife or mother. Never before did I realize the horrors of war. On several occasions, when fighting was going on in the neighbourhood of the city, and the flashing and sound of musketry was seen and heard, many of our ladies have worn anxious faces in behalf of loved ones exposed to danger, but never—no, never, have I seen anything like fear or trepidation. A firm trust that we are to be victorious seems to prevail amongst us. We have remained quietly at home, doing all in our power for the sufferers. Some families have been compelled to seek health in the country. In the city we have been deprived of all our usual summer luxuries; no ice, except a little for the sick; fruit, too,

is all bought up for the hospitals. Many families are destitute of tea, coffee, sugar, &c. Wines and liquors of every kind are very high. Dry goods, too, would amaze you. Ten cent cotton and calico sell for a dollar a yard. Ladies common boots and shoes for \$10 a pair, and other things are in proportion. So if you can persuade Europe to interfere and raise the blockade, we ladies will be very much obliged to you. Many of our gentlemen are so independent they do not wish any foreign interference, but prefer managing for themselves. We often see R.; they have a house full of sick soldiers. Mrs. — has six sons in the army, all doing good service. R. is a prisoner at Fort Warren; you know he was in the United States' navy. I. is staying with us. The second son is with Stonewall Jackson. The eldest was killed at Manassas. The rumour is to-day that Jackson is marching on to Washington. If he is spared he is destined to be one of the greatest heroes of this revolution. D. is full of energy as usual. You find him in camps, hospitals, &c., and always kind and sympathizing. I could write you a great deal more, my dear —, but I do not feel certain that this letter will reach you. If it does, let me know, and I will write again. C.

The following extract is from a letter addressed to a relative in London:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, June 19, 1862.

—, You cannot imagine the depth of hatred here for the Yankees. It is not loud as formerly, but has sunk into the hearts of every Southern man, woman, and child; and how could it be otherwise when we see the tyranny exercised by such men as McCook, at Nashville, and Butler, of New Orleans. I have been in the service a little over a month, and have passed through two of the hardest fought battles unscathed. The last was the battle of Seven Pines, called by the Yankees, Fair Oaks. The Yankees, as usual, claim the victory, but if ever a people were whipped, they were on that occasion.

We drove them from their outcraunchments, took their camps, and an immense amount of artillery, small arms, &c. For the two days we remained there, our army used their provisions, and sent an immense quantity to Richmond. B. was wounded in the hand, but is all right now. W. G.'s regiment was in the fight, but his name is not in the list of killed and wounded; therefore, you may be sure he is safe. T. T. is in a company at Mobile. H. G. was at Corinth, in the Alabama Regiment that so distinguished itself. Do not feel uneasy about me, if I should by any chance get wounded, I have three invitations to private houses to be nursed, and need not go into the hospital. W.

The following letters, though long on the way, are still interesting. They are addressed to a Southern lady residing in England by her nephew and niece:—

May 23.

Headquarters, 1st Regiment, Virginia.

MY DEAR —, I have asked L. to write to you as I am so busy, and it is difficult to find a way of writing in camp. This is the first time I have written with pen and ink for many a long day, and I feared you would not be able to read letters written with a lead pencil. I have just received your letters of December 24. I have sent you two long letters, one by an old friend, but it is difficult, and I can only get them through at long intervals. I am stationed near Richmond, in fact our whole army extends round the city. I was just in time for the battle of Williamsburg, having joined my regiment the night before it came off. We whipped the Yankees well, though they claim a great victory. They acknowledge to having 30,000 engaged where we had only 9000, and our own regiment captured a battery and repulsed five different regiments of the enemy, driving them off the field. That night we continued our retreat to where Johnston is. You must not be uneasy about us for we are getting on finely. N— and E— are somewhere south. I suppose E— was taken prisoner. He was in the Home Guard at New Orleans, or something of that kind, when the Yankees came. All the others of the family are in the regular service; but L—, of course, could not leave. Mrs. —, of Mobile, is very energetic at the hospitals. T— is lieutenant in a volunteer company. H. G— is adjutant of a regiment; his brother T— is in the army. That exhausts all my news from Mobile. Yours, W.

Richmond, May 21st.

My dear Aunt,—As there is a chance of sending you a letter, I must not miss it, more particularly as W— has not time to write. As he is of course the most interesting person to you, I will speak of him first. He has been appointed adjutant of the 1st Virginia Regiment. Joined it only two days before the Battle of Williamsburg, was in the thickest of the fight all day, and came out without a scratch. It was a great victory to us, let our enemies say what they will. His military career was inaugurated under such happy auspices, that I hope a brilliant future is before him as a soldier. The hardships of a very fatiguing march, and a kind of life to which he had so long been unaccustomed, made him a little sick, but he is well now. His regiment is very near this city, but his duties are such as to prevent his coming in often. I have only seen him twice. Aunt M— I hear from occasionally; they are all well, but they have lost all their negroes, I believe. Aunt — is cut off from the mails; the only news I got from her is when she can send a letter by a straggling soldier. My

own brothers are all in the army, and all safe yet—that is, they are all living. P— is a prisoner somewhere in Yankee-land, but well. My husband, all my cousins, uncles, of whom I have a goodly number, are in the army. We have not been called yet to mourn the loss of any of our darlings, and I am happy to say they are as full of patriotism as heart could wish. How much I wish I could tell you all about the affairs of our country, for I know you cannot see Southern papers, and therefore cannot know the truth on one single point; but as there is a possibility that my letter may be seen by enemies, I must content myself by saying that we are certain of success. I cannot tell you how thankful I am that W— came home to take his part in it. If he had not taken his share in the war, he could not again have shown his face in his country. He would have forfeited his self-respect, as well as that of every man and woman of the South. Even should he die in the cause, dearly as I love him, I could never regret that he came. I would not withdraw one of my brothers, or anyone I love, from the service if I knew it would preserve their lives. I can give you no idea how we all feel, but you can judge of it when you think that worth, justice, honour, lives, homes, and fortunes are all embraced in one cause. Who can care to have a husband or brother they could not respect, and who would respect the man unwilling to pour out his heart's best blood in the cause for which we fight? We think of nothing, dream of nothing, talk of nothing but "the war;" that must be my apology for writing of nothing else. I hope you and — will not be unhappy about us, who are exposed to the dangers of these troublous times. I feel that we are perfectly safe—never have felt a fear yet, and never shall regret the separation of our States from the Union, even if the life of every man in the South be the price paid for our independence. I am glad you are in a place of safety, as you are not men, but would be glad to see you again, and live in hopes of that happy day coming when we shall all be together again in peace. The Episcopal Convention is sitting here now, but it is a very different one from the last you attended here, just enough members to form a quorum, not a man to spare.

LUCY.

Extract of a Letter from New Orleans, dated July 4:—

Notwithstanding the large import of flour from New York, prices are higher than ever before. We deemed the prices exorbitant during the blockade, when we had to pay \$20 to \$25 in Confederate notes per barrel; but now the bakers have to pay \$35 and \$40 in bank notes (which are at about 15 per cent. discount for gold.) This state of things would be unintelligible, if I did not explain that we have only one merchant in the city, who holds the entire large stock in the warehouses, and this no less a personage than the Honourable Major-General Butler. It sounds fabulous; but we hear it daily confirmed by the reports of captains of vessels arriving. There are only four tow-boats here, which are entirely controlled by Butler. On the arrival of vessels at the bar, word is sent to the captains, who have flour or coal to sell, that their vessels will be towed up only on condition of a sale of the cargo to some agent of General Butler, who secures coal at a moderate price to resell it to the United States, his own government, at \$18 per ton, or four and five times the price he gave for it.

We have constantly the most contradictory reports from Virginia. They are mostly rumours in favour of the Southern army, but they find at once the most violent contradiction in our newspapers, which are printed under Butler's direction, and contain slips from Northern papers unfavourable to the Southern arms. The Northern newspapers never reach us, they are rigorously suppressed by order of our military commander.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 7.

The Secretary of the Treasury has, by his first issues of irredeemable and inconvertible notes, driven all the specie from circulation; the emissions now being made ready, when floated as currency, will chase all the bank "promises to pay" from existence. This will surely put an end to the stock operations in Federal securities, and render them valueless for the gambling operations of the "bulls" and the "bears." The premium on gold has declined 6 per cent. from the highest point it touched; this is owing to many of the small holders being content with a handsome profit, and the fact that the importers, during the month of July, were so hard pressed for money to pay the duties on their importations before the revised tariff went into operation, that they were unable to purchase bills in London, and hence the decline in exchange, and consequent fall in the price of gold. So soon, however, as the foreign merchandize is disposed of, the gross sales—including cost, freight, duty, and profit—will have to be remitted for in specie or specie funds, as the bills drawn against the shipments of grain do not now amount to over one-fourth the value of the importations; besides which the sales of bonds and stocks on European account are on the increase. The duties paid during July, in United States demand notes,

amounted to \$9,000,000 against \$2,000,000 the corresponding month last year. The importations since January I have been \$104,000,000 of merchandize, and \$46,000,000 of securities, making a total of \$150,000,000; against this the exportations of produce were \$77,000,000, and specie \$38,000,000, summing up \$115,000,000, leaving a deficit of \$35,000,000, to say nothing of the large floating commercial and financial balances due to Europe. The great ease in the English money market has so far staved off much trouble in Wall-street, but should the Bank of England advance its rate of discount there will be serious times here. Many intelligent persons think that the Tax Bill will never be collected; that before the 1st of September the Washington Government will become a matter of history. There is no doubt whatever that in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and in the Western States there is a large majority of persons opposed to the war. The same is becoming the case in this State, but we are so Yankeeized by close proximity to New England that we are much more slow to move. This is the land of "isms;" there has been an Hibernian-African row at Brooklyn, which may be called *pat-riot-ism*. The influence of the Irish is very great in the city, and the first effort to force a *sofi* of the Emerald Isle into the Federal service against his consent will cause a riot, to be followed by the overthrow of the civil authorities, who are in league with Lincoln and Seward, and the appointment of a Vigilance Committee to take charge of the municipal affairs. Mr. Lincoln has added another item to his vulgarities by appearing at a political meeting, and making a speech in his usual unhappy style—such a step had never before been taken by any President. Mr. Buchanan was very much censured for addressing a Committee of the Breckinridge Association from the steps of the White House, but that was a mere trifle in comparison with the recent outrage upon the dignity of the office of Chief Magistrate of the United States.

PARIS, August 20.

Garibaldi's design is said to be to cross over to the Calabrias, and attack the French army at Rome. Rather than to see his country progressing quietly under liberal and orderly institutions, he threatens to unmake the Italy which he has made. If he indulges in the absurd belief that he made Italy, why should not he believe it his right to unmake it?

Napoleon III. does not seem to be the man to submit to the threats of Garibaldi; and the Marquis de Lavalette has officially assured the Pope that no invasion of the States of the Church shall be allowed, and that the French army will protect the integrity of the Papal territory against all insult.

It had taken but a few years for liberal and constitutional little Piedmont to transform itself into a kingdom of 20,000,000 of subjects. It might take but a few months for Mazzini and his tool, Garibaldi, to destroy all the fond hopes of the friends of Italy and of constitutional liberty.

The Turkish question seems to quiet itself, and the *statu quo* bids fair to be again the state of Eastern affairs, after a patched up treaty between Prince Nicolas and Omer Pacha, and a patched-up settlement about the Belgrade fortress, shall have once more postponed the solution of the vexed problem.

The departure of the next convoy of French troops for Mexico will probably take place on the 25th inst. General Bazaine is to sail in the St. Louis. No new tidings have been received of the expedition since my last. The little French army, of course, maintains its ground, and it succeeds in keeping its communications open against the swarming Mexican horsemen.

We have heard again of the cuirassed frigate *La Normandie*. On her way from Madeira to Martinique, she spoke to a sailing vessel bound East, and gave her some letters for the French secretary of the navy. It appears that this trial of her voyage across the Atlantic is a complete success thus far. She has reached already the warm latitudes, and all are busy on board in noting methodically the effects of the warm temperature on the plating and on the interior arrangements. Valuable information is obtained daily as regards both the building of iron-plated ships and the proper conditions for the welfare of the crews on board.

You have heard already of the *fete* of August 15 in Paris, and of the reception of the Spanish Ambassador. You can form a judgment of the effect produced at Madrid by the Emperor's speech from the following extract of the *Contemporain* of the 15th:—

It is undeniable that the reply of the Emperor of the French to the Spanish Ambassador produced a great sensation at Madrid. What has most attracted attention is, that the Emperor speaks only of the Queen personally, and makes no allusion to her responsible Ministers. The circumstance that the new Ambassador must have been made acquainted with the speech beforehand renders matters still worse. The misis-

terial press should give some explanation on this point. One important inference may be drawn from the Imperial Speech. The Emperor says that General de la Concha is animated with the same sentiments as his predecessor, from which it would appear that he will not negotiate on other bases. It is well known that M. Mon resigned because he did not approve of the policy of General Prim, which was sanctioned by the Government. General de la Concha, according to the opinion of Napoleon III., has instructions contrary to that policy, and, will, therefore, continue the work of M. Mon. This has also been the general opinion at Madrid from the very first. It results from the Emperor's concluding phrases that he leaves to the wisdom and patriotism of the Spanish Government the choice of accepting or rejecting irrevocable projects. We shall soon see the result of General Concha's first negotiations with the Court of the Tuileries.

The Emperor has left for the Camp at Chalons, with the Imperial Prince. Some interesting experiments in military telegraphy took place there some days ago. An apparatus having been established in a tent at the headquarters, another one was placed in a carriage, and the two were kept in correspondence, by a wire developing itself as the carriage was driven off. It is reported that the distance might have been lengthened to twenty miles. The officers at both ends could keep up a perfect and instantaneous communication with each other. The experiments were considered very satisfactory.

A great deal of disputing is going on about *La France*. M. de La Guéronnière is not the exponent of the Imperial policy—so say the rival *Constitutionnel* and the rival *Patrie*—but nobody can destroy the indisputable fact that the renowned Senator is always better posted than any one else as regards the feelings and opinions of the great statesman to whom France has confided her destinies. Again, others are announcing the appearance of a fourth concurrent in the race, bearing also the more or less official colours; M. Piétri, General Hutton, Marquis de Lavalette, to be at the head of the project.

The new Session of the "Conseils Généraux" will be opened in a few days. We have had a new victim of "rope dancing,"—Mrs. James Potter; the rope broke under her, and she fell from a considerable height, and was seriously injured. "My poor children!" were her first words, when she was able to speak. It will not, probably, be long, in this well-regulated country, before the authorities put a stop to these barbarous spectacles.

At the theatre of the Opera Comique, a new attraction is drawing the amateurs of music, despite the warm weather. They have begun the performance of an opera of Pergolesi, dating from 1730—first played in Italy, and most successful there, it was afterwards given on the French stage; and we can again admire the tunes which were so much applauded by our great grandfathers.

The corn crops have been suffering in the South of France, from the total want of rain. In the centre the reports are of an average crop, whilst they are most favourable in the North. On the whole, the return is above an average.

The Bourse maintains itself with very slight fluctuations, and no animation whatever, at nearly the same stereotyped quotations.

A committee of subscriptions has been organized in Paris, with a view to raise a bronze statue to the memory of Parmentier, who introduced the potatoe into France.

The anxiety of the friends of the South here is very great to get at last the news of the great tumbling down of the Washington mob despotism. We all knew long ago that it was doomed. Foreigners, perfectly ignorant of the country, may be deluded; but every man of sense who has seen America never doubted for an instant the triumph of the Southern cause and the ruin of her baffled enemies; yet the tyrants can still do a great deal of mischief before they are stripped of their usurped power. They are now trampling down every law of civilized warfare, just as they had already every law of international right. They have, though, soon to stand the conscription and the taxes, and I have not a shadow of a doubt that they will not survive these two self-inflicted blows.

ON THE DEFENCE OF TOWNS AND CITIES.

BY JOHN M. RICHARDSON, PROFESSOR IN GEORGIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

(1) Vauban destroyed the equilibrium between the attack and the defence of fortified places. Since his time every beleaguered place, however well fortified, garrisoned, and supplied, not succour ed by a relieving army, has fallen when besieged by a force sufficiently strong and adequately provided with the usual means of attack. The superiority of the attack over the defence has been continually increasing, and has now, perhaps, reached its maximum, until some new projectile force, more effective than gunpowder, shall have been discovered; but the means of defence have hardly improved since the days of Vauban, except so far as the increased range of firearms may be an advantage, by allowing a greater development of the works of the defence, and by forcing the attack to open at a point more distant than hitherto.

It is doubtful, however, whether the defence draws any real advantage from the development of its works, except in certain localities in which the defence occupies all the practicable ground, and the attack can find no place on which to plant a battery; and the attack can hardly be said to be placed at any disadvantage by being forced to commence at points much

more distant than hitherto, because the fire of the attack is so very greatly more destructive now at double distances than it formerly was at single.

(2) The superiority of the attack over the defence arises from—

1. Ricochet firing.
2. The multiplicity of the curved fires of the attack.
3. The defence being at the centre of a circle, of which the attack occupies the circumference, the fire of the attack is converging, whilst that of the defence is diverging.
4. Dead angles of defence and the sectors without fire.
5. The impossibility of making a good muzzle to muzzle fight, owing to the weakness of the works that protect the guns and gunners of the defence, and the vastly superior number of guns brought to bear by the attack upon the defence.

(3) The progress of a siege is briefly this: The attack opens at a given distance, soon discounts the barbette batteries, and forces the gunners to take refuge in the casemates; breaching batteries are then brought up, the scarp is battered, a practicable breach is made, and the garrison surrenders.

When the place can be surrounded by the attacking party, the duration of a siege is usually a matter of simple calculation. Thirty-two days have usually been sufficient for the reduction of the strongest places.

(4) To restore the equilibrium between the attack and the defence it is required—

1st. To guarantee the material and personnel of the defence against ricochet and curved fires, and thus force the enemy to abandon the distant attack, and advance to the muzzle to muzzle struggle.

2nd. So to locate and protect the casemate batteries, that the enemy cannot reach and destroy them by any other means than by subterranean warfare.

3rd. To command the ground so thoroughly as to force the enemy to commence his system of mines at the greatest possible distance from the counterscarp of the outer ditch.

These requirements can only be satisfied by placing all the works of the defence with an armour of wrought-iron sufficiently thick to resist the heaviest projectiles of modern times—by using none but casemated batteries, and by so locating and protecting them, that they cannot be reached by the distant attack, nor affected by the proximate.

When these requirements have been satisfied, the only resort of the besieger is to subterranean warfare. In this struggle, the advance is with the besieged, because he has prepared the ground in advance, and located obstacles on the progress of the besieger in every spot not needed for his own system of mines. The place can only fall, then, when its means for active defence have been exhausted, for its passive obstacles to the progress of the besieger remain untouched.

It may not be strictly necessary to protect all the works of the defence with iron armour-proof against shot and shell; but the scarps should be thus plated, and all casemated batteries for flank defence and direct firing. The parapet may consist exclusively of earth, as hitherto, but then it should be of such dimensions that the besieged may have it in his power to construct it at, at any time of the siege, by means of the sap, snakes, blind batteries to bear upon any point of the attack. Nor may it be strictly necessary to discard barbette firing altogether, only the pieces thus used, should be so lightly and easily handled, that they can be readily withdrawn at any moment, sheltering from ricochet firing, and again brought into play.

Fixed barbette batteries of heavy guns are hereafter worse than useless; they not only do little, if any, damage to the besieger, but are a source of unnecessary expense and loss to the besieged.

The days of barbette batteries, of masonry scarps, and of masonry forts, with two or three tiers of guns for sea-coast defence, are numbered. The engineer who relies upon them only prepares cruel disappointments for himself and terrible and disgraceful reverses for his country's arms.

(5) It is a question for economy and mechanics to decide, whether the present system of defensive works, retaining their development, may not have the thickness of their vertical sections so diminished, that the whole may be increased in iron, and completed at a less expense than the cost now. It is known that four to six inches of good wrought iron, sustained by two to three feet of solid timber, will perfectly resist the heaviest projectiles thrown at short distances from the improved artillery of modern times.

Whether or not masonry plated with iron will, without the introduction of an elastic cushion between the two materials, offer the same resistance as wood plated with iron, is for experiment to determine. But whether the cushion is or is not needed, to prevent the crumbling of the masonry under the shock of the projectiles, the employment of this defensive armour will place the material and personnel of the defence completely under shelter from curved and ricochet firing, will remove many of the objections that have hitherto prevailed against tiers of casemated batteries, and may even allow fortresses to resume the frowning and commanding heights they had before the discovery of gunpowder (if such heights are found advantageous to the defence), and the placing of barbette batteries so high up as to be exempt from ricochet fires.

(6) But it is probable that the war in which the Confederate States are now engaged, will not, during its continuance, give any opportunity for the construction of permanent works on a large scale, and the preceding remarks may seem to have no practical relevance to our affairs. They are chiefly introductory to some suggestions for the defence of such of our towns and cities as can be reached by the iron-clad vessels of the enemy.

(7) The conditions of a good defence require—

1st. Such a construction of our water and other batteries that they may be indifferent to the distant attack of mortars and rifled guns, and laugh at the muzzle to muzzle struggle.

2nd. Such a location of the batteries that a concentrated fire at short ranges may be brought to bear upon a series of dangerous points, over which the enemy's vessels must pass.

3rd. The obstruction of the water-way in such a manner that the enemy's vessels may be detained for the longest time possible under the very guns of the batteries;

4th. The employment, if possible, of floating batteries and gunboats. The first condition can be satisfied only by dispensing altogether with open batteries, and by building casemated batteries of heavy timber plated with iron. Some of these batteries should be sunken, so that their fires can just graze the surface of the ground; others may be more elevated; but the lower they are, the less they cost, the less the mark they offer to the enemy's guns, and the stronger they are.

For plating these batteries there is an abundance of railroad T iron, that may be used without any change of form, if the rolling mills of the Confederacy cannot convert them into plates with sufficient rapidity. For various reasons, plates are preferable to the rails, but especially because their fit would

be more accurate than that of the rails. The lower layer is spiked down. The upper layer is secured to the lower, and held immovable by means of wedge bars of wrought iron. The rails should be horizontal.

The second condition can be satisfied by an intelligent location of the batteries, conformably to the accidents of the ground and the particular points of the channel to be rendered dangerous. Numerous guns of heavy calibre should be brought to bear upon these points, and the gunners, secure from the distant attack, instructed not to reply to it, unless a battery has been thrown up for that particular purpose, but to await with coolness and confidence the proximate one. Of course, it is supposed that the first condition has been satisfied, that the batteries are guaranteed from the distant attack, and that they cannot be taken in reverse from any bend of the channel within range.

Even if barbette batteries were not—except in the case of simple *apartements* on a battle-field—an absurdity in the present state of military art and science, the practice of mounting a few pieces in the salient of a work, and giving them a horizontal sweep of 180 degrees or more, is nothing more nor less than to invite the enemy to disable the guns and kill the gunners. It is impossible for a gun to defend a great arc of 90, or 180, or more degrees, of which it is the centre; it is criminal to expose men and guns, and call upon them to perform certain duties which it is impossible for them to discharge. Nothing but disaster has ever followed the practice; nothing but disaster can result from it.

The points to be defended by any particular gun should be few, their range accurately known, and the gun devoted to their defence. These points, called dangerous points, are not mathematical points, but spaces; they should be obstructed so as to detain the assailants in them, and numerous guns should be brought to bear upon them. These dangerous points should be as numerous as possible, and, if the means at command are sufficient, the whole of any given portion of a channel or waterway may be converted into a dangerous point.

This system of building batteries of wood and iron enables the engineer to diminish the space between adjacent embrasures to that just sufficient for manoeuvring the guns; the fire, therefore, from any given front of a work becomes a maximum. For defending a bend of a river from either the concave or the convex side, a circular battery of several guns firing through a single embrasure, may, under some circumstances, be used with advantage.

The third condition may be satisfied by sinking vessels, caissons or cribs of stone, or by constructing floating or sunken rafts of timber.

Where timber is abundant, a raft may be soon constructed which would not only obstruct a river in its entire width, but in its length for miles. A raft, to be of service, should not be a narrow one stretching across the river, for that could easily be removed by the enemy, or would, in all probability, be carried away by a rise of the river, or by a strong wind blowing down stream; it should extend up and down the river for a distance equal at the least to its width, and the branches of the trees should be so intermingled, and the trunks secured by chains, &c., that the whole would become a consistent and co-operative mass. It would be almost impossible for the enemy to remove such a raft, or for wind and flood to carry it away. Moreover, the whole could be secured to the bottom and banks by numerous anchors and stay-chains. For a narrow river there would be no difficulty timber being abundant, in the way of constructing such a raft. It may be supposed that such rafts could not resist the destructive action of the rivers themselves. Experience is our only guide. The chance constructed rafts on our Western rivers have resisted for years the persistent and untiring efforts of civilized man at their removal. A narrow band of ice extending from shore to shore of one of the tidal rivers of the North, would, on the rise or fall of the tide, be broken to pieces and washed away. But it is the universal experience on such rivers, that when once sheeted over with ice a few inches thick, although the rise and fall of the tides break the sheet into innumerable fragments of greater or less size, yet these fragments wedged against each other and the shore, continue to form a (in one sense) coherent mass, and defy the efforts of wind and wave at their removal.

In the construction of rafts, therefore, let the teachings of nature be followed. Don't make them in a narrow line across the river, but let their length, up and down the river, be at least equal to the width of the river. The length may with advantage be much greater than the width. Indeed, in particular cases, varying with the characteristics of rivers, it would be advantageous to make the lengths of the rafts measured up and down the stream, equal to several times the width of the river.

Batteries should command the rafts at all points. Indeed, batteries might be constructed on the rafts themselves. Those portions of the raft nearest the enemy should be protected not only by batteries, but by a well-located system of rifle-pits.

In addition to these fixed rafts, smaller ones, arrow-headed and solidly built, might be used for launching against the enemy's vessels. Torpedoes could be attached to them, and arranged to explode when the rafts come in collision with any heavy body.

Of the advantages of floating batteries and gunboats—both iron-clad—nothing needs be said; but, unfortunately, we have them not; and their construction requires so much time and skill, that, if not prepared before the place is attacked, they can hardly be got ready for service in time to assist in the defence. On every stream that will float them they should be in process of construction. They are thus briefly dismissed, because they are not properly in the province of the military engineer, according to modern systems.

This brief memoir being merely suggestive, none of the details of execution are given. If the principles alluded to and the means suggested can be made at all available in the defence of Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, or Mobile, the writer will feel that he has done his country some service.

The modification of the means suggested, which may be rendered necessary for resisting a land attack, are so obvious that they need not be mentioned.

The following paragraph has appeared in the Southern papers:—"A large force was lately ordered out in Nashville for the purpose of capturing John H. Morgan, information having been given to the Yankee Provost Marshal that he had arrived in town the preceding night. The excitement took a new turn when it was discovered that the party to be arrested was only six hours old, a patriotic woman having bestowed that name on her last contribution to the population of the Confederacy."

THE DEMORALIZATION OF THE NORTH.

(From the *Morning Post*.)

If any one wishes to see to what a frightful extent a fratricidal war can demoralize a people, let him read the accounts, furnished by the American papers, of the great war-meeting held at Washington at the beginning of this month, under the auspices of President Lincoln. The savages in the yet uncivilized parts of America hold war meetings, and vow eternal enmity and utter extermination to their enemies. The ancient republics did the same; but that a great progressive nation, proud of its rapid growth, its liberty, its civilization, and its religion, should so far forget itself as to rival the wild Indian in savagery, and be so far behind its age as to have recourse to popular passion instead of patriotism, and to call in the fury of the mob in aid of the policy of Government, as the Greeks did three thousand years ago, is a spectacle which we had not thought to witness in the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet what wild tribe from the Red River or the South Sea Islands, dancing round its fires, and goading each other to fury by cries and curses, could exceed in deliberate cruelty and implacability the citizens of Washington on the occasion to which we refer? The resolutions passed were studiously inhuman, and were as disgraceful to the country as the assembly itself was inconsistent with the first principles of good government.

A war meeting, such as that reported, is an anomaly in any constitutionally-governed State. What must be thought of a Government which, in time of war, has no resource but to collect mobs, and, after exciting them with speeches full of blood and fire, to pledge them while in the burning heat of passion to extremities of policy and cruelty which make the rest of the world stand aghast in disgust and consternation? Wherever power may reside in a popular Government, surely the conception and direction of policy ought to rest in the Executive. But these war meetings presuppose the direct contrary. They appeal to those who have not the power to reflect, the wisdom to guide, the materials for forming a sound judgment, nor any responsibility to a superior power. The consequence is, that the great question which must sooner or later be entertained—whether the people of the South shall be recognized as independent, or exterminated as traitors—is not only indefinitely postponed, but hopelessly prejudged. The effect is most disastrous. The voice of reason may be heard in councils and cabinets. A few men solemnly deliberating under a deep sense of the gravity of the questions at issue, and of their own perilous responsibility, have some chance of arriving at what is right, and of seeing the true way out of a frightful complication. But the conscience of crowds is nowhere. Their judgment counts for nothing. Their policy is pretty sure to be destructive. The Government that is constitutionally bound to refer its measures in detail to a mob, is founded on a wrong principle, and must give way at the base. The Government that does so when it is not so bound, is helpless and incapable; its days are numbered, and its end not far off. Of course we can all understand the necessity, when a line of policy is determined upon, of keeping public opinion up to the mark, in order to get the greatest amount of popular support, especially when heavy burdens have to be imposed upon the people; and for this purpose public meetings, speeches, and explanations may be very proper and useful. But the war meetings, to which the Government of the Federal States is now resorting, are very different things, as may be seen by the resolutions adopted. We take it as a sad sign of weakness in the Government that it should appeal to such meetings, and as an indication of unspeakable brutality on the part of the people that resolutions, such as we have now to notice, should have been passed with any sort of unanimity.

The first resolution is to this effect—"We deliberately and solemnly declare that, rather than witness an overthrow of the Union, we would prosecute the present war until our towns and cities should be desolated, and we, and all that are dear to us, should have perished with our possessions. Let the Union be preserved, or the country be made a desert." Is this the language of reason, or of passion? Does it show the wisdom or the madness of the people? Is it policy or perversity? Did ever statesmen before goad a people to stake the very existence of a nation upon a single course, and to cut themselves off from any alternative? We are far from supposing that the good sense of the reflecting classes amongst the more respectable Americans will be compromised by manifestoes like these. The Washington mob may speak for themselves; they bind nobody else. But what are we to say of a Government that can put such language into a mob's mouth?

Another resolution states that if the war is not popularly supported it is from a want of confidence in those who have the direction of it. With this we have no fault to find. But the third is much more serious. After urging the President to observe no limit in the prosecution of the war but the resources of the country, it adds:—"We are convinced that the leaders of the rebellion will never turn to their allegiance, and therefore they should be regarded and treated as irreclaimable traitors, who are to be stripped of their possessions (!) and deprived of their lives (!), or expelled the country." These words will be read in this country with feelings of intense abhorrence. Their palpable injustice, their repugnance to any known principle of morals or religion, will make people on this side the Atlantic burn with very shame for the discredit done to the Anglo-Saxon race by the implacability of this degenerate people. We must accept this demonstration as a specimen of the expedients to which the Government will have recourse in order to stimulate the warlike frenzy of the populace. None know better than Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward that the war is beginning to stink in the nostrils of a large proportion of the citizens, and they therefore adopt this method of keeping up the war spirit to boiling point. They dread, above all things, a collapse in their resources. Signs of that collapse are too visible in the scarcity of money and the reluctance to enlist. If these continue the Union is lost. And, therefore, the nation is urged to pledge itself to no peace with the Confederates, no partition of territory, but to the Union, the entire Union, and nothing but the Union, or in default of that, national annihilation, and in the meantime every possible cruelty towards the rebels.

We have no sort of expectation that such pledges will be redeemed. Peace will come at last. The Union will not be re-constituted, nor will the Federal States be annihilated. The Yankees are good at repudiation, and the rabid outbursts of a Washington mob are not likely to be held binding on the rest of the community. But, as far as they go, these resolutions and their recourse to war meetings are a bad sign both of the moral condition of the American people and the prospects of the Federal Government. The effect of them on the minds of Europeans will be very painful. Few of us ever imagined that even a two years' civil war would have plunged a great people so low.

CUTTING OUT A FEDERAL TRANSPORT ON THE JAMES RIVER.

(From the *Richmond Examiner*.)

On Saturday morning a party of five of the Prince George Cavalry, (Captain Marks) consisting of Corporal Teller Cooke and Privates Thomas Martin, William Daniel, Alexander Dimitry, and William Williams, conceived and carried out successfully a private little enterprise of their own, which resulted in the burning of a large Federal transport, the capture of its commander, and the consternation and surprise of the Yankee fleet in the immediate neighbourhood. The party left Coggin's Point, on the south side of James River, five miles below City Point, about one o'clock on Saturday morning, in an open boat, armed with naked sabres and their revolvers. The Federal fleet of transports and gunboats lay around them. One gunboat was at anchor about 100 yards above them, and another half a mile immediately below, while several others, invisible at the time, were in various positions. The transports lay scattered along the channel, some not twenty yards apart. After getting among them, the party made a reconnaissance to discover the largest, and finally selected a splendid-looking schooner of 200 tons burden, which proved to be the Louisa Rives, of New York, loaded with corn, oats, and other articles of forage, and commanded by Captain John A. Jones. As they approached her, a dog on board commenced barking furiously; they plied their oars vigorously and quietly, and, reaching the bow chais, boarded the schooner without faltering. The crew were sleeping soundly, but the captain, awakened by the dog, rushed on deck from the cabin, and was met at the very door by Martin (himself a sailor), who seized him by the collar, and placing a pistol at his head, cautioned him that to speak a word was death. Taking the surprised captain back into his cabin, he was allowed to dress, and secure whatever valuables he wished to carry away with him. The mattresses were then drawn out, ripped open, and fired, the door locked, and the captain escorted to the boat. In a few moments the party reached the shore, when the flames burst from the fired vessel, and the whole fleet was in commotion. Small boats plied about in every direction, hawsers were attached to vessels, anchors weighed, and a general pulling and tugging commenced to keep clear of the burning vessel. In the meantime the crew of the Louisa Rives, awakened by the smoke, yelled "fire!" and scamped over the decks with buckets of water with all the volubility and nimbleness of New York "plugs." A boat was sent from one of the adjacent vessels to their relief and assistance, and for the additional purpose of saving the schooner if possible. But the crew had scarcely mounted the deck before a shell and some rifles which were in the cabin exploded. All hands commenced a general stampede, and tumbled over the bulwarks into their boats in the utmost confusion. No farther attempt was made to save the vessel and she burnt to the water's edge. The heroes of this achievement, concealed in the woods above Coggin's Point, watched the event with the utmost satisfaction, and then carried their prisoners into quarters. They stated that they would have taken the whole crew, but their boat was leaky, with a hole in one side just a little above the water line, so that if they had taken the crew in, all would have gone down together. Had they stopped to lower a boat from the vessel, their manoeuvre would doubtless have been observed, and their capture the consequence."

SHELLING A BRITISH STEAMER.

(From the *Nassau Guardian*.)

One of the most glaring outrages we have ever had occasion to record took place within sight of our citizens on July 25. At daybreak two steamers were observed from the shore, one giving chase to and firing at the other. The vessels tumbled out to be the Federal man-of-war *Adirondac* (14), Commander Gansevoort, and the English steamer *Herald*, Captain Coxetter. We have been favoured with the particulars by an eye-witness on board the latter vessel. The *Herald* was steering for Nassau at half-speed, the lighthouse being in sight, and shortly afterwards saw a vessel about two-and-half miles ahead. At half-past five o'clock she was about four points off the starboard bow, and a mile distant. She then changed her course and stood for the *Herald*, as if to cross her bows. When within 200 or 300 yards of her she rounded up alongside. The former then hoisted the British flag, and the latter fired a shotted gun across her stern. The *Herald* kept on her course, still at half-speed, when the other fired a shot across her bows, slightly grazing her, and afterwards showed the American flag. On this Captain Coxetter ordered all steam to be put on his vessel, when the American sheered off between 300 and 400 yards, and fired a broadside, which was ineffective. From this time she kept up a continuous fire, throwing shell, solid, chain, and grape shot; giving chase, and not desisting till the *Herald* was within two miles or less of the lighthouse. The flag was shot down, but immediately replaced. The deck was splintered over the cabin by a shell, part of which was found on board. Captain Coxetter stood on the paddle-box all the time, and was heard to exclaim, "He may sink me; but he shall not take me." No material damage was done to the vessel, and not a man on board was hurt. The *Herald* entered the harbour between six and seven o'clock, and reported the case to Captain Hickley, of Her Majesty's ship *Greyhound*, who immediately got up steam and proceeded to the *Adirondac*, for the purpose of protesting against the proceedings of Captain Gansevoort. The captain of the Federal man-of-war, however, asserts his right to search any vessel suspected of carrying contraband of war within three miles of any coast, and quotes "Vattel on International Law" in support of the step he has taken. The subject, we understand, will be referred to the Home Government, at the request of Captain Gansevoort. With all due deference to the captain of the *Adirondac* and the authority he has brought forward in support of his untoward act, we feel convinced that the Imperial Government will never countenance such a gross infringement of the neutrality laws; and we sincerely trust that no similar outrage will be perpetrated again within our waters. Our goods are detained from month to month by the Custom-house authorities of New York; our vessels are constantly being boarded by Federal gunboats within our own waters, and that while our time-honoured flag is flying; not even the mail packet *British Queen* can pass along unmolested, for she was fired at and brought to this very passage. Only a few weeks ago the British steamer *Bermuda* was captured off Abaco, within sight of the lighthouse; and on the 8th inst. what do we find?—why, the Federal gunboat *Adriatic* carrying off the British steamer *Adela* within sight of the Bimiois. It is high time to put an end to these unheard-of proceedings.

GENERAL BUTLER'S THREATENED BRUTALITY TO PRISONERS OF WAR.

The following correspondence needs no explanation. It will be observed that the resolution of General Ruggles had a very salutary effect on General Butler.

Headquarters, First District,
Department Mississippi and East Louisiana,
Tangipahoe, La., July 21, 1862.

To Major-General Butler, Commanding United States' Forces,
New Orleans, La.:

General.—The bearers of this note, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Jones, Volunteer Aid-de-Camp, and First Lieutenant Alexander Barry, Confederate States' Army, are charged with delivering to you, under a flag of truce, a communication concerning prisoners of war, which will, I trust, receive your earliest consideration. I have to request that these gentlemen be permitted to return by the best practicable means and under proper protection. I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
DANIEL RUGGLES,
Brigadier-General, Commanding Department.

Headquarters, First District,
Department East Louisiana and Mississippi,
Tangipahoe, La., July 15, 1862.

To Major-General Butler, Commanding United States' Forces,
New Orleans, La.:

General.—I have received petitions from officers of the 1st Regiment Louisiana Partisan Rangers touching the case of Henry Castle, a private of Company B of that regiment; and also an application respecting Thomas C. Pennington, a private of Captain Wilson Tate's company of the same regiment, and I deem it expedient to request your early consideration of the subject. It appears that Private Castle was captured by a detachment of Federal troops in the vicinity of Baton Rouge, on or about the 7th of the present month, and Private Pennington on or about the 28th day of June; that they were taken to New Orleans, and are now held either there or at one of the forts in the vicinity, in close confinement, with the threat that they are to be tried and executed as members of a military organization not sanctioned by the laws of civilized warfare. It is to be observed that the first great law of nature, the right of self-defence, is inherent in communities as well as individuals. No law condemns the individual who slays the robber or assassin; and no just law can condemn a community for using all its power to resist the invader and drive him from their soil. The exercise of this right, so universally recognized, becomes an imperative duty when the invader, as has been the case with the Federal troops in this district, disregards those rules of warfare recognized and respected by all civilized nations, and adopts that code which has heretofore been confined to the rudest savages. The proof of this is unfortunately too abundant in the vicinity of Baton Rouge. It is attested by helpless women and children flying from their burning homes, and by desolation of plantations, by the plunder of private property, and the wanton destruction of growing crops. Such acts are crimes against humanity, and justify all men in taking up arms against their perpetrators. The independence of nations has rarely been achieved by regular armies. Our own Revolution—that Revolution which successfully established the great principle for which the Confederate States are now contending, "that all Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," was mainly fought out by men who left the plough at the news of the enemy's approach, and returned to it when he had been driven back. It may be conceded that in Europe, where the Governments mainly rely upon large standing armies, which are as much as possible disconnected with the people, and where the policy is to prevent the people from bearing arms under almost any circumstances, some very absurd refinements on this subject have been asserted, and, to some extent, tolerated. But such doctrines have never been recognized on this continent. The United States especially have repudiated them.

The various revolutions which have agitated the Central and South American States have been conducted by the people, frequently without organization and without leaders other than those chosen upon the spur of the occasion, to direct a single enterprise. And to recur to the Revolution of our forefathers, the history of that immortal struggle abounds with instances where the hardy yeoman—as at Lexington and Bunker Hill—were, like the clansmen of Roderick Dhu, called by a concerted signal to some "Limerick mead," and there selected their officers on the very field of battle. But whatever differences of opinion may exist upon this point, it has never been claimed, even by the most stringent advocates of legitimacy, that one belligerent has any right to complain of the name or form which the other may choose to give to its military organization. The right to adopt these to the peculiar service required has been universally conceded; so far, indeed, has this practice been carried in naval warfare that privateersmen—"the militia of the seas"—with charters as broad as the ocean's bounds, are recognized as legitimate among belligerents. And now, indeed, the extraordinary spectacle is presented to the contemplation of civilized man in this boasted nineteenth century of the Christian world, of a nation claiming to be civilized, in violation of its constitutional obligations, inaugurating deliberately servile war by stimulating the half-civilized African to raise his hand against his master and benefactor, and thus make war upon the Anglo-Saxon race—war on human nature. This with the Federal Government is legitimate warfare; but the defence of their firesides by Southern citizens is treason and murder. In military organizations, the Polish Lancers, French Zouaves, and British corps of scouts and guides in this late East Indian war are cases in point. The Confederate States claim and have exercised this undoubted right. The formation of companies, battalions, and regiments, of Partisan Rangers, has been especially authorized by an Act of Congress. The officers of this corps are commissioned. The men are regularly mustered into service, receive pay, rations and equipments from the Government, and are entitled to the same privileges and governed by the same regulations as all other troops in the Confederate service. It is asked, therefore, what pretext can be offered by the enemy for subjecting the members of this corps to a different treatment from that extended to other prisoners of war? Certainly, no such distinction can be recognized or tolerated by us. The Government, having called these men into service, is bound, by every obligation of good faith, to protect them to the extent of its power; and if found necessary for their protection, as well as for that of numerous unarmed citizens, who have been subjected to outrages unparalleled in civilized warfare, will not hesitate, I feel constrained to declare, to resort to retaliation, even to the extent sanctioned by the Jewish law—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and life for life. I await an answer containing an

explicit declaration of the intentions of the United States' Government respecting these prisoners.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
DANIEL RUGGLES,
Brigadier-General Commanding District.

To which General Butler replied as follows:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, La., July 23, 1862.

General.—It is the intention of the United States' Government to let these men go on their parole, and one of them has been gone more than a week.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Major-General Commanding.
Brigadier-General Ruggles, Commanding at Tangipahoe.

THE VICTORY AT MURFREESBORO.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

Another most brilliant victory is added to the history of our struggle for independence. Hereafter, the 13th of July will be a day enshrined in the memory of Southern patriots. This most successful expedition had been planned, and for days was moving forward from Chattanooga. On Saturday, at twelve o'clock, the command, about 1600 strong, left the vicinity of McMinnville, and, after a march of fifty miles, the grey dawn of the quiet Sabbath found the command all safely within two miles of Murfreesboro. Being halted here for a few minutes, the arms were examined and the plan of attack agreed upon. Again the word of command was given, and they moved forward. The Texas Rangers had led the advance during the entire march, and they still occupied the position. In a few minutes more a gun fired, and the pickets on the Woodbury pike were their prisoners. Then commenced this dashing charge in good earnest.

Colonel Forrest had assigned the attack on the first encampment to Colonel John A. Wharton and his daring Rangers, together with Colonel Lawton and the Second Georgia Cavalry, whilst he was to lead the remainder against the other forces. The Texans were now fully in earnest, and they spontaneously awoke the still morning with their usual terrific yell, which enlightened the charge; and when Colonel Wharton, at the head of the column, reached the point where he was to turn to the right, he led his men and dashed forward. By some means the regiment was here divided, and only 120 men of all these assigned to this important work were found with him, the remainder of the regiment, and Colonel Lawton's regiment following Colonel Forrest. Supposing his whole force was with him, he at once charged through the brigade wagon-yard, and through the 7th Pennsylvania Cavalry, a portion of it being here—probably 125—then into the Michigan 9th, which was just beyond, and already formed in a hollow square to receive the charge.

The fire being now exhausted, and the support failing to come up, they reloaded in face of the enemy, and bravely charged on foot. Thus did this Spartan band fight on foot or mounted, as circumstances justified, for four long hours. Supposing all the while that reinforcements would come to their relief, they heroically battled against four times their number, who had the advantage of position and long-range guns, at every point inflicting terrible havoc upon the enemy. During one of these foot charges, the Colonel, being mounted, and leading his intrepid band, received a severe flesh-wound in his arm. But, nothing daunted, he still retained command until some time after, when Lieut.-Col. Walker came up, and he turned it over to him. He soon effected a union with the remainder of the regiment, and, with Major Thomas Harrison, led until the final surrender at eleven o'clock.

During these four bloody hours, this small number, soon reduced below a hundred, did the work assigned to a thousand men; and undoubtedly to their gallantry, persistent determination, and unflinching charges upon these camps, is mainly attributable the final glorious issue. No blame can be imputed to the other three-fourths of the regiment for not participating in this most honourable and desperate conflict, for they were, by some strange blunder, led to another part of the field, where their fighting was unavailing. Surely, if gallant bearing and glorious success, gained by desperate fighting, is ever rewarded in this great struggle for home, happiness, and liberty, then should "Murfreesboro" be inscribed in golden letters upon their battle-flag by order of the Commanding General. Modern times do not furnish an instance where such a badge of honour and distinguished valour have been more heroically won, or more dearly purchased. But let the figures tell the story of their deeds of daring, and the brilliant success of that noble 120.

During the different charges they killed and wounded thirteen of the Pennsylvania Cavalry, and in the camp of this 9th Michigan 103, as their officers acknowledge. Among these, Lieutenant Chase was killed, and George Duffield was severely wounded. He gives Colonel Wharton credit for shooting him, and then pays him a well-merited compliment in saying that he is the bravest man he ever saw upon the field of battle. Well might he say this when hearing the clear voice of the gallant colonel crying out above the roar of musketry, "Charge them, my men! charge them," as they rushed, time after time, with renewed courage upon their foes. But this result was not accomplished until every fifth man was killed or wounded. During this continuous engagement they brought out over 100 prisoners, and fired the brigade waggons—thus destroying a considerable amount of forage—at the same time securing a large number of mules.

Then the surrender of the whole command took place; some 300 or 400 were surrendered from this encampment. It was here the principal fighting took place during the morning, and this decided the glorious victory of the day. For, although the Georgians gallantly received the fire at the Court-house, where the enemy were protected, yet, whilst pouring a deadly fire into their ranks, he, in return, suffered but little. They made a charge upon the battery, but were repulsed, and it was surrendered with the remainder. This was Captain Hewitt's celebrated Kentucky Battery; whilst the Minnesota 3rd had no general attack. But of this 120, who were thrown, unsustained, upon greatly superior numbers, every man seemed to feel the responsibility of his position, and nobly did each one do his duty.

Among the most active and daring, and, at the same time, most conspicuous, was Adjutant Royston, whose chivalric bearing was observed wherever duty called and danger was to be met. He was cool on all occasions, and a stranger to fear. Upon Colonel Wharton was conferred the honour of bringing the prisoners through to this city, where they arrived safely today. He was accompanied by Company B of the Texas Rangers.

Among the forty-five officers is found General T. T. Crittenton.

den, of Indiana, with one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, one major, eleven captains, and twenty-nine lieutenants. Colonel Forrest had previously paroled about 1100 privates. Over 300 mules and horses, with some fifty waggons, were captured. With these a splendid lot of arms, some ammunition, stores, &c. A large amount of quartermaster and commissary stores were destroyed. In brief, everything was brought away or destroyed, thus making a clean sweep. It was a complete surprise to the enemy and a perfect success for our cavalry. We hope that many such may follow in quick succession, until Tennessee shall be delivered from the power of the oppressor, and be once more free and prosperous.

The forty-five Federal officers captured by Colonel Forrest at Murfreesboro, on the 13th inst., arrived in Knoxville on the 21st. The privates and some wounded officers were released on their parole by Colonel Forrest. Among other good things done by Colonel Forrest, he released from the jail in Murfreesboro a Confederate Lieutenant from Alabama, a private from Tennessee, and three citizens, who had been placed in jail by the Yankees, and who had received felons' treatment. These Federal officers are greatly chagrined at their surrender to so small a force, unaided by infantry or artillery. They say that their forces were in three separate camps, at some distance from each other; were attacked in detail, and were completely surprised—that Colonel Lester, of the 9th Michigan Regiment, surrendered without firing a gun—that Brigadier-General Crittenden had only assumed command on Saturday, the day before the fight—that he had intended to concentrate his forces in one camp, and, if Forrest had only waited two days, he would not have been successful.

The number of Yankees killed and wounded was about 25; prisoners captured about 1250—of the 3rd Minnesota Regiment, 600; 9th Michigan, 500; Pennsylvania Cavalry, 150; Hewitt's Kentucky Battery of four guns, two brass and two steel; 300 horses and mules; 60 waggons; several ambulances, and 2000 stand of arms. The Federal camps, with all their contents, embracing a large lot of new clothing, were burned, as was also the depot at Murfreesboro, containing near half a million dollars' worth of quartermasters' and commissary stores. Several railroad bridges near Murfreesboro were also burnt.

The Confederate forces engaged, 1300 to 1600. The Confederate loss in killed and wounded was about 46.

THE RAILWAY MERRIMAC.

(From the *Charleston Mercury*, July 12.)

For weeks before the opening of the recent bloody battles before Richmond, hundreds of citizens daily flocked to look upon and wonder at an iron-clad railroad battery that was being swiftly but mysteriously constructed on the railroad near the York River depot. Many were the speculations as to the specific purpose for which it was designed, and not a few were the predictions that it would prove a failure. Some persons, indeed, conceived so low an opinion of its usefulness as to predict that it would be "taken prisoner" on its first trip. Unchecked by ominous predictions, the work went on, and the battery was completed. Lest our enemies should borrow the idea, we refrain from giving a minute description of the work. It is an iron-clad battery, mounted on seven sets of wheels, and carrying one large rifle gun. The whole machine was propelled by an ordinary locomotive.

Lieutenant James Barry, of the Norfolk United Artillery, was assigned to the command of the novel craft. His crew consisted of Sergeant Daniel Knowles and thirteen men, all members of the same artillery corps. Mr. N. S. Walker, one of the engineers of the York River Railroad, volunteered to run the engine which was to push the battery into action. Owing to the breakage of one of the timbers supporting the gun, the first trip of the battery down the railroad proved a failure, and it was necessary to bring it back to the city for repairs. These were soon effected, and on Saturday evening it again got under way, and bore down toward the Yankee army at Fair Oaks. It was halted that night at our last entrenchment, between five and six miles from Richmond. Sunday morning the engine attached to the battery got up steam, and Lieutenant Barry prepared for action and awaited orders.

The men were in exuberant spirits and anxious for the fray. At ten o'clock, a.m., having received orders from General Magruder, Lieutenant Barry proceeded down the road a mile, when his further advance was obstructed by the Yankee fortifications which crossed the track. About two hours were consumed in re-opening the track, when the battery advanced steadily down the road. About twelve o'clock, the battery being about seven miles from Richmond, Lieutenant Barry came in sight of several thousand Yankees moving at a double-quick down the road in front of him, in the direction of Savage's. He was about to open into the flying mass, when he was stopped by General Magruder, who suggested that they were our own troops in pursuit of the enemy. Just as the troops disappeared around a curve, one of the enemy's batteries, stationed in the woods in front of Savage's house, opened upon our forces, who were in the woods to the left of the railroad, and about seven miles from Richmond.

The first gun of the enemy killed General Griffiths, of Mississippi. Lieutenant Barry was ordered to engage this battery, which he did with such effect that the second shell from his gun silenced it. He then continued for some time to shell the woods near and around the spot from which the Yankee battery had retreated. At four o'clock he was ordered to proceed down the railroad abreast of our skirmishers, and to fire into anything and everything he saw ahead. As he turned the curve and entered Savage's field, he saw, a half a mile in advance of him, a party of Yankees engaged in setting fire to a train on the track. Having fired two shots into this train, a white flag was raised on it, and General Cobb, coming up at the moment, ordered him not to fire into it again, as he had information the train was loaded with sick.

Immediately afterwards General Magruder rode up, and seeing the enemy drawn up in line of battle, in the field in front of Savage's house, ordered Lieutenant Barry to go a quarter of a mile nearer and open into his ranks. On the bursting of the second shell the enemy fled in confusion to the cover of the woods to the right of the battery, and from that point poured on it and the engine a perfect hail of rifle bullets. Kemper's battery now opening on the enemy from a position in the rear of the battery, Lieutenant Barry was obliged to withdraw in the direction of Richmond. As he was receding up the railroad, his battery drew the whole fire of the enemy, but fortunately, though the narrow escapes were innumerable, not one of the men was struck. A Minie ball passed within an inch of the engineer's head, and struck in the railroad embankment.

As the battery drew back to Fair Oaks, the 3rd South Carolina, supported by other regiments, dashed across the railroad, and, charging into the woods in which the enemy had taken shelter from the rifle shells of Lieutenant Barry, drove them in the direction of Bottom's Bridge, with great slaughter. It

was estimated by General Magruder at the time that the loss of the enemy in this engagement was between 800 and 1000 in killed and wounded. How important a part was played by the railroad battery in this engagement may be conjectured by the statement of a prisoner who was captured on the occasion. He informed Lieutenant Barry that the second shell thrown into the ranks drawn up in the field just in front of Savage's house, killed and wounded 100 men and 30 horses. It is believed, also, to have done great execution in the woods, and contributed, by the terror inspired by its immense missiles, to the easy rout of the entire division of the enemy.

Since that battle, the enemy having left the track of the railroad, the battery has seen no service. It has performed handsomely all it has undertaken, and must, therefore, be pronounced a complete success.

THE LAST DAY OF GENERAL ASHBY.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*.)

It was a busy one. Scarcely had he ordered his baggage train to proceed before the enemy opened fire upon his camp. With but two companies of his old cavalry he prepared to meet them; seeing this, they immediately withdrew. The command was then moved slowly through Harrisonburg, and drawn up 300 yards from the opposite end. Soon a regiment of "blue coats" came charging through the town, around the bend, in full sight of Ashby's men, who stood upon their trained chargers as if fixed to the ground. When within a very short distance, they commenced to slacken their speed, only giving us time to tender the salute due them. Soon their ranks were broken, and in confusion they fled through the streets.

Never before had I heard our noble General utter such a shout. It was not one caused by victory over a brave foe after a hard contested fight, but only seemed designed to shame an ignominious band for running before they were hurt. We had begun to entertain a high opinion of this body of cavalry. Upon one instance it flanked and charged upon a battery, which was left without a support—a most daring feat for them. (Here General Ashby stood by the guns, fired every load from his three pistols, and brought everything away safely.) Soon we were moving along the road to Port Republic, the enemy pressing closely. Ashby's eagle eye was upon them, as if watching for an excuse to give them battle. An excuse, and even the necessity for a fight, soon became evident. The road was very bad, the train moved slowly, and the main body of the enemy's cavalry was only a mile from its rear. They gave us no time to prepare to meet them. Ashby had but begun to form his men, before three regiments, with colours flying and music rare, emerged from a woods three-fourths of a mile distant. Bearing to our right, they charged, presenting a beautiful sight. Ashby could contain himself no longer. Gently drawing his sabre, and waving it around his head, his clear, sounding voice rang out his only command—"FOLLOW ME." The dash was simultaneous. Fences were cleared, which at any other time would have been thought impossible.

The enemy came to a halt. It was but for a moment. As they heard the strange wail of the sabre around their heads they broke and ran. The work of slaughter had commenced. At every step, Ashby, followed closely by his men, cut them down, or sent them to the rear. For two miles and a half the chase continued, and the scene became more bloody. Never before did our general or his men use their sabres to such an extent. None but those who have witnessed a similar can imagine the spectacle. Enraged by deeds too horrible to mention, led by a general whose presence exerted a mystic influence over every heart, the bravery of the men knew no limit, and seldom was a summons to surrender heard. The scattered fragments of the three regiments hid themselves behind their column of infantry three miles beyond the point of attack; and the pursuit ended not until this infantry opened fire. Here Ashby drew up his men, and remained beneath their fire and waited for reinforcements from Jackson. In this fight Major Green, of the 6th Virginia Cavalry, was slightly wounded; also another, name unknown. We took forty-four prisoners—among them the colonel commanding the brigade of cavalry. The infantry having arrived, Generals Ashby, Ewell, and Stewart (of Maryland), led them to the fight. Here Ashby's gallantry could not have been excelled. Having led the 1st Maryland Regiment in a charge, which sent the enemy flying from that quarter, he sought the 58th Virginia, and, still between the two fires, he ordered the charge. His horse fell dead; he rose, beckoned to the men, and whilst in the very act, a ball entered low in his left side, came out near the left breast, and shattered his right wrist. He fell—he died. Not even a groan or a sigh was uttered by the dying hero. He was brave whilst living, but braver in dying. The men were not discouraged, but pressed on, and soon the victory was ours. Night closed the fighting. The noble Ashby fell between six and seven in the evening. The news went like a flash through our lines. Every heart was wounded. The aged, the young, and the hard-hearted wept. Nature made deeper the gloom; and soon the darkness of the night made still darker the regions of the mind. He now sleeps in the University Burying Grounds, near Charlottesville.

THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL M'CALL.

The *Richmond Dispatch*, in its account of the fight of the 30th, has the annexed particulars of the capture of Major-General M'Call, the commander of the reinforcements sent to M'Clellan, and second to him in command:—

On a hill, obliquely to the right of General Hill's advance, was posted a battery of some twelve pieces, which had been twice captured during the afternoon by our forces under General Longstreet, but recaptured by the enemy. This battery, the brigade of General Fields—reduced in numbers and worn out with fatigue from their participation in every general engagement since Thursday—was ordered to charge. With spirit and alacrity they responded to the order, and with close rank and steady step they moved forward to its execution. In their approach to the battery, they fired three or four rounds, and then engaged the enemy with the bayonet. Here the struggle was bloody and determined, but after a most obstinate resistance the enemy was driven from his pieces and pressed back some two hundred yards in a hand-to-hand engagement. This charge was made by three regiments—the 4th, 53rd, and 16th Virginia.

The other brigades of the division coming up to the support of Fields, fleeing the enemy routed, commenced cheering vociferously. The Federal general, M'Call, hearing this cheering, and mistaking the source from whence it came, rode up and said, "Hurra, boys; I am glad you have held the battery. Hold on for a short time and reinforcements will be up to sustain you!" He was accompanied by Major Biddle, his Adjutant-General, Major Williams, another aid, and two couriers. Suspecting that he had, perhaps, made a mistake,

he asked what regiment it was that held the battery. An officer present replied, the Forty-seventh Virginia. On obtaining this information, Majors Williams and Biddle and the two couriers wheeled about and endeavoured to effect their escape. They were fired upon, and Major Biddle shot through the head and killed instantly. The others, so far as is known, escaped without injury. General M'Call, being in advance of his party, was brought to a stand by a private in the Forty-seventh Regiment, who drew his gun upon him and demanded his surrender. His sword was received by Major Mayo. The General was particularly solicitous that no indignity should be offered him, when he was emphatically assured by Major Mayo that he had not fallen into the hands of a soldiery unacquainted with the usages of civilized warfare. Under an escort, M'Call was then sent to General Hill.

THE FEDERALS IN TENNESSEE.

The following letter, which we copy from the *Atlanta Confederacy*, describes the outrageous career of the Northerners in Tennessee:—

In the Mountains near Nickajack,
Marion County, Tenn., June 18.

The Yankees have routed me from home, stealing my provisions, clothing, &c., and taken four horses and one negro (the rest faithful). I have been compelled to put my family in a place of security and provide for their welfare, as I am ordered by the Secretary of War to report at once to General Beauregard. The Yankees have been travelling back and forth from Stevenson towards Chattanooga in large force, in an apparently undecided manner, robbing and destroying as they go. It is reported they are crossing at Alley's Ferry, which, however, is doubtful. Our forces are ready for their advent, come where they will.

The Yankees robbed us of nearly everything they could take—crockery, knives and forks, silver cups, all the tin and stove fixtures, ornaments, watch, and many highly-prized articles—heirlooms from our revered parents; my gun (I saved my Minie musket), my clothing, all our towels, some bed-clothing, earrings belonging to a servant, and a pair of pants belonging to a negro man, which they put on the spot. They planted a cannon before the door, and quartered 300 men at and around the house. They have taken horses, &c., from Union men also, putting their horses in wheat fields, and stealing and killing cattle, sheep, &c. They took many prominent citizens prisoners, dragged them about with them for several days, and released some on parole to appear at Huntsville on the 4th of July, taking others to Columbia, Tennessee, to try as "rebels and traitors." They seem to do their best to ruin and produce as much mischief as possible. They seem to have full license from their officers, and the officers say they must take provisions to sustain them, as transportation is too high and difficult.

Union sentiments are fast disappearing before a stern desire for revenge. When our men get into their country, as we believe they will, vengeance will be taken. We have lost all our brotherly love and Christian charity, and desire to be avenged on the scoundrels and their nation. Our troops here desire to come in contact with them, and nothing but superior officers detains them here. H. H.

NORTHERN OPINION.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a Northerner to a friend in London:—

The South are at present gaining ground, but when it will end, and how, none can tell. My opinion has never been changed from the commencement. The Union can never be restored. It is possible the South may be conquered, but it will never be by subjugation, reducing States to provinces, and an armed occupation of the entire South, involving forcible and speedy emancipation, and the destruction of every material interest. The great question follows, "What then?" Is the Union restored? No; only in name; and amidst the excitement of strife this great question is apparently overlooked, and the Radical Party seem to be gaining ground, but in reality there are many calm, cool Conservative and sensible men all over the North, that are quietly and sensibly asking themselves and others, "What then?" and since the great disaster to M'Clellan's army, I find numbers of intelligent men among my acquaintances in New York, who have heretofore had great confidence in the ability of the Government to restore the Union, now say that their faith is shaken, and that they now look for a speedy intervention by England and France; and that, as practical and sensible men, we must prepare for the recognition of the South, and accept it as the least of the evils. These humiliating facts are before us. No truer patriots, or more ardent lovers of country live; but when madness rules the hour wisdom is extinct. The time may even come when it will be heard. If we could only again be as we have once been, a united and happy people, none would rejoice more than I; but I see no hope. Thus, I do not feel that I am doing wrong, or entertaining any disloyal sentiments or desires, when I express and feel the conviction that this is the only practical way of restoring peace and prosperity to our distracted land, and relieving thousands in other lands that are suffering with us.

A correspondent of the *New York World*, who is with General Pope's army, writing from Culpepper Court-house, complains that the order to subsidize the army upon the enemy has been read by the soldiers as a simple licence for indiscriminate plunder.

"The new usage which has been instituted in regard to protection of rebel property, and the purpose of the Government to subsidize the army as far as practicable upon the enemy's country, has produced a decided revolution in the feelings and practices of the soldiery, and one which seems to me very much to be regretted. Unless these innovations are guarded by far more stringent safeguards against irregular and unauthorized plundering, we shall have let loose upon the country at the close of the war a torrent of unbridled and unscrupulous robbers. Rapid strides toward villany have been made during the last few weeks. Men, who at home would have shuddered at the suggestion of touching another's property, now appropriate remorselessly whatever comes within their reach. Thieving, they imagine, has now become an authorized practice, and, under the show of subsidizing themselves, chickens, turkeys, hams, and corn have become a lawful plunder, with little discrimination as to the character or circumstances of the original owner. I blush when I state that on the march through a section of country, every spring house is broken open, and butter, milk, eggs, and cream are engulfed, almost before the place is reached by the men. Calves and sheep, and, in fact, anything and everything serviceable for meat or drink, or apparel, are not safe a moment after the approach of the army. Even things apparently useless are snatched up, because, it would seem, many men love to steal."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any date, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1862.

The Tug of War in the North.

GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON has put in an appearance and satisfied the Northerners as to his whereabouts, though by this time it is quite possible his movements may again be the subject of hazy speculation; for when he has delivered his blow he forthwith resumes his march, leaving the enemy "to bind up his wounds," and indite grandiloquent despatches. The meagre and evidently edited Federal account of the battle near Cedar Mountain is sufficiently graphic to enable us to understand the affair. A force, stated by the Federals to be 7000 strong, under the command of General Banks, had been detached from the main body under General Pope, and pushed forward, but not, as suggested, to check General Jackson; for we cannot suppose the Northern commander would be guilty of the folly of attempting to cope with an army reported to number 30,000, and led by a general whose reputation is in itself formidable. But whatever the motive of General Banks' movement General Jackson was prepared to take advantage of it. At early morning, we are told, General Johnston discovered the position of the enemy, forthwith advanced, and opened on him from numerous masked batteries. Masked batteries are not made ready in an hour, and therefore we may be sure that before the morning of the battle the Confederates had arranged to give the Federals a warm reception. The fight lasted from three o'clock until dark, when the Federals withdrew from the range of the Confederate guns, "but to what distance is not stated." The Federals admit that their "infantry was badly cut up," and that they lost two guns. It is estimated that the Federals lost 3000 killed and wounded; and, as the fight lasted some six hours, we may believe the loss is not overstated. As usual, the Northern telegram announcing the disaster, is accompanied by an assurance that "large reinforcements had been sent to the Federals." It is singular that their large reinforcements should not be sent before the fight, but be merely kept in readiness to go forward after the battle is lost.

Having defeated and driven back the enemy, General Jackson recrossed the Rapidan, a movement which the Federals are pleased to call "a retreat." The report that the Federal cavalry and artillery were in pursuit is a singular announcement. It is not usual for defeated armies, needing large reinforcements, to pursue the victorious foe. The sum of the matter is that General Jackson has gained an important victory, and shown the North that General Pope's boastful proclamation was not the herald of Federal triumph.

The rest of the news from Virginia does not call for lengthened comment. General McClellan's army has been relieved by the receipt of fresh vegetables; and the people of the United States may be surprised, if not a little indignant, at the negligence of the Government in not preventing the sickness and mortality by such indispensable supplies; but the heat in Virginia is excessive, and the remnant of the army of the Potomac has to encounter fever and pestilence that cannot be kept at bay by any system of diet. The only movements reported are that the Federals have been driven in from City

Point, and that they have fallen out from Malvern Hill. In Washington it is expected that the Confederates are preparing for some great operation in the neighbourhood of James River, and the aspect of affairs seems to warrant the expectation. General Burnside is at Fredericksburg to co-operate with General Pope; but it is considered uncertain whether they will "attack Richmond or some other point." The probability is that as long as possible they will interpose their forces between Washington and the Confederates.

Guerillas are everywhere. In Western Virginia, where they have become very annoying to the Federals; in Missouri, where they have captured Newark and Alexandria; in Kentucky, in which State General Morgan is again operating; in Alabama, where they have captured the Federal General McCook, and which act has been followed by the Federal outrage of hanging some innocent men residing in the neighbourhood of the occurrence. But more important than all is the discovery in Indiana of a Secret Society, numbering 15,000 persons, organized for the purpose of preventing Federal enlistments, resisting Federal taxation, and for generally aiding the Confederates. This is the outbreak of the storm we have so long foreseen, and not we only, but all those who were not blinded by the pretensions and accounts of the North. In Illinois and Ohio there is great agitation, from the prevalence of Southern sympathizers. The Governor of Pennsylvania hesitates to convolve the Legislature, well knowing that in the Lower House there is a Democratic majority opposed to his views, and determined to call him to account for his unconstitutional proceedings. In New Jersey there are also strong evidences of a similar feeling. In fact, it is only in the six New England States where there is not a manifestation, not only of opposition to the Washington Government, but of a decided opposition to the continuance of the war. If Mr. Lincoln succeeds in raising another army of 600,000 men, a portion of it will probably be required to keep in order some of the adhering States of the Union.

But will he raise 600,000 men? The conscription panic passes description. The Irish, who have abused England, loaded her with opprobrious epithets, indignantly repudiated any connection with her, are now frantic to be recognized as English citizens, and so escape drafting into the Federal army. The Germans, whose fighting proclivities are unquestionable, protest against impressment. By every available route crowds of persons are endeavouring to escape from the dominion of Mr. Lincoln. Native-born citizens, who can think of no other asylum, are going to California, not to seek for gold, but for an asylum from the deadly swamps of the South, and from battles which are signalized by unprecedented slaughter. Disguised as sailors, the citizens of the Union seek refuge on board the steamers bound for Europe. We have read, in fanatical abolitionist romances, of negroes escaping from slavery by going into Canada, but to-day we behold the spectacle of troops of white men emigrating to that land to escape from the despotism of the United States Government. In this emergency the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended, and personal liberty no longer exists in the United States. The Chief Superintendent of the New York police is appointed a Provost Marshal, and the New York police is constituted a Provost Guard. The frontiers are rigidly watched. Californian passengers, citizens passing from one to another of the United States, are obliged to find bonds for \$1000 to provide a substitute if drafted. The Secretary of War has issued an order prohibiting any citizen liable to be drafted to go to a foreign country, and persons attempting to disobey this edict are to be arrested, and without any form of trial, placed on military duty. All persons who shall in any way discourage volunteer enlistments are to be arrested. This statement we do not glean from Southern, but from Northern sources, and yet we confess that it is almost incredible. The North is in a state of siege. The people who boasted of their liberty are suffering from a despotism that has no parallel, at least in this century, in the civilized world.

Possibly Mr. Lincoln may recruit his army; possibly, but not probably. In Missouri, for example, where the citizens have banded together not to enlist, he may find it difficult, if not impracticable, to get the required complement. In Ohio the State Militia is not more than enough to protect the frontier and repress Southern sympathies in the State itself. In Indiana and Illinois all the troops he can raise will be required to keep those States from becoming actively hostile to the war policy of his Government. But, grant that he gets the men, what then? What can be expected of an army composed of men thus pressed into the service, and bitterly hostile to the Government.

Under such circumstances, Mr. Lincoln attending a mob meeting at Washington, at which resolutions were passed about the perpetuity of the late Union, long since broken into fragments, and recommending bloody and savage vengeance against the South, not only against the leaders and the men, but against the women, is inexpressibly undignified, but almost ceases to be infamous by being supremely ridiculous. Under such circumstances, the cry of passionate despair, and the clamour for the extermination of the people of the South, that are raised in New York are a bitter mockery. The Empire City has for ever lost her principal trade; she will no longer batten on Southern wealth; her commercial supremacy is a thing of the past. The struggle may not be over; the end may not be so near as it seems; the desolating war may be continued—but no sane man can believe in the possibility of the North subjugating the South.

The Strength of the Belligerents.

On the 6th inst. Mr. Lincoln attended a meeting at Washington, on which occasion resolutions were passed to the effect that the war should be prosecuted even at the cost of the desolation of the North; and, further, that the leaders of the rebellion were to be regarded as irreclaimable traitors, "who are to be stripped of their possessions and deprived of their lives, or expelled from the country." This demonstration was intended for Europe, and not for the United States. The Washington Government is perfectly aware that neither the North nor the West is prepared for a war of mutual extermination. If the South had one neck, and the Northern mob had the opportunity, we have no doubt that the South would be sacrificed; but, as it is, all the world knows that Northern rage is as impotent as it is diabolically malignant. This loud-mouthed determination is intended to support the Federal agents who are busily engaged, both in London and Paris, in endeavouring to postpone the recognition of the Confederate States by England and France. These agents, with unwonted and suspicious frankness, admit that Northern expectations of crushing the "rebellion," have signally failed. They do not deny that the South has, until this hour, maintained her independence. But they point to the unanimity of the North, and say that, though the struggle may be prolonged, the South must, unless she receives foreign aid, ultimately succumb. They repeat, in season and out of season, that the twenty millions of the North must inevitably overcome the six or seven millions of the South. We propose to show how utterly false this argument is, both with respect to its premises and its conclusion, and that the Confederate States can maintain their independence against the power of the North.

Even if the assumed difference in numbers represented the exact difference in strength, it would not follow that the North *must* conquer. In warfare, the contending parties are seldom, if ever, equal. The aggressor commences hostilities relying upon his superior resources; and if we read the history of war, we shall find that it is not always the most powerful that succeeds, for much depends upon the skilful use of strength, not to speak of the overruling will of Providence. Spain did not conquer the Netherlands, despite her superiority. During the first War of Independence in America, whenever

any friends of peace in England protested against the prosecution of the war as useless, they were sneeringly reminded of the might of England, and the weakness of the handful of colonists; yet England had to confess herself defeated. Or, as a still more striking example of the absurdity of calculating on mere numbers, take the case of British India. There the invader is outnumbered by more than two hundred to one. Is it not a very reasonable supposition that the Southerners, a homogeneous race, engaged in the defence of their homes and country are, at least, three to one better than the mixed population of the North, fighting only for pay and plunder? Have not the two campaigns manifested this to be so, if there is any truth in the Northern boast of twenty millions to six or seven millions? A compact people like the Southerners, for recruiting purposes, is nearly as superior to a divided, incongruous people like the Northerners as a troop of soldiers is to an undisciplined mob. The North has more men and the immense advantage of being able to resort to the European markets for warlike supplies. Still, the contest is equalized by the superior prowess, devotion, defensive attitude, and ability of the South, and above all, by the blessing that ever waits on the right; or the North would not, in vain, have sacrificed so much blood and treasure.

But the Federal argument is fallacious, because the numbers are not so unequal as asserted, and the respective circumstances of the belligerents equalizes the mere strength, so as to make the South truly independent. The numbers are not twenty millions to six or seven millions. According to the returns of the census for 1860, as estimated by Mr. Kenedy, of the United States' Census Office, the population of the North and West is eighteen millions; of the Confederate States six millions and a-half, exclusive of slaves; and of the Border States two millions and a-half, exclusive of slaves.

Now, it will not, we presume, be asserted by the most bigoted Northern partizan, that Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, add to the power of the North. Granting, for argument sake, that these States are not *de facto* members of the Southern Confederacy, it is manifest that their Unionism is of such a peculiar character that it necessitates the presence of Union forces to prevent its complete extinction. The Border States, then, are not Northern; and, for the moment, we will suppose that they are neutral, which, we need not add, is not the case. It is, on this assumption, eighteen millions to six millions and a-half.

It will be conceded that an invading Power, to equal the invaded Power in strength, must be numerically superior. Especially is this the case with countries so situated as the Southern and Northern States, where each one is vulnerable to the other. The North must keep a force at home to protect its frontiers from the very possible invasions of the South. Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, for example, fully appreciate the danger of Confederate reprisals, and are mustering their State troops on their Southern borders. The North has to invade and conquer a country of, excluding the Border States, 833,000 square miles, and also to defend an extensive and accessible frontier. Besides, the forces of the North have to be gathered from a population scattered over an enormous territory. Not only does this make it difficult to collect troops, but a less proportion of the male population is available for foreign military duty, unless it is determined to accept the desolation and ruin consequent upon the total abstraction of the male population from whole districts and counties. In the Northern eighteen millions is included the 380,000 inhabitants of California. It is certain that California is so effectually cut off from the United States that it cannot afford the Federal Government any assistance. Taking these things into consideration, the eighteen millions, as opposed to the six and a-half millions of the South, is very remote from being overwhelming odds.

Thus far we have assumed the neutrality of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland—an assumption

not only in itself unfounded, but the very opposite of the truth. Maryland can only be kept in the Union by a force equal to the entire militia of the State, but which, be it observed, is not composed of the militia of that State. In Kentucky and Missouri there is open warfare; they are swarming with guerrilla bands; cities and towns are at the disposal of the Confederates; even the Federal Governor of the former State is accused of treason. And so far from assisting the Federal Government, the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio are obliged to prepare for the threatened contingency of invasion from Missouri and Kentucky. It would be strictly in accordance with the true state of affairs to give the Border States to the Confederate States, and so make the numbers eighteen millions to nine millions. Even those who choose to dispute this conclusion cannot fail to perceive that, so far from the Border States being neutral, they are a tax upon the North, and materially diminish the numerical difference.

Then look at the elements of the Northern population. How can it be expected to carry on a long war for the conquest of the South? New York is by no means the United States. Is it likely, nay, is it possible, that the men of the West will abandon their farms, and their newly-adopted country, their prosperity and hopeful future, in order to save the commerce of New York from annihilation, or to revenge its loss? The prolongation of the war will not subjugate the South, but it will hasten the separation of the West from the North. The Germans are already sick of hostilities, and the Irish will no longer enlist except upon compulsion.

The climate, too, is a deadly enemy to the invader. This year the season has been hitherto healthy, and yet the Northern armies, and even the Northern sailors, have been prostrated and demoralized by sickness. If next year the season, instead of being healthier than usual, is rather more than usually sickly, the Northern armies will be defeated without the agency of the Confederates. Put all these things into the scale—that mere numbers never decide a war; that it is not twenty millions to six millions, but, at best, eighteen millions to six millions and a-half; that the Border States really make it less than eighteen millions to six millions and a-half; that the Northern population is too widely scattered to be thoroughly available; that the Northern frontier is to be defended as well as the South invaded; that the invader, unless numerically stronger than the invaded, is absolutely weaker; that the Southern population is one race, whilst the Northern population is composed of various races; the nature of the Southern climate, and the experience of the war as far as it has gone—and it is evident that in the defence of her independence the South can defy the North, can defend as long as the North can attack, and may laugh at the malicious threatenings of the New York mob. The only argument the Federal agents can adduce against the immediate recognition of the Confederate States is utterly untenable, and it is known to be untenable by the enlightened public of Europe, or else the press would not unanimously agree that the Union can never be restored; that the South cannot be conquered; that the war being waged by the North is useless and hopeless; and that the recognition of the Southern Confederacy cannot be long, much less indefinitely, postponed.

There is, however, another suggestion whispered by Federal agents, which we will briefly notice. "We can stir up a servile war." We do not think so. It is very difficult to persuade the negroes to revolt against their masters. Their fidelity has been severely tested, and it has not failed. We ought, indeed, to have included the negro population as an item of the military strength of the South, because this population enables all the whites to go to war; whereas in the North a portion of the eighteen millions must remain at home to till the fields. Besides, the negro hatred of the North is nearly as bitter as the Northern hatred of the negro. But imagine that, contrary to all precedent, events

should induce the Southerner to think that the North had a chance of making the Southern States worse than a huge St. Domingo—that his life, and the lives of his wife and children, were in imminent peril—would the Southerner be without any resource? Would he be compelled to submit to the North? No; he would still have in his hands an awful power of revenge. He would have no difficulty in stirring up his slaves against his enemies, and he might turn them, half-maddened to ravage on Northern territory. Of course there is not the remotest chance of a servile war in the South; but it is curious that the Northerners, when gloating over the idea of six or seven millions of white people being butchered, should never have thought of the terrible reprisals that the South could make if they were imperative and lawful.

The Despatch of the Twenty-eighth of May.

WITH punctilious perseverance, Mr. W. H. Seward continues to perform the proverbial duty of diplomacy. If he but remembered the second great maxim of his art as well as he bears in mind the first, and were as free from the reproach of zeal as he is from that of veracity, Talleyrand himself might be proud of such a disciple. He is not, it is true, singular in his studied disregard of facts. Truth and the Federal Cabinet have long since parted company, and officers, civil and military, of every rank vie with one and another in the open display of courtier-like contempt for the discarded virtue. But Mr. Seward, as becomes his functions, outdoes them all. Pope's muster-rolls of prisoners, Halleck's announcements of weekly victories, McClellan's strategic reasons, the bulletins of the War Office, the reports of the Treasury, the proclamations of the President, are all thrown into the shade by the despatches of the Secretary of State. And as on former occasions he has outdone generals, commanders, and ministers, so in his recently-published achievement he has fairly outdone himself. The despatch of May 28 deserves immortality as a masterpiece of mendacity. It is scarcely too much to say that it does not contain a single statement which is not essentially and utterly contrary to truth. And it is perhaps worth while to examine in detail the view which Mr. Seward officially promulgates of the events of the war and the position of the Union; not that he believes himself, or is weak enough to expect any one else to believe him. But he is shrewd enough to know that a fiction which courtesy compels a correspondent to accept is almost as available in argument as if it had been a fact; and in this despatch we have a statement of the manner in which Mr. Seward close that the situation of affairs should be officially regarded.

In the first place, he expressed his satisfaction at finding that Europe was becoming gradually aware of the hopelessness of the rebel cause, and that European sympathy with the South was consequently declining. As a proof of this, he alleged the presence at Nassau of a number of British vessels, which had determined to await the opening of the Southern ports, instead of attempting to run the blockade. It might very well suit Mr. Seward to be unaware of the reason which might influence many vessels to adopt or pretend such a determination; for it would not be very desirable to call the notice of the British Government to the close blockade of a British port by American cruisers, and to the captures of ingoing vessels constantly effected in defiance of every rule of international law. But we can hardly suppose him really ignorant of the tone of European opinion and feeling in regard to the American contest. He must be well aware that every month of its continuance has increased the mischievous effect on the industry and commerce of European countries, and added fresh bitterness to the consequent resentment against the wanton aggressors in the quarrel. He cannot but know how cordially Englishmen sympathize with the heroic

daring of a people of English blood and speech, in defence of their homes, their country, and their flag; and how much every new instance of Northern ferocity, and every new display of Southern resolution, tends to enhance their sympathy. And, however little he may understand the general sentiment of civilized nations, we should hardly have suspected him of such want of tact as is manifested in the hint that the losses and misfortunes sustained by the Confederates had cooled towards them such well-wishers as they had at first found in England. It is not when brave men are struggling with undeserved calamity that the sympathy of a generous nation deserts them. Had the tide of victory flowed from the first steadily in favour of the South, they would never have awakened that English interest on their behalf which is so fiercely resented by the North. The calm and dignified courage with which the Southern Government received the heavy tidings of the loss of Fort Donnellson won for it a European respect which had not been extorted by the victory of Manassas; its unflinching endurance of severe disasters, its evidently unshaken power, and the loyal adherence of the people, did more than its previous career of success to confirm European confidence in its stability. The American Cabinet must be very ill served by its agents on this side of the Atlantic if the Secretary of State did not know, when he wrote of the decline of European sympathy for the South, that at no period had the Confederates commanded so much good-will and admiration in Europe as at that very crisis of their fortunes.

It was not unnatural that the Federal Government should exult ostentatiously over the successes of the Federal arms, and the enthusiasm for the Union, and confidence in its restoration, which those successes had awakened in the North. But, after all, what were those successes, and what was their value? Thanks to the unexpected aid of the elements, the Federal flotilla had taken New Orleans; a city which affords no resources to an invader, and which is utterly unavailable as a base of operations even in the State of Louisiana. A few isolated corps had been established at various points on the Southern seaboard—whence they found themselves unable to advance, and unwilling to withdraw; and while they remained there to die by fever, the main army, on whose operations alone any important result must depend, was weakened to a perilous extent. Federal gunboats had sailed up the Mississippi and the Tennessee; and Confederate positions on those rivers had been forced. The Army of the West had marched to the frontiers of Alabama, leaving a hostile country and insecure communications behind it; the Army of the Potomac was engaged in that brilliant series of strategic movements which still await their appropriate culmination, by the entry of McClellan and his army into the Confederate capital. It is true that "the insurgents had been forced to battle," but Mr. Seward prudently forbears to remark, how every battle in which the gunboats bore no part had ended. The present position of affairs sufficiently illustrates the real value of those military achievements which excited the North to a frenzy of self-gratulation. Nor were the "enthusiasm and confidence" of the people more real or substantial than the successes which had given them birth. The "confidence" was but the momentary exultation of boastful ignorance; the "enthusiasm" that of a mob which had nothing to lose, and could afford to applaud a war of which, come what might, others must pay the cost. The sober and well-informed political thinkers, whom the Federal Government had sternly silenced, never for one moment believed that by any exertions and any sacrifices on the part of the North the South could be crushed or the Union restored; they regretted in silence the lavish waste of the national wealth in a hopeless cause. They knew that a people of six millions, thoroughly in earnest, defending a country nearly as large as Europe, could by no possibility be conquered by such a Government and such powers as those of the North, so long as they were resolute to maintain their independence to the last; and they had learned, by terrible experience, to appreciate the stubborn resolution of the South.

Mr. Seward still made light of that resolution. The insurgents, he said, were but men, and must yield to overwhelming force. He chose to forget that those who were to put forth that overwhelming force were also but men, and men, from the nature of the case, far less resolute than their antagonists. Men, worthy of the name, will make any sacrifice in the defence of their country; they will not sacrifice everything to the lust of empire and the gratification of the vindictive rage of a disappointed faction. True, the Northern population and wealth are to those of the South as three to one; but then the Southern Government can command all the resources of the country in a war of self-defence, while Mr. Lincoln can make but limited demands on the people for a war of wanton aggression. But then, said Mr. Seward, the resources of the North are increasing by the cessation of commerce and the encouragement given to manufacturers by a war demand, while those of the South are already exhausted. It is not our business to instruct the Federal Secretary of State in those first principles of Political Economy of which he is so strangely ignorant, or prove to him that war can never increase the resources of a nation. It is enough to point to facts. The Confederates, despite their exhaustion, are still, on the showing of their enemies, able to recruit their armies, and sustain the credit of the Government. The resources of the North, both in men and money, seem to have become almost unavailable; Government paper is depreciated to an enormous extent, coin is driven from the country, and recruiting is at a stand-still. It is the Federal Government whose "credit is dead before the first dollar has been raised by taxation to support it."

But the most characteristic portion of this eminently characteristic document is that which revives the exploded fiction of Unionism in the South. The dis-Unionists, we are told, are not a people but a faction, living by terror and violence, but too weak everywhere to prevent the return of any State or district into the Union when once the loyal population is encouraged and protected by Federal troops. We should like to know how many Unionists General Butler has found at New Orleans, or General Hunter in South Carolina. Was it over a loyal population that Andrew Johnson established his reign of terror in Tennessee? Or did Colonel Turchin's soldiery draw any nice distinctions between the daughters of Unionists and Secessionists at Athens? How is it that no information as to Confederate movements reaches the Federal generals? Could Beauregard's retreat from Corinth, or the withdrawal of the Confederate army from Manassas, have been accomplished with such profound secrecy in the midst of a disaffected population? It is said that the Border States are heartily loyal; that Kentucky, now overrun by Confederate guerrillas, is devoted to the Union; that Missouri is active and earnest in the Federal cause; that in Maryland the Union is as strong as in any of the Northern States. How comes it, then, that Maryland is held down by a powerful Federal army of occupation—that more than half the members of her lawfully-elected Legislature were thrown into prison, and new elections held under the eyes of the invading troops, while orders were given to arrest all voters of "Secessionist tendencies"? Why are citizens of Missouri shot in front of their own houses by the Federal soldiery? Why are the youths of Kentucky absent in the Confederate armies? Why is all Virginian property indiscriminately given up to plunder by General Pope, under the orders of his Government? If acquiescence in Federal rule immediately follows the appearance of the invaders, how is it that the invaded districts are always treated as an enemy's country? Really, this fiction of a Unionist party in the South is one of which even Mr. Seward should be ashamed; one which receives the lie from every command of the Federal Government, and every action of its officers. How, indeed, could there be Unionists in the South? How could men of human hearts and with the spirit of manhood endure the thought of submission to the employers of General Butler, and renewed fellowship with the countrymen

of General Mitchell? How could the husbands, brothers, fathers of Southern women—were they the meanest and vilest of the human race—desire peace and reunion with those whose deeds of infamy have won for them the abhorrence of distant and unconcerned spectators? Such acquiescence as a town taken by storm must yield to the victors, such submission as unarmed men yield to the robber with the knife at their throat, the Federal armies receive in the immediate neighbourhood of their camps; but they have not found a friend or partisan from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico.

Finally, the despatch adverts to the possibility of a servile war. We have so recently stated our reasons for believing the likelihood and the danger of any such event to be greatly overrated, that we need not now revert to the subject. But it is worth while to notice the use which Mr. Seward makes of the negro, in argument as in action. The emancipation of the slave is a weapon, not an object of desire in itself. Even when addressing English statesmen, and courting English public opinion, the interest of the coloured race is altogether left out of sight, and Abolition is not promised, but *threatened*. England is menaced with the disorganization of Southern industry, just as the South is menaced with massacre, incendiarism, and pillage; and the possibility of the forcible abolition of slavery is actually used as a covert threat towards a nation abolitionist *par excellence*. "If Europe encourages the rebellion, we shall be forced to consider the question of Emancipation. If Europe interferes, we shall excite a servile war." Such is the language held by the American Government towards England—language significant as well of its own profound indifference to the fate of the black race, and its intention to use that race for purely selfish ends, as of its conviction that other nations regard the subject solely as it affects their own interests, and that all pretence of pity for the slave is pure affectation. It is worth our while to take note of this, as a key to the real meaning of all abolitionist professions and proposals which we have already heard or may hear hereafter from the people or the Government of the North. To free the slave is their last thought—they seek but to render him the agent of their own vindictive fury, and then abandon him to his fate, the victim of a terrible retribution.

Federal and Confederate Finances.

WHEN South Carolina, on the 20th of December, 1860, withdrew from the political firm of the United States of America, her first act was to despatch commissioners to Washington, to treat with the Federal agents for a settlement of all matters in connection with the late co-partnership. Although her envoys were not received, a similar course was adopted the second time, in conjunction with the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Texas, and Louisiana, which met with a like result. The seceding States were desirous of bearing their portion of the indebtedness, and receiving their share of the assets of the concern. But, alas! those that attained power in the North were as ignorant of the principles upon which the Government was founded as they were dishonest in their schemes and practices. The Federal debt was then \$80,000,000; it has now reached the gigantic proportions of \$1600,000,000, or \$100,000,000 a month since the breaking out of hostilities. This stupendous amount has been expended before the collection of the first dollar of taxes for the purpose of paying the interest on the same; and not over \$50,000,000 has been subscribed for by the people. The banks of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, took about \$70,000,000, which they have since disposed of to stock-jobbers, the remainder being represented by Custom House demand notes, Treasury interest-bearing notes, certificates of indebtedness, quartermasters' receipts, colonels' vouchers, and irredeemable notes from one cent. and upwards; many of these securities (?) gaining credit as collateral on the basis of the Stock-board quotations, in support of the promissory notes of contractors and others. It

is not, therefore, difficult to imagine the end of Mr. Chase's financial engineering. A system of reckless extravagance and plunder was inaugurated in the North from the very outset of the war, which has been the cause of the vast accumulation of debt. Not so with the South; the expenses of the Confederacy have not exceeded \$25,000,000 per month, and hence they are only under liability for one-fourth the amount of that of their late allies. By reference to the Acts of the Southern Congress it will be found that all the money affairs of the Confederacy have been based on the very soundest economic principles. The first funds paid into their Treasury was \$500,000, advanced by the State of Alabama on February 8, 1861. On the 28th of the same month a loan was authorized for \$15,000,000 at ten years, 8 per cent. interest, but redeemable in five years upon three months' notice; the principal and interest being secured by an export duty of one-eighth of a cent. a pound on all raw cotton; which is the only tariff or tax they have on commerce with other nations, the Northern States excepted. This loan was taken at par. On March 9, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury was empowered to issue Confederate notes in amounts not less than \$50 to the extent of \$1,000,000, with interest to begin after one year from their date at one cent. per day for each \$100, and to cease upon sixty days' notice of readiness to pay the same. On August 3, 1861, the limit was extended to \$2,000,000. On May 16, 1861, a loan was created for \$50,000,000 bonds, twenty years to run, 8 per cent. interest. In lieu of \$20,000,000 of these bonds, the Treasury Department could issue notes payable in two years without interest, in sums not less than \$5, receivable for all taxes, except export duty on cotton, or in exchange for bonds at ten years, bearing 8 per cent. interest; but the privilege of funding to cease after six months' notice beyond two years. On August 19, 1861, Congress passed a Bill granting authority for the issue of Treasury notes payable to bearer six months after the treaty of peace with the United States, in amounts not less than \$5; the aggregate, including former emissions, not to exceed \$100,000,000, receivable for all debts due to the Government, except the export duty on cotton. These notes are convertible into bonds at twenty years, with 8 per cent. interest, and are secured by a direct tax of a half per cent. on all real estate, slaves, merchandize, bank-notes, railroad and other corporation stocks, money at interest in the purchase of bills, notes, and other securities, except bonds of the Confederate States, and cash in hand or on deposit. Colleges, schools, charitable and religious corporations are exempted. On December 24, 1861, the amount was increased to \$150,000,000, and after the meeting of Congress, under the permanent Constitution, the Government was authorized to continue its issues on the same terms until the cessation of hostilities. The planters have subscribed two-thirds of the value of their crops, giving the Secretary of the Treasury orders upon their factors for that portion of the net proceeds of the sales of the cotton and other produce. The Treasury notes have not been made a legal tender, but the patriotism of the people is such that they pass from hand to hand as currency for all transactions, their convertibility keeping only a limited amount in circulation at any one time.

The South has in readiness for shipment \$350,000,000 worth of produce at usual valuations; the North cannot boast of over \$20,000,000 in value of breadstuffs. As far as specie is concerned, the North holds about \$80,000,000, and the South \$50,000,000. The North owes a commercial floating balance to Europe of about \$200,000,000; the South nothing whatever. Three-fourths of the stock and bonds of the railway companies of the North are owned by foreigners; while those of the South are mostly held at home. Pretty much the same may be said of the respective State securities; and one-half of the vessels displaying the "star-spangled banner" are sailed by European capital. It is not difficult to foresee which section of the late Union will be uppermost in credit after hostilities cease. Should the Western States withdraw from the

Union, the population of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the remaining States, would number 10,601,244 persons, subject to a tax of \$16 per head to pay the dividends on the Federal loans—to say nothing of the large amount of State interest which is now annually drawn from them. As to the wealth of the North, its investments have been in the character of securities based upon its commercial prosperity. The real estate in the large cities and manufacturing towns is not worth, on an average, 40 per cent. of its value eighteen months ago, and will decline still more, when the expenditure of the Government ceases; the railway traffic will fall off for the same reason, and Federal ships must, in future, give way to British tonnage in the carrying trade; the former will be subjected to a tax, while the latter will be favoured in every way by the Confederates.

Neither the Western nor the Southern States have been pampered up by the false principles of Protection; they have depended on their natural resources, and never sought artificial aid; they, therefore, will be unharmed by the dissolution of the Union; while their old co-partners, who have so stupidly disregarded the teachings of Adam Smith, will be ruined.

After sixteen months' struggle we find the indebtedness of the United States and Confederate States to be \$2000,000,000; the South can easily afford to pay her share of the interest thereon; the commissions brokerages and taxes, by way of tariffs, that she has been contributing to the North have far more than equalled that amount annually; and she has a career of prosperity now before her unexampled in the history of the world. After all, it has been this question of taxes that has caused the dissolution of the Union of American States; the seeds of discord were sown in 1833, when South Carolina refused to accede to the protective system, on the ground of its unconstitutionality, and compelled the North to a modification of the tariff. In the debate in the Senate on that occasion, Mr. Calhoun made use of the following remarks: "The Government of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, at first, was a mere confederation, without any central power, till a military chieftain, with the title of King, was placed at its head, without, however, merging the original organization of the twelve different tribes. This was the commencement of that central action among that peculiar people which, in three generations, terminated in a permanent division of their tribes. It is impossible, even for a careless reader, to peruse the history of that event without being forcibly struck with the analogy in the causes which led to their separation and those which now threaten us with a similar calamity. With the establishment of the central power in the King commenced a system of taxation, which, under King Solomon, was greatly increased, to defray the expense of rearing the Temple, of enlarging and embellishing Jerusalem, the seat of the central government, and the other profuse expenditures of his magnificent reign. Increased taxation was followed by its natural consequences—discontent and complaint—which, before his death, began to excite resistance. On the succession of his son, Rehoboam, the Ten Tribes, headed by Jeroboam, demanded a reduction of the taxes. The Temple being finished, and the embellishment of Jerusalem completed, and the money which had been raised for that purpose being no longer required—or, in other words, the debt being paid—they demanded a reduction of the duties—a repeal of the tariff. The demand was taken under consideration, and, after consulting the old men [the councillors of '98], who advised a reduction, he then took the opinion of the younger politicians, who had since grown up, and knew not the doctrines of their fathers. He hearkened unto their counsel, and refused to make the reduction, and the secession of the Ten Tribes, under Jeroboam, followed. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which had received the disbursements, alone remained unto the house of David."

Who will say that history does not repeat itself?

The Southerners were the first people in modern times to advocate the principle of Free Trade; yet they have been kept from putting their favourite theory into practice for years by the legislative aggressions of the North, and now that they have seceded from its political control, and discarded the use of custom houses, except for dealings with their former allies—as a punishment for the invasion of their soil—the leading Powers of Europe prevent them from carrying on unrestricted commerce by recognizing the existence of a "loose" blockade, as if it were as effectual as that called for by the Treaty of Paris. Europe has hitherto lavished her money upon the North by unlimited credit; all the South asks is a fair exchange for the productions of her soil, which are now and at all times so much needed.

English Neutrality and American Gratitude.

It may seem strange that there should be two opinions as to the fairness, straightforwardness, and impartiality of England in the American quarrel: stranger still that complaint, if complaint is to be made, should come from the Northern side. To nearly all Englishmen, two things seem perfectly clear—first, that the British Government has observed throughout a careful, anxious, undeviating neutrality; and second—that the Northern Government and people have done everything in their power to render the preservation of that attitude morally and politically difficult, to exasperate the British nation, and to provoke the hostility of the British Government. Most Englishmen would say that if any just cause of complaint could be found in the conduct of this country, it would be found in the over-compliance and excessive forbearance displayed towards the Federalists, to an extent scarcely, it may be thought, consistent with justice and equal dealing towards the Confederate States. But the South makes no complaint; the feelings of its people towards England are those of cordial regard, and the conduct of its Government, in the few and unimportant cases in which the two countries have been brought into any relation, as in the course pursued by Confederate vessels, and the treatment of British subjects in the Confederate States, has been at once dignified and conciliatory. On the other hand, the whole of the Northern press, the platform orators, popular preachers, and public men of the North—nay, even the Northern Government itself—incessantly revile and menace us on account of our alleged departure from the line of neutrality in favour of the South. Every expression of Northern feeling in regard to England reveals a spirit of intense animosity, an animosity justified by Americans, and by the more violent section of Northern sympathizers in this country, as having been provoked by our bearing towards the Federal cause from the first outbreak of the quarrel.

It has been often alleged that, when the news of the Secession first reached us, the public feeling of England was warmly and generally expressed in favour of the South; that our press and politicians hastened to exult over the downfall of the Union, and to hold forth the hand of fellowship to those who had retorted upon the United States the principles and the policy which not a century ago separated the United Colonies from the British Empire. But this is not true. English ignorance of the peculiar nature of the Federal tie led most men to regard Secession as a species of high treason; and the want of acquaintance with American politics, till then, almost universal among us, made it difficult to understand the bitter provocations which justified, and the imperative necessity which compelled, the movement. At first, the current of English opinion and feeling set decidedly and strongly in favour of the Federal Government. Most well-informed men felt and expressed the conviction that the Union was at an end; a good many felt, if they did not express, the conviction that its dissolution was a gain to the world, and especially to Great Britain, as affording security against the quarrelsome and aggressive temper which had rendered its foreign policy one of

constant encroachment and overbearing violence. But the public judgment was divided on the question of fact, and the only feeling which found utterance was one of regret for the disruption of a Power which certainly deserved no regret by its past behaviour towards us. The strong sympathy which now exists for the South has grown up since then out of increased knowledge of the origin of the quarrel, out of disgust at Northern ferocity, and admiration for Southern heroism. At first, we repeat it, the sympathy of England went with the North, with the Republicans, and with the President. Had it been otherwise, what cause of complaint could the North have found? They gave their warmest good wishes to Russia, when her breach of faith and law forced us into the Crimean war; they exulted over the disasters of our army, did their best to insult and embarrass us during the struggle, and lamented over the fall of Sebastopol. And when we were compelled to fight for our Indian Empire against a horde of mutineers and assassins, who signalized themselves only by the murder of defenceless men, and by unheard-of atrocities committed on women and children, New York and New England gave their hearty sympathy to the Sepoys, and proclaimed, with premature gratulations, the downfall of British rule in India. Their admiration and good wishes were for Nana Sahib and Tanta Toppee—not for Havelock and Lord Clyde. With what face, then, could they ask our sympathy for their war upon a people of English speech, and English race—our admiration for victories gained, or supposed to be gained, over men who fought with loyal gallantry in defence of all that is dearest to loyal and gallant men?

Passing over the charge against the nation of "Secessionist proclivities," as one less dwelt on by Americans than by American sympathizers, we inquire, what has been the conduct of the Government? Here we are told, at the outset, that England had no business to take any cognizance of the "rebellion;" no right to an official knowledge that the United States were divided between two contending Powers, or that Mr. Lincoln's authority was not as fully established in South Carolina as in Massachusetts. It might have been possible for Her Majesty's Government thus to have ignored the Secession had England had no kind of relations or dealings with the South, for then it would not have been necessary for her to adopt any rule for the guidance of her subjects in such transactions. But the Southern ports were full of English ships, to which, after a certain day, Mr. Lincoln threatened to forbid egress. English merchants had a most important trade with the South, and the Federal Government announced its intention to interrupt that trade. Hundreds of English vessels frequented American waters; those vessels would be liable to visitation, perhaps to capture, by the cruisers of either party. Ships with Confederate clearances, vessels of war bearing the Confederate flag, might claim admission to English ports. British subjects, resident in either division of the territory still claimed for the Union, might find their rights, interests, and property affected by the action of either party. It was necessary that the English Government should take some course in reference to these matters. They must either recognize in some form the existence of the Confederate Power, or deal with the Confederates as pirates at sea and plunderers by land. As no sane man contends for the latter alternative, it is clear that it was not possible for England to ignore altogether the Southern "rebellion," or the existence of a *de facto* Government, claiming the allegiance and controlling the affairs of a portion of what were still called, by diplomacy, the "United States." And in recognizing that such a Government, in a state of war with the Government at Washington, did exist, she acted not only as the facts of the case obliged her to act, but in the strictest accordance with the precedents afforded by every similar case, from the Revolt of the Netherlands down to the Greek Revolution, or the Belgian War of Independence. No civilized nation ever pretended to treat the rebel provinces of another but as legitimate belligerents.

But the formal acknowledgment of the Confede-

rates as a belligerent Power, and the Queen's solemn proclamation of neutrality, gave great offence to the Government and people of the North, and have by the latter been angrily resented ever since. A proceeding so public and so impressive seemed to give to the "rebellion" an importance which the Cabinet at Washington denied to it, and which the North hardly believed it to possess. The people, unable to draw nice distinctions, might not unnaturally think that England had manifested by this act a desire to take the part of the South: it was the duty of the better-informed Government at Washington to undeceive them. Mr. Seward and his colleagues must have been well aware that the recognition of the belligerent rights of the two parties to the war, and the strict injunctions to neutrality issued to the subjects of Queen Victoria, were really acts of necessity for England, and of substantial advantage to the North. Had we refused to recognize the South as a belligerent Power, we must have denied the existence of a war, and refused to the American Government the right of search, of blockade, and of capturing contraband of war. But for the proclamation of neutrality, British subjects might have fitted out privateers in British ports, and preyed upon the vast commercial marine of the North under letters of marque from the Confederate Government. The strict neutrality of third parties is always of greatest advantage to the stronger belligerent; and its enforcement by Royal proclamation, though dictated simply by a regard to the interests of England and of peace, was not a ground of reasonable offence, but an act of substantial favour to the United States.

In all indifferent matters, in all instances in which two methods of fulfilling neutral obligations were open, in every case of doubt, the English Government has placed on its neutrality that interpretation which is most consonant with Northern interests. It was open to us to admit or to exclude the prizes of the cruisers of both belligerents: we excluded both. The exclusion did no harm to the North, which can make no prizes, and if it could, has its own ports open to receive them; it inflicted an immense disadvantage on the South, whose cruisers, excluded from our ports, and from those of other neutral nations by our example, and finding their own ports closed by the Federal blockade, could not dispose at all of their numerous captures. When the North complained that we harboured the Confederate cruisers, we replied by placing severe restrictions on the presence of belligerent vessels in our ports, the effect of which was to cut short the destructive career of the Nashville and Sumter, without imposing any serious inconvenience on Federal men-of-war. In regard to the shipment of arms, again, we have taken the course most convenient to the North. Instead of vigilantly preventing the export of arms and ammunition to either party, we have left the enforcement of the Queen's injunction in this respect to the belligerents themselves; so that the North receives large and regular supplies from this country, while the cargoes shipped to Southern ports are generally seized by Federal cruisers. When the blockade of those ports was first proclaimed, and for a long time afterwards, it was notoriously inefficient. Evidence of its inefficiency was placed in the hands of the Government. If tolerated, it threatened with ruin the most important branch of English industry—with starvation hundreds of thousands of English families. Yet it was tolerated. While British ships were captured every week in right of this nominal blockade, the Foreign Secretary declined to interfere, and permitted the illegality to pass without even a protest, rather than depart from the policy he had pursued from the first, of interpreting the neutrality of England, as far as honour and equity would allow, in favour of the Northern cause. We have done even more than this. In order to allow the quarrel to be fought out without interference on our part, we have forbore to enforce rights which the Federal Government had invaded, or to take up in a determined manner any of the thousand affronts and wrongs which British subjects have sustained at its hands; and when forced to assert the honour of

our flag, we have asked the least reparation that could be demanded, and allowed it to be made as tardily and ungraciously as Mr. Seward could make it. Unless England had actually given material aid to the North, it is difficult to see how she could have acted with less partiality to the South than she has actually shown. Every compliance that a belligerent may reasonably demand of a neutral Power, the North has received unasked from Great Britain.

And what has been our recompense? From Mr. Lincoln's accession to power, his Administration has treated England with studied discourtesy, endeavouring now and then to make its impertinence to this country the more marked by a tone of almost servile complaisance towards the ally with whom, throughout, the measures of England have been concerted. On the outbreak of the war, Mr. Seward addressed himself to the British Court in a tone of dictation and menace, threatening us with untold vengeance if we should swerve a hair's breadth from the course he chose to mark out for us. And of this kind has been his language throughout, and the language of the Northern press, pulpit, and platform. Every contemptuous epithet, every phrase of defiance, contempt, and menace, that is contained in the copious vocabulary of the American editor and stump-orator has been lavished on England.

We have been threatened with war, either instant or at a more convenient season—with annexation of Canada, with invasion of Ireland. Fortunately for the temper of this country, and the peace of the Northern States, American newspapers are but little read in England; and those who read them know how to rate their abuse, and can endure anything from them but praise. But the spleen of the Northern people has not been vented in mere abuse. British subjects, guilty of no offence, have been thrown into Northern dungeons as loathsome as those of Naples, subjected to every kind of maltreatment, and only released on taking the oath of allegiance to a foreign Government; nor has it been possible to obtain any redress. Englishmen, despite the interference of the British Consuls, have been pressed or kidnapped into the Federal service, and there detained for months after Lord Lyons had extorted a promise of their discharge. A gentleman of Liverpool was arrested on landing for the first time in New York, insulted, searched, and plundered of his papers, because spies employed in Liverpool by the Federal Government reported that he had expressed himself in favour of the South; for the Northern Government pretends even to control the expression of English opinion on English soil! When Captain Wilkes kidnapped the Southern Envoys on board a British vessel, the outrage to our flag was hailed with frantic delight. The people, the municipal authorities, Congress, the Government itself, were enthusiastic in approval, not of the capture of the Commissioners, but of the insult to Great Britain. Under the influence of fear, and of fear alone, that insult was reluctantly atoned; but it was not long before the Federalists recovered sufficient courage to recommence their course of outrage and provocation. They have since the affair of the Trent repeatedly seized British vessels in transit from one neutral port to another, and either condemned them as prizes, or released them without compensation. They are now blockading a British port, boarding every vessel that goes out or in; and their last exploit has been to fire shot and shell at a merchant ship hoisting the British flag, and obviously pursuing an innocent voyage to a neutral port. This is the return they make for the strictest observance of good faith, the most unexampled forbearance on our part—this gross outrage on our national rights, this extravagant violation of the laws of nations!

Garibaldi's Attempted Revolution.

SOME surprise has been expressed at the persistent protest of the Southern States of America as to the constitutional right of Secession, and that the war is the fruit of Northern revolution against the solemn provisions of the Constitution of the United States. After an appeal to the sword, it has been

called idle to appeal to Constitutionalism. But the South, without denying the right of revolution, does well in repudiating the responsibility incurred in the use of that extreme right. Revolutions are made with blood, not with rose-water; and woe unto the nation that needlessly and unjustly revolts from constituted authority.

Of all the uncalculated attempts at revolution that have ever taken place, the present insurrectionary movement of Garibaldi bears the palm. It is impossible to conceive any position more assuring than that of the new Kingdom of Italy. The revolution is thoroughly accomplished, and all fears being removed of foreign aggression, there is ample opportunity for consolidation. If Rome and Venice are indispensable to the unity of the Italian Kingdom, the patriot had the consolation of knowing that every year made the annexation of these places more attainable by peaceful measures. The subjects of Victor Emmanuel enjoy abundant liberty, and, we believe, are thoroughly contented. Suddenly, but not unexpectedly, Garibaldi raises the standard of revolt. What for? Not to avenge his country. No one pretends that, not even his avowed partisans. The object of this wild movement is to carry out the designs of Mazzini, and found a Republic, in which demagogism and anarchy may flourish. The only excuse offered for Garibaldi is, that he is an unconscious tool of designing politicians; but though his judgment may be very weak, he surely cannot altogether blind himself to the unlawfulness of his proceedings. If he had chosen to throw off his alliance to Victor Emmanuel, his conduct would have been equally reprehensible, but not so inconsistent. The world might charitably have believed that he erred in judgment only; but to profess to owe allegiance to Victor Emmanuel, and yet to levy forces against the commands of his sovereign, to, if possible, seize upon Rome, is so flagrantly lawless that we cannot imagine any person can be unconscious of the criminality of the action. Garibaldi sets himself above all law, and would, if he had the power, treat the King of Italy as his puppet. We also find that even the enthusiastic Italians are not deceived by such a transparent artifice, and that they do not second the ambitious designs of the masked assassins who have persuaded Garibaldi to strike at the new-born liberty of his country.

One of the most curious phases of this unfortunate affair is the abuse that Garibaldi heaps upon the Emperor of the French. Can worse ingratitude be conceived? But for the Emperor Napoleon's gallant and timely intervention the Kingdom of Italy would not have been established on its present firm and promising basis. That Garibaldi is a brave, dashing soldier, no one denies; and from his early life, we gather that he is an excellent guerilla chieftain, but at present he has given no proof of generalship. All he had to do with the conquest of Naples was to pass through it in a delirium of popular triumph. He had not to fight a single battle, and, under the circumstances, his undisciplined army would have done as well if it had been commanded by the youngest lieutenant in the service. We are not blaming Garibaldi for not having the occasion to manifest his generalship, we merely note the fact. The Emperor of the French did the fighting, conducted the campaign in a manner that elicited the applause of Europe, gained victories that are glorious to France, and which made the King of Piedmont King of Italy. Not Garibaldi, but Napoleon III., was the King-maker, and he will be remembered in history as the friend of Italy and the founder of her national unity.

The firmness of Victor Emmanuel and the loyalty of his people will frustrate the scheme of Garibaldi's instigators, but yet it will for a time do detriment to Italy by agitating the public mind. Will that land never be free from the machinations of conspirators? One good result may follow the present attempt. The most sceptical must now see that the love of liberty is with the Mazzinians a mere cloak for personal ambition; for when Italy is regenerated and in the enjoyment of constitutional freedom, they do their best to bring about disorder and anarchy; for such persons are the bitter enemies of

the law and order which curb their ambition. We are sorry Garibaldi, who has been so highly lauded, should have so sullied his fair fame; but no good can come from tacitly condoning his offence, though we may exonerate him from any guilty intention, on the score of great weakness of judgment.

THE *New York Tribune* says that Russia is the great natural ally of America, and adds:—

She can help Russia, and Russia can help her, and there is no knowing how soon that help may be needed. If France and England are willing to make war upon America, it would be no small hindrance to them to have Russia behind their backs befriending America. Therefore nothing should be left undone to confirm a lasting and reciprocal friendship.

Whether a war between France, England, and the United States is imminent we will not offer any opinion, though it is quite certain that the insults of the Federal press and people, endorsed as they are by the Washington Government, would be a sufficient excuse for war if they were not beneath contempt; but it is possible that Northern insolence may wax so bold by impunity as to demand the attention of Europe. The notable feature, however, in the above paragraph is the proposed alliance with Russia. Knowing what the United States is, we are not in the least surprised that it should gloat over the idea of an intimate alliance with a Government reputed the most despotic in Europe, but we are somewhat astonished at the prevailing ignorance as to the political condition of the Continent. Russia may or may not entertain feelings of cordiality for this country, or even for France, but Russia will not sacrifice her interests to gratify a sentiment of hostility. Besides, Russia does not contract useless alliances, and even if she could be of any service to the United States, it is quite certain the last-named Power cannot assist her. We may also observe, it is believed in official circles that there is a complete and definite understanding between France and Russia in reference to American affairs.

Reviews.

The Home and Foreign Review. No. I. London: Williams and Norgate.

This new competitor for public attention is likely to be useful. It represents the opinions of that large section of the Church of Rome which, whilst remaining perfectly loyal to the Church, eschews fanaticism. In politics the *Home and Foreign Review* is philosophically Conservative. The articles are well selected and well written; but it must not be inferred, from these favourable comments, that we endorse all the opinions of the review, for there are more points on which we differ than on which we agree. We totally dissent from the theory of "Nationality," as set forth in rather a dreary article under that heading. The writer of that contribution says, "Inferior races are raised by living in political union with races intellectually superior." If by political union is meant the full participation in equal political rights, we reply that all history proves that the tendency of man is to come down, and not to rise up; and that where the superior mixes up with the inferior race upon terms of political equality, the former deteriorates much more than the latter improves. We are astonished at the tone adopted in reference to Mr. Disraeli. In an editorial in a daily newspaper it is not very surprising that the Conservative leader should be attacked upon sometimes palpably insufficient grounds, but in a review, written at leisure, and supposed to be the outpourings of mature judgment, it is curious to find the same misconception of facts, and the same desire to speculate upon motives, and to test the character of a man by such speculations. Mr. Disraeli is supposed to be the incarnation of inconsistency, and yet in his actions and in his principles he has been far more consistent than many statesmen who are looked upon as marvels of unchangeableness. In this instance it is not our wish to offer any opinion upon Mr. Disraeli's career, but to enter our protest against a quarterly reviewer being guilty of reflecting popular cant and prejudice. The article on "Savage Life in Africa," though brief, is instructive. We read pathetic narratives of the poor African being stolen from his happy home and doting parents, and the picture conjured up is a European village, a fond mother clinging to her carefully nurtured and neatly-dressed baby, and a ferocious, theatrical-looking brigand tearing away the interesting infant, despite

maternal entreaties. We do not mean this as a sarcastic defence of the slave trade, but we recite the popular idea as a remarkable specimen of popular delusions. In Africa there is nothing but savage life—the worst and most degraded form of savage life. Slavery is so general that "as the Americans say 'dollar,' as the English say 'pound sterling,' so the Africans of these regions say 'slave.' Fines are paid in slaves, wives are purchased for slaves; and if the buyer has no slaves, he pays as much of some other commodity as will represent the number of slaves required." The writer of the paper from which we are quoting says:—"In every part of Africa the traveller seems to find Fetishism to exist; in every part there is slavery;" and the descriptions he gives of African life are undoubtedly true, and exceedingly revolting. It seems hardly credible that the negro in the Southern States of America comes from such a source, and his condition is the most wonderful instance of mental and moral progress on record. And let it be remembered that the savage life of the African is not of recent growth, but is traceable to the earliest times:—

If we leave out of reckoning Egypt—that mysterious seat of a civilization which is hardly to be called African, but stands, as it were, in a region of its own—nowhere else in that ill-fated continent has history recorded any thing which the African races have contributed to human progress. Whatever has been done is to be assigned to colonies, either Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, or Saracen. Among the native Africans a few barbaric dynasties are all that relieve a history of continuous slavery and degradation, of wars truly like those of "kites and crows flocking and fighting in the air." The part which is destined for Africa in the remote future of human history is hard to conjecture. Hitherto its place has uniformly been such as to verify the tradition that its people have laboured under a primitive curse, age after age beholding them as unchanged in their poor and low approaches to improvement, as the lower orders are in instinct.

The future of Africa is, indeed, an impenetrable mystery, and but for the negro in the Southern States we might suppose the Africans could never, in any respect, be improved.

The Negro is undoubtedly in the position of an infant as compared with the Europeans; but we have no right to assume that that infancy is to be permanent because it has lasted for thousands of years; a principle which would have led political reasoners of the age of Tacitus to predict that Providence had no future in store for the great Germanic race.

The comparison with the German race is, we submit, a mistake. We think the African susceptible of vast improvement, but that the negro is inferior, physically and mentally, to the white man is unquestionable.

Three Letters from a South Carolinian relating to Secession, Slavery, and the Trent Case. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THESE letters were printed at the commencement of the present year "for private circulation only," and they are from the pen of Mr. Edwin de Leon, late Consul General of the United States in Egypt, and one of the earliest advocates of Southern rights, including the right of Secession. We do not propose to offer any criticism upon Mr. Leon's terse and statesmanlike letters; our object is to point out the great foresight these letters display, by quoting a passage from one dated May 23, 1861, written in reply to the letter addressed by Mr. Cassius M. Clay to the *Times*.

"But can you subdue the revolted State?"—"Of course we can," says Mr. Clay. "Of course you cannot," say those States, and have joined issue of battle thereupon. But if Mr. Clay's be a foregone conclusion, and the Federal Government can "blockade them by sea and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year, if we are let alone,"—why these pathetic and obligatory appeals to a Power which has just formally declared its intention to be neutral? Why this perversion of facts and figures to impress the conviction on the mind of Europe? for we of the South, too, only ask to be "let alone;" and if invaded, in the stout hearts and arms of her own sons the South finds, and will continue to find, sufficient protection, the sentiment of your great poet, who sang the "Lays of Rome" animating every Southern heart:—

"For how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods?"

"If all the Southern States were to make common cause" (which they have done since the Northern sword has been thrown into the balance), they can bring into the field, according to the last census, 1,250,000 fighting men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, besides all those above and under those ages respectively, who would take up arms against the invaders of their hearths and homes.

The bloody battle-fields of Mexico, where the South furnished about 45,000 and the North about 20,000 men, can attest to Southern valour and discipline; and the veterans of the army and navy who have left the Federal to join the Confederate service are well capable of commanding troops who have never believed that "force was necessary" to cement fraternity, volunteering, as they have done, solely for defence, not for aggression. The old watchword of the Jacobins in France's darkest day of blood and tears, "*Fraternité ou la mort* (Be my brother, or I will kill you!)" is now the rallying cry of the "free North," not of the South, who stands with drawn sword beside her own altars. Is that a watchword to enlist the sympathies or stir the pulses of free-born Englishmen, when a new reign of terror is sought to be inaugurated once more, under the desecrated name of liberty, over the

smiling fields and happy homes of the sunny South? We cannot, and we will not, believe it. England has ever been a generous foe—she will not prove a faithless friend.

The statement that "the population of the Slave States is divided perhaps equally for and against the Union," is without a shadow of foundation. The secession of the South now forms a part of history; and never in the annals of mankind has such entire unanimity of sentiment and of action been manifested by any people as in the formation, deliberations, and action of the Cotton States. Since the despotism *d'état* attempted by the Northern President, the same spirit has spread like a fire on a prairie over the Border States, as witness the instantaneous action of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, with Missouri and Kentucky moving in the same direction; or, more striking still, the reception of the Northern volunteers in the city of Baltimore—once regarded as most loyal to the Union, but now mourning, like Venice, under a foreign yoke, and powerless for the moment to avenge the blood of her children slain in resisting the profanation of their soil.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF "STONEWALL" JACKSON.

In the following article a writer in the *Richmond Whig* gives some interesting particulars of the campaign of General "Stonewall" Jackson in the Valley of Virginia:—

In reviewing the operations of General Jackson for the last three months, it will be found that he has probably accomplished more in that brief period, with the means at his command, than ever was achieved by any other general of ancient or modern times. I believe that his campaign during the spring will compare favourably even with the almost incredible achievements of Napoleon in his celebrated campaign in Italy. With a handful of citizen soldiers, but partially drilled, and poorly armed and equipped, he has, in little more than sixty days, marched over 500 miles, fought about twelve battles, five of which were pitched battles, defeated four generals, routed four armies, captured millions of dollars' worth of stores, &c., and killed, wounded, and secured as prisoners almost as many of the enemy as he had soldiers under his command. These are startling assertions, but they are literally true. Explore the pages of history, and see whether they afford the record of more brilliant successes.

In the latter part of March Jackson was at Winchester, with about 3000 or 4000 men. Being pressed by a superior force, he was compelled to fall back before the hosts of General Banks. Slowly and in good order he retired up the Valley, contesting every inch of ground. At Kernstown he turned upon his pursuer, and for two successive days gave him battle. And here permit me to remark, that the recent occupation of the lower Valley by our forces has enabled us to gather facts in regard to those battles which add new lustre to the glories of those fights. It is now ascertained that Jackson's force at Kernstown was not much over 2500, whilst that of the enemy was 12,000. Of the enemy 860 were buried in Winchester and on the battle-field, many others were sent home for internment, and 1500 were wounded; whilst our loss in killed and wounded was less than 500. The 84th Pennsylvania Regiment went into the battle with 800 men and came out with 300.

Having taught the enemy this severe lesson, Jackson continued his progress up the Valley, holding the whole army of the enemy in check until he could obtain reinforcements. Arriving at Harrisonburg, with his men wearied and exhausted by continual marching and skirmishing, Jackson left the main Valley road and turned off eastward on the Swift Run Gap Road. His object was to cross the Shenandoah River, and, having placed this strong defence between him and the enemy, to be quiet—to give his men a chance to rest—to watch the movements of the enemy, and to wait reinforcements. Here he was joined by General Ewell, but their united force was not sufficient to meet the enemy in the open field. It must be remembered, too, that at this time Staunton and the upper part of the valley were threatened by a large force from the West, under Milroy. General Johnson, with about 3500 men, was the only obstacle to the advance of Milroy. Being thus with a command of less than 20,000 men, including Johnson's, and threatened by Banks, with an estimated force of 35,000, on the one side, and Milroy, with 6000 or 8000 on the other, he was obliged to accomplish by stratagem what he could not effect in the open field. To this end, he moved across the Blue Ridge, as if with the view of uniting with the forces of General Jos. E. Johnston. He took care, however, to leave Ewell's forces concealed in the gorges of the mountains, near Swift Run, and Ashby's cavalry to picket the country closely, so as to cut off all information from the enemy as to his true purposes. The manoeuvre effectually deceived Banks, and he forthwith telegraphed to Washington that Jackson had evacuated the Valley and fled to Gordonsville! In a day or two Jackson turned up at Staunton, and, hastening to join General Ed. Johnson, he fell upon Milroy, at McDowell, and routed him, and pursued him to Franklin, in Pendleton county.

In the meantime, Banks, supposing that Jackson was east of the Ridge, weakened his force by sending Shields with 10,000 men to join McDowell, and another detachment to reinforce Milroy. Jackson having thus cleared his left flank, by dispersing Milroy's forces, hastened by the nearest route towards Harrisonburg, where he could act in conjunction with Ewell. Ewell came out of his hiding place, and, while a portion of the conjoint forces marched down the Valley turnpike towards Strasburg, to which place the greater portion of Banks' army had fallen back, the residue crossed the Massanutten Mountain, and hurried down the banks of the Shenandoah to Front Royal, where they attacked and captured the forces stationed at that point. The sound of the cannon gave Banks the first intimation of the proximity of an enemy,

and he immediately commenced his precipitate flight to Winchester. An effort was made to intercept him near Newton, but the attempt was only partially successful. The swift-footed Banks had passed the junction of the road, with a part of his army, before the wearied forces of Jackson could come up with them. He pierced Banks' column, however, and drove a portion of it southward up the road, while the main body fled towards Winchester. A running fight of eight or ten miles ensued, Banks flying and Jackson pursuing. Near Winchester the enemy made a stand, but the invincible columns of Jackson bore down upon them with irresistible power, and they broke and fled ingloriously, and were pursued through the streets of Winchester and on to Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, where the demoralized elements of the once powerful army of Banks sought refuge in Maryland. At Winchester, and Martinsburg, and Front Royal, stores, estimated at from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 were taken, and near 3000 prisoners. Encumbered with his spoil, and embarrassed by his prisoners, on the very borders of the enemy's country, Jackson found himself in a critical position. He remained only long enough to secure the booty, which was of the highest importance to our army, and having sent that in waggon up the valley, he followed to protect his trains and put his prisoners in a place of security.

We all recollect the sensation which these daring achievements created throughout the country. Lincoln was thrown into a paroxysm of fright, and telegrams were despatched throughout the North calling for the whole militia force of the country to protect the United States' Capital, which it was feared Jackson might seize at an early day.

When the authorities at Washington recovered from their panic, they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion, and immediately set to work to avenge the wound that had been inflicted on their national honour. It was ascertained that Jackson had but a small force—that he was encumbered with immense trains and vast numbers of prisoners, and that he would have to march 120 miles before he could reach a point of safety. The whole Northern press teemed with threats and promises of the speedy annihilation of Jackson and his daring followers. Three armies—one from the North, under Dix, one from the West, under Fremont and Milroy, and one from the East, under Shields, were immediately set in motion to intercept him, and it was even said, by some of the Northern journals, that Jackson had fallen into the trap that had been set for him!

The reader will observe the position of the parties: Jackson's forces were scattered from the Potomac to Winchester; Dix came by railway from Baltimore; Fremont was west of the North Mountain, at Franklin, in Pendleton; and Shields was east of the Blue Ridge, near Warrenton. The plan was for Fremont and Shields to push forward and unite their forces at Strasburg, and cut off Jackson's retreat up the Valley, while Dix would press him in the rear. The eagle eye of Jackson saw the danger at a glance. By a forced march of over 100 miles in three days, he won the race for Strasburg; but, so close was the struggle, that, as he passed the proposed point of union, his rear guard was compelled to fight the advanced columns of the enemy.

Then commenced another retreat and running fight up the Valley, Jackson contesting the advance of the enemy, so as to secure his trains and prisoners. When he had accomplished this object, learning that the enemy had divided his overwhelming force into two columns, one of which, under Shields, was advancing east of the Shenandoah River, and the other, under Fremont, up the main Valley turnpike, with a view to unite in the upper part of the Valley, Jackson again turned off at Harrisonburg, having previously caused Ashby to burn the bridge over the Shenandoah, near Swift Run Gap, and went to Port Republic, a small village situated at the point where the North and South Rivers come together and form the Shenandoah. There was a bridge over the North River at Port Republic, which was the only means of crossing the stream, which was swollen by recent rains. Jackson occupied the ground near both ends of this bridge, and thus had it in his power to elect which column he would fight, as the two were separated by an impassable river. On Sunday he determined to attack Fremont first, and, accordingly, leaving a sufficient force to guard the bridge, he marched about five miles to the Cross Keys to meet Fremont, and after a terrible conflict of many hours he succeeded in repulsing Fremont with great loss. He then returned to the bridge, and after passing over it to the Port Republic side, burnt it, so as to prevent Fremont, in case he should be reinforced and rally, from coming to the rescue of Shields. The result vindicated his sagacity, for Fremont on Monday was reinforced and did rally, and advanced with an overwhelming force to renew the conflict with Jackson. But, when he reached the bank of the river, he found that Jackson had passed over and destroyed the bridge, and that an impassable stream was between them. Fremont was thus compelled to be an unwilling witness of the conflict between Jackson and Shields, for as soon as the bridge had been effectually destroyed, and his rear thus secured, Jackson advanced upon Shields, who was encamped at Lewiston, the estate of General Samuel H. Lewis, about two miles north of Port Republic. Shields was aware of his approach, and made every preparation to receive him. The attack was made about sunrise on Monday, 9th June, and lasted until about ten or eleven o'clock, when the forces of Shields broke and fled in utter confusion and dismay. The rout was complete. The slaughter was great, and the pursuit continued until a late hour of the day. About 1000 prisoners were taken, and six pieces of artillery. The whole road was strewn with knapsacks, arms, blankets, &c. Those who witnessed it think that the rout was as complete as that inflicted on Banks. The loss of the enemy in the two battles of Cross Keys and Lewiston, in killed, wounded, and missing, is estimated at near 6000, while ours does

not exceed 600. It seems almost incredible, but it is nevertheless true.

Those two battles are among the most brilliant, if not the most brilliant, of the war. They are the crowning glory of Jackson and his gallant associates. No: I recall that. Not the crowning glory, for I believe still brighter wreaths are destined to encircle their brows if this unhalloved war shall continue.

Thus it will be seen that Jackson and his army, in one month, have routed Milroy, annihilated Banks, discomfited Fremont, and overthrown Shields. Was there ever such a series of victories won by an inferior force, by dauntless courage, and consummate generalship?

With 50,000 fresh troops under Jackson, Lincoln would be compelled to raise the siege of Richmond, and look to the security of his own capital.

Fremont still remains on the hills opposite Port Republic. He is reported to have about 20,000 men. Shields had 9000, and Jackson encountered him with about the same number.

What the next move will be it would be impossible for me to say, even if I knew. But Jackson keeps his own counsel. He speaks by deeds, not by words. Suffice it to say, he will strike at the right time, and in the right place. Whatever courage, skill, industry, and patriotism can accomplish, he will be sure to effect.

A NORTHERN VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE NORTH.

The following report of a trial in Massachusetts, taken from the *Boston Courier*, deserves attentive perusal. Many men in the United States may think as does Mr. Sennott, but few would have the boldness to own their sentiments:—

At the examination of the Gordons for treason in Boston, R. H. Dana, junr., the District Attorney, appeared, and said in substance that there was no statute of the United States under which the Gordons could be held merely for expressions of hostility to the Government, or for receiving intelligence from the South; that such things were not actually treason, there being no overt act proved; that the line must be drawn somewhere, and that, although the conduct of the Gordons was pretty close up to it, he must enter a *nolle prosequi* in the case.

Mr. H. M. Parker replied that, after what had been said by the attorney, it was his duty to protest against any disposition of the case, except by a hearing and determination by the magistrate. He said that no one of the five Gordons had been guilty even of improper talk, except Henry, the youngest. He warned those self-constituted committees that the community would not tolerate such interference as they had been guilty of. He thought the counsel for the defendants ought to have an opportunity to vindicate the character of these men. He had not himself preferred to argue this case, having from the beginning left that to the junior counsel, Mr. Sennott.

Mr. Dana said that an argument in the case after Government had abandoned it would be useless; but if anything could be said in vindication of the Gordons, it would be quite fair to allow it.

Mr. Sennott was obliged to the District Attorney for that. He said that, after what the Gordons had suffered, it would be no advantage for them to argue their case. What they wanted their counsel to do was to vindicate their character, and expose the meanness of their prosecutors. This he proposed to do now.

He then addressed the Commissioners in a speech, from which we make the following extracts:—

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

"I declare before God that, as I understand that right, I value it more than I do my life! And I call this whole country to witness if I have not before now proved the sincerity of this declaration by my actions! And the right I vindicated at the hazard of my life, before a Southern tyrant, I will not give up, for the sake of my business, to a Yankee sneak. Neither shall the Gordons. Their case is ours. We are tried with them. And in defending them we defend ourselves, and our country from a gang compared with whom Colonel Ledbetter is humane, and General Floyd respectable. Mr. Sumner was once the advocate of free speech. He claimed to be almost one of its martyrs; and in defence of it, or in consequence of it, he certainly was the victim of a cowardly assault, inflicted with a ferocity and endured with a meekness unexampled in the annals of cudgelling! He now changes his opinion, or, at least, his language. With that felicity of illustration which belongs, among the public writers of America, to him and to Governor Andrew alone, he advises his friends to put their 'heels' upon those who differ from them and who dare to speak out. The advice is given in a letter to the late war meeting at New York. Is this prosecution an experiment made upon poor mechanics by a few small conspirators, in pursuance of an agreement between the principal Thugs at Washington, in order, if it works well, to sacrifice more important victims to the Abolition Kalee? I do not know. I know that the gentlemen of the Republican Party do not countenance it, and that it will fail here, because, to reach their political opponents they must cut down their political and personal friends. If free speech is treason here, our excellent Governor would speedily be known as the late unlamented John A. Andrew, for his speech is exceedingly free and easy—quite loose, as you may say. Then, what would become of Mr. Phillips? Does he speak in favour of the Government? Has he ever said anything in favour of any Government except that of Hayti? Did he not lately advise a large and patriotic assembly not to give a man or a dollar to any Government of the United States? And did not that patriotic society applaud that liberal suggestion? Shall we prosecute Mr. Phillips, therefore? Not with my good will. Not without my active resistance. I should violate the very first principles of Democracy; which is greater to me than anything but the Word of God himself, if I did not fight for Mr. Phillips' right to talk treason to any fool who wants to hear him."

WHAT WAS SAID OF THE IRISH TROOPS ON LEAVING BOSTON. "When the regiment of the late Colonel Cass went off, without an escort even of the 2nd Battalion, it was not actually hissed in State-street, as was the Massachusetts Regiment on its return from Mexico, but the agreeable remark was made and heard that the departure of the Irish would be a great relief to our poorhouses and gaols. The Governor and his friends may say so about Colonel Cass's countrymen, the Irish, without committing treason or even giving offence. We

are not accused of talking so badly even about Mr. Andrew's countrymen—the negroes—yet are we prosecuted!"

WHAT MR. SENNOTT THINKS OF SECRETARY SEWARD.

"Have we arrived at such a state that no one must find fault with any action or omission of the Government or any member of it, without having treason imputed to him? Cannot you, sir? Cannot I? I, for example, have the misfortune to think that Mr. Seward, our present Secretary of State, is not fit, as a statesman, to index the papers of the late Silas Wright. However little he may be affected by my thoughts, I do think his want of sense—sober sense—has made him the laughing-stock of Europe. I think that he is a small wart and county politician, who writes like a sophomore and acts like a stock-jockey. Every time he speaks about what will happen in sixty days, in ninety days, he puts me in mind of a kerb-stone broker, chattering over the approaching maturity of a dubious note! I think such men have been advanced to important places in this country about as often as they will be, and cannot help rejoicing to think that Mr. Seward will probably be the last of the Lilliputians."

AN ILLUSTRATION—SEWARD AND SUMNER.

"Again, I do not worship Mr. Sumner. I cannot admire a person who is so simple as to think it a finer thing to pretend to be a fanatic than to be a dull, but honest man. There is a fine old German story called 'The Adventures of Reynard the Fox,' in the illustrations of which animals of different countries are represented in the attitudes and with the expressions of men. The illustrations are very good, and from the well known fact that men often resemble certain animals in a most curious and unaccountable manner, their effect is highly amusing. It is particularly so, if you happen by any chance to be reminded by them of any particular person. Now, must I suffer death if I say that I never looked at those pictures without thinking of Mr. Seward and of Mr. Sumner, and that I never hear the names of Mr. Seward or of Mr. Sumner without thinking of the picture of the Fox and of the picture of the Gander?"

SICK OF THE IMBECILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"And what if I am frank enough to say that I am sick of the swaggering imbecility with which the Government have managed this war of life and death? Is that treasonable? Shall my Government—that is to say, my servant, my creature—waste my money, and even let it be stolen, and stop my paper, and interrupt my business, and violate my Constitution, and starve and kill my soldiers out of pure neglect, and gain only disaster and defeat for me by all this folly? And shall I say nothing? If I am to put up with this, and more, and say nothing, or else be shut up by order of W. H. Seward, I want to know, seriously and calmly, what shall I fight Jeff. Davis for? What shall I fight Jeff. Davis for? What worse can he do to me than Seward or Stanton have done already? What, indeed, when their want of sense and want of energy have made him everything that he is? Lost money may be regained, lost armies may be replaced out of our swarms of men, but who shall give us back the time we have 'fooled away' before the dirt heaps of Manassas? Expose a cup of clear water to the frost. Observe it, and even when the cold begins to fill its transparent substance with beautiful *spicula* of ice, if you agitate the mass it will not immediately freeze. But give it in that condition a very short period of rest, and it becomes a rock, hardly yielding to the energies of gunpowder and fire? So have we found the South. They were once undecided. Time and the stupidity of Government have consolidated a hesitating into a hostile people. Yet Mr. Gordon is a traitor if he calls a fool a fool!"

A PICTURE OF A NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.

"New England to-day is covered with societies, in which the best of men and women conscientiously, but reluctantly, and the worst of men and women, eagerly, and with a devilish delight, perform the part of spies and informers upon each other. To say that such a gigantic system of mutual espionage does not tend to degrade character, is simply to say that eavesdropping and tale-bearing are not low and mean occupations. Under its influence, nothing is known of a man's real character or disposition. Habitual watchfulness upon the one side awakens habitual hypocrisy on the other. And it is only when the little saint of Boston expands into the gigantic villain of New Orleans or San Francisco that you can tell how vast a benefit you derived from his enigration. The wickedness looked little here, because we saw but little of it. The enormous pressure of universal listening and peeping had driven it deep into the innermost fibres of our society. So pressed, it produces Smelling Committees—it elects Hiss legislatures; it brings such men as Deacon Palmer to associate, out of fear, with men like Mr. Washburn, whom they receive into their cellars, and dismiss through back doors. Nobody will deny the fact, or its application here, who is not prepared to deny the existence of the Reverend Mr. Kallach or his church member, Mr. Hayes, who pecked after him, and black-mailed him, and then exposed him. It is Mr. Hayes's turn to-day. It may be Mr. Kallach's turn to-morrow. It is Mr. Washburn's now. It may be the Gordon's turn by-and-by. But be the turn whose it may, the system of a barbarous age and people applied to the control of civilized mankind, awakens the fiercest resentment. Men have put up with the savagery taskmasters. They have endured the bloodiest tyrants without resistance for many years. They have submitted to the Kings of Prussia, to the Czars, to the House of Austria, and even to the Turks. But a Government of meddling philanthropists they cannot bear. It resembles the government of vermin more than any human despotism—individually vile and odious, but quite insignificant; when collected they are all-pervading, all-devouring, appalling, loathsome to every sense, and intolerable to the strongest body and the firmest mind."

THE RAM ARKANSAS.

The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* gives the following account of the unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Arkansas. His record of Federal doings is not complete, but, so far as it goes, sufficiently graphic:—

So patent has been the demoralizing effect of the late achievement of the Arkansas, and so greatly has fear diffused itself as day by day without her capture or destruction, that Lieutenant-Colonel Ellet deemed it necessary to call Commodore Davis's attention to the matter, and renew the proposition—the execution of which was attended with so much hazard—made to him immediately after the rebel vessel reached Vicksburg.

This proposal was to attack the Arkansas at her moorings off the town, and endeavour to sink her by running her down. For this purpose the following plan of operations was formed: Three of the vessels of Commodore Davis, the Benton, the

Cincinnati, and the Louisville, were to engage the upper rebel batteries, the Bragg to lie behind the bend in readiness to butt the Arkansas in the event of her appearance above, and the Essex to run down in advance of the Queen and grapple her as she passed, draw her out into the stream, to give the Queen an excellent opportunity to ram her, Farragut meanwhile engaging the lower batteries. After the Queen had struck the enemy she was to come up or go down the river, as was most advantageous, the Benton protecting her retreat in the former, and the Essex in the latter case; the Sumter to ram the hostile gunboat if the Queen failed to perform her task. This arrangement was good, and entirely satisfactory to all parties, and promised to be faithfully carried out. The three gunboats opened fire; the Bragg took her position, and the Essex led off in line style, the Queen following at a high rate of speed, and under very favourable auspices. As the ram passed the flagship Commodore Davis waived his hand to Colonel Ellet, standing near the pilot-house, and cried out "Good luck, good luck!" The Colonel misunderstood the words, supposing the Commodore said "Go back, go back!" and therefore turned the Queen about and stemmed towards the Benton, when he heard "Go on, go on!" Without comprehending this apparent inconsistency, and believing the first duty of a soldier is to obey, the Colonel steamed down under the batteries, and, arriving at the first water battery, near the Marine Hospital, where the hostile gunboat was lying, he discovered the Essex had gone on, and was then in advance one-half or three-quarters of a mile.

The Queen was now exposed not only to the batteries of the enemy, but to those of the gunboat, which lay with her stern into shore and her bow up stream, apparently expecting and prepared for an attack. All this while, so far from the gunboats drawing the hostile fire, and standing between the Queen and harm, she was receiving most damaging attention from all sides. Shot and shell were raining around her, and she had been struck a number of times in very delicate localities. Colonel Ellet saw his was a desperate chance; that he had staked his life upon a cast, and that he had probably lost; that those on whom he had depended had failed, and he could now depend only on himself and fate.

To attempt to strike the Arkansas with his wooden boat while a score of the heaviest guns were pouring their fire upon him seemed certain destruction. There appeared no chance for escape above, and none below. He was hemmed in on every side. A wall of fire on both sides. And still he saw and heard nothing of Farragut, who was to occupy the lower batteries, while the ram relieved herself from her hazardous strait.

Colonel Ellet now determined, come what might, to strike the Arkansas—willing, if he could but sink her, to lose his existence. The Arkansas's position was unfavourable. He would have to take a roundabout course before he could reach her, and strike her going against the current; thus decreasing the rate of his speed, and diminishing the accuracy of his aim. But even these adverse circumstances did not deter him, nor the fact that heavy shot were every moment piercing his vessel, going through and through her, as if she were made of paper. The Colonel determined to take the odds, sink or not, and he took them. He went against the Arkansas partially up stream, designing to butt her forward of her side guns, her weakest place—but the eddies in the river altered his course somewhat, and he struck her aft of the aft side gun, and, unfortunately, a glancing though violent blow, that made both the traitorous and the loyal craft tremble. The Arkansas seemed to shrink and yield before the blow, and for a moment it was thought her side would give way; but she recoiled, and the ram flew back from her, and, in moving toward her again, ran into the bank. The Queen reversed her engines, and, as she went sternward into the stream, her head veered up the river, and it was then evident that her sole opportunity for escape was above.

Nothing more could be done, and Colonel Ellet resolved, if possible, to save his men, though that, under the circumstances, was the most forlorn of forlorn hopes. No friendly gunboat or Union vessel was near. Three or four of the hostile batteries were playing upon the devoted and seemingly doomed Queen, which must run by the great death-belching guns before she could be regarded as in any way secure. She had already been struck by more than twenty shots. Her chimney-stacks were perforated with balls; one of her steam-pipes had been shot away; in various places large holes had been bored through the sides and bow of the dauntless vessel, and yet no one was hurt, though many of the escapes had been almost miraculous. The Arkansas had given her broadside just as she was passing, and it was feared she would soon be water-logged. She therefore moved up the river, the Confederate batteries increasing their fire as she did so. Heavy shot and shell fell before, behind, and around her, and every few seconds one would go tearing through her deck or cabin. As she passed one of the upper batteries, a thirty-four pounder shot struck her in the rear, went through every one of her larboard state-rooms, in which no persons happened to be at the time, into the captain's office, penetrating the iron safe, and, passing out, shattered the wooden carriage of one of the mounted brass pieces on the boiler deck, dismounting the gun, and, hitting it, left a deep indentation in the metal. This shot, which was afterwards picked up, was a peculiar one. It was composed of powder mostly, with an admixture of lead and zinc, and weighs, probably, as much as fifty pounds. It is, probably, moulded out of the heterogeneous materials which the citizens—the wives, mothers, and daughters of the "Confederacy"—have from time to time been urged by the rebel leaders to contribute to the glorious cause.

The Queen ran by the hostile batteries, through a terrible fire, and made her appearance above the bend riddled with shot, but not a man on board seriously injured. She was received with acclamations by the crews of the fleet, who had as little hope of seeing her return as Colonel Ellet himself had of returning. His escape was what the orthodox call miraculous, and the philosophic, fortunate. The same experiment could not be tried with the same result once in ten thousand times, though her almost entire freedom from casualty is partially due to the precaution of Colonel Ellet in taking as few persons as possible, knowing that the probability of injury would be proportioned to the number of his crew.

On coming out of the action the Queen presented a most dismantled and forlorn appearance, and is as nearly shot to pieces, for any vessel that will float, as can well be imagined. The many who have visited her since her terrible experience are with difficulty persuaded that not one of her crew was killed or dangerously wounded. She has the semblance of a complete wreck, and it will be necessary to send her north at once for repairs, though some think her injury too great for remedy—that she is not worth the mending.

After Colonel Ellet's return it may be supposed he felt as if he had been, to say the least, unfairly treated by the two commanders, who had in no wise fulfilled their portion of the

covenant, while he had done a great deal more than his. The Colonel chiefly regrets the *contresens* because he is firmly of the opinion that if Farragut and Davis had performed what they agreed he would have been successful in capturing or destroying the Arkansas, and he expresses himself not only willing but anxious to repeat the attempt whenever they will assure him they will achieve their portion of the task.

Commodore Davis crying out "Good luck" to Colonel Ellet, was very unfortunate, for it threw the ram behind, and gave the Essex leisure to get too far ahead. Had the Queen and Essex been nearer together, it is quite possible they might have achieved a favourable result.

Commodore Davis informs Colonel Ellet that after the Queen had passed down his position was very much exposed, and he ordered the Cincinnati and Louisville up the river, following them with the flagship, forgetting, until they had ascended the stream some distance, his promise to cover the Queen's retreat. The Commodore immediately ordered a downward movement again, but his boats are so slow that before he could recover the ground he had lost the Queen was out of danger and saved, but without any cause of gratitude to the distinguished commanders of the combined fleets.

The Benton was struck several times, but was not injured, and has no loss of men to report. The Cincinnati received some twenty shots, but is also little damaged. The Louisville entirely escaped. The Essex lost one man killed, and three wounded, all sailors.

The Arkansas was very little hurt, it is supposed, by the butting of the Queen of the West, as she had up steam, and was moving about an hour ago in the river. Doubtless, she needs repairs for the injuries inflicted on her on the 15th inst., and is not by any means her former self; though, I apprehend, she could still do us a great deal of damage if she were bold enough to attack our fleet. The best evidence, as I have said before, that she is or was badly damaged, lies in the fact that she has not made a second attempt to engage our flotilla. Had she passed unscathed through the gauntlet she had selected for herself, she would most assuredly have had sufficient confidence to attempt the renewal of her first brilliant performance. Many persons believe that the Arkansas will pay us another visit very speedily, especially since our fleet has been reduced by the departure of the Taylor, Conestoga, Carondelet, Sumter, and Essex, but Commodore Davis has no fear of the rebel gunboat, and thinks, with his present force, he could destroy her, if she were to assume an offensive position. Commodore Farragut and Colonel Ellet, as well as Commodore Davis, are burning to destroy the Arkansas, and would engage in almost any undertaking to secure that end. At present, however, circumstances are too unfavourable to the project.

THE NORTHERN HATRED OF THE NEGRO.

There has been a serious riot in Brooklyn, arising out of an attempt to prevent the employment of negroes in a tobacco factory. The following particulars are given by the *New York World*:—

A serious disturbance occurred in Sedgewick-street, near Columbia-street, yesterday afternoon, caused by the employment of negroes in the tobacco manufactories of Messrs. Watson and Lorillard, and resulted in the expulsion of the *employés* of the factories, consisting mostly of women and children (coloured) of whom, but for an accident, a large number would have been destroyed by fire. Shortly after noon, some fifty persons collected together, and making known their object, assembled a crowd numbering between 2000 and 3000 persons, and proceeded to the factories, which are three-story buildings of brick, and in which between 300 and 400 persons are employed. The overseer, or foreman, of Watson's factory is a coloured man, as are all the persons employed therein, most of whom are women and children, to the number from fifty to seventy-five. In Lorillard's factory about 250 are employed, whites and coloured. There has been no difficulty until within the past few weeks, but it has been understood for some time that a disturbance might take place any day. The population in the vicinity are principally Irish. Several local politicians, having for their object the making of political capital for use in the future, conceived the idea of making a demonstration against the factories for the purpose of expelling the objectionable *employés*. They proceeded to both factories, which adjoin each other, and commenced by smashing in the doors and windows with stones. They entered the lower floor of Watson's factory, and discovering a covection of liquorice and whiskey, mistook it for tar, and heaping a parcel of old clothing and some more combustible material around, set it on fire; but they were disappointed. It would not burn. A smoke was created, but there was no flame of consequence. The affrighted *employés*, meantime, took refuge in the upper stories. The men stood at the head of the stairs; there were some half dozen of them, who, armed with such weapons as they could get hold of, stood there to defend themselves and the women and children. A number who came up, thinking they could overawe the coloured guardians of the staircase, were knocked down, and several were seriously injured. The resistance at the landing was so persistent, that the rioters could not get up, and were compelled to depart much faster than they came. All in Lorillard's factory had been driven out, and at length, when nearly all the mischief was done, the police arrived, and proceeded to quell the riot by clubbing the negroes. Some of the officers did their duty manfully; among them were Sergeant Wright and officers Oats and Burns, of the 43rd Precinct, who were most unmercifully beaten. One of the assailants of these policemen was a naval officer in full uniform, who took a very active part in the affair. Inspector Folk having been notified at his house, which is about three miles from the scene, arrived at about two o'clock, and then everything like a disturbance was promptly quelled, and the rioters were scattered in every direction. The inspector ascertained that nearly every house in the neighbourhood was an unlicensed rum shop, where the rioters had wrought themselves up to the fighting point by the virtue of gin and whiskey. He promptly ordered every place to be closed, and, after a time, all those disposed to create disturbance dispersed. Some six or eight were arrested, among them Patrick Keenan, who stated in presence of Sergeant Wright that "they (the niggers) must be driven out if it cost life to do it, and he was willing to lose his." The negro foreman of Watson's factory was also arrested and locked up. His name is Charles Baker. He defended himself and others at the head of the stairs with an axe, and hurt several—among them officer Donnelly. "There were but few of the male *employés* present, most of them being absent at the Emancipation jubilee in Haupt's Myrtle Avenue Park. The police state that the substance the rioters set on fire in the lower room was tar, and that they had great difficulty in suppressing the flames. They were violently assaulted with stones while thus engaged, and if they had not succeeded and the flames had spread, those who had taken refuge upstairs must have perished."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Ten-
nessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
illustrations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumbold-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. T. Robinson & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER, Three and Six Cord Speed
Thread, Cotton Bells, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; F. RIMAILHO AND NEYREY,
New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHIEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHIEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States, Commission for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT
GARDEN, LONDON, and 20, SOUTH FREDER-
ICK STREET, EDINBURGH, have published
the following Catalogues of their Stock:—

1. CLASSICAL CATALOGUE. Greek and Latin
Classics, Archaeology, Philology, Roman Law.
2. THEOLOGICAL CATALOGUE. German and
French Books.—Philosophy, Metaphysics.
3. FRENCH CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Voyages, Travels, &c.
4. GERMAN CATALOGUE. General Literature,
History, Belles Lettres.
5. MAP-CATALOGUE. Foreign Maps and Atlases.
6. LINGUISTIC CATALOGUE. European Lan-
guages.
7. ORIENTAL CATALOGUE. Oriental Languages,
History, &c.
8. SCIENTIFIC CATALOGUE. Natural History,
Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Ma-
thematics, Astronomy, Medicine, and Surgery.
9. FOREIGN BOOK CIRCULARS issued periodi-
cally, and sent Post-free to Purchasers, contain
New Books and New Purchases.
10. SCIENTIFIC BOOK-CIRCULARS. New Books
and New Purchases.

ANY CATALOGUE SENT POST-FREE FOR ONE STAMP.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Importers of Foreign
Books, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London,
and 20, South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of Advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the means of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee nation. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that might lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.
The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Retailers, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 21, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
A. Regent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chaussée d'Antin in Paris).

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
On Wednesday, the 30th, will be published, in
1 vol. 8vo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an His-
torical View of Democracy in America. By
CONRAD EDW. WYATT. Translated, with the Author's
sanction, by R. S. H. CROUCH.
London: LONGMAN, GREEN, and Co., 15, Lud-
gate-hill.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice- President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE: 78, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for the year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 232,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 16th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 16th March, 1862.
A. J. WHEELER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861 609,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861 806,420 93
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after
the first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Penberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Ponts.
C. Honold.
G. Miltenberger.
S. N. Nevins.
J. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voorheis.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861 331,870 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,338 27
Assets 30th April, 1861 1,442,050 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRAUTT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI- CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PARTY PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of crediting
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.
Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 24th section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, ammunition, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence in-
cur a penalty not exceeding £50; and the master or
owner of any ship who fails to take on board any
parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a
dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XVII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every in-
gredient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—August 21, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 18.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 28, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	273
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter.. ..	274
Manchester Letter	274
TOBACCO MARKET	274
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
The Battles before Richmond—Lists of Killed	
and Wounded	275
Private Letters	276
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	277
Paris	277
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	277
LEADERS—	
The Collapse of the Federal Armies	280
The Undercurrent of Disunion	280
The Justice and Duty of Reprisals	282
Federal and Confederate Resources	282
Rebellion or War: the Consequences of a Mis-	
nomer	283
A very Veracious Story	283
REVIEW—	
The Port and Trade of London	285
A VOICE FROM PENNSYLVANIA	286
THE CONFEDERATE ARMY: THE CONSCRIPTION	
ACT AND ORGANIZATION	287
ADVERTISEMENTS	288

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

THE maxim of Talleyrand, that speech was given to conceal thought, may be diplomatically true, but it cannot be said that the art of writing has been given to the Federals to conceal the truth. The Northern despatches and the Washington editions of the war news are substantially false, but then their falsehood is so palpable that it deceives nobody. Take as an example the Federal accounts of the late battle near Cedar Mountain. We need hardly observe that they claim a victory for the North, yet they admit that the Federal force was attacked by overwhelming numbers, and that it had to fall back, and also that their loss was 3000. In fact, they describe a defeat, and call it a victory. One misrepresentation deserves a passing notice. General Pope reported, or his friends in Washington reported for him, that the Confederate commander sent a flag of truce, asking permission to bury the Confederate dead. That this is untrue we know from the Northern acknowledgment that the battle ended by the Federals' falling back beyond the range of the Confederate guns, leaving the battle-field at the disposal of their enemy. There is, however, some foundation for the story. The Confederate commander sent a flag of truce to General Pope, giving him permission to remove the wounded Federals.

Instead of Federal cavalry and artillery pursuing the Confederates, as reported, we learn that General Jackson attacked the Federals at night with artillery, and produced a panic and rout.

The New York people are not deluded by official accounts. The *New York Journal* calls General Pope to task for suffering himself to be taken unawares, for, as we last week stated, General Banks was surprised. It appears, too, that General Pope and his staff had a narrow escape from capture, and that in the confusion they were fired upon by their own soldiers.

General Pope's army is suffering from typhoid fever and other diseases peculiar to the climate and the season. In one regiment, the 60th New York, 180 were on the sick list, and only 100 of the men appeared on parade. This statement is founded on a report from General Pope's headquarters.

We repeated last week a Northern announcement that the sickness in General McClellan's army had considerably abated, in consequence of a supply of fresh vegetables; but other and later accounts, so far from authenticating this rumour, declare that the sickness was increasing, and that the condition of the army was most distressing. Those who are acquainted with the climate of Virginia, and especially with the position occupied by General McClellan, are fully aware that his army must be subjected to the ravages of disease; it would be so if he had unlimited supplies of fresh provisions, but these he cannot obtain; and he will learn that in warfare pestilence claims more victims than the fire and sword of the enemy.

It cannot be said that the people of Washington and New York have an overweening confidence with regard to the Federal position in Virginia.

They anticipate, though they are not prepared for, the worst. Thus general apprehensions were lately rife as to the safety of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Portsmouth. No doubt the Washington Government encourages these rumours, for the purpose of stirring up the people to recruit the army; but, in the first place, the prospect of disaster does not stimulate the invader to increased exertions, as it does the invaded; and, secondly, the gloomy reports of the mortality in the Federal armies in Virginia are sufficient to deter enlistment, and to explain the panic caused by the order for drafting.

At Key West the yellow fever has broken out, and it has been found necessary to remove nearly all the Federal vessels from that station. The mortality at Key West has been considerable.

Baton Rouge was taken by the Confederates, under General Breckinridge, on the 6th inst. The Federals were defeated; General Williams was killed, and the camp equipage and stores were captured. It is further reported that the entire Federal force was captured. This is another proof that the advantages gained by the North cannot be maintained. This affair at Baton Rouge, of which at present we have no details, is of considerable strategic importance. So far from the Federals being masters of the Mississippi, it is evident that their position is critical.

General Butler does not feel himself secure, and, like other Northern commanders, clamours for more men. Mr. Lincoln would say he is quite right to ask for reinforcements if he wants them, and that the Government is justified in refusing his request if it has no means of sending him reinforcements. The new Federal levies will find plenty of employment.

General Butler, it will be remembered, suppressed some of the New Orleans papers, and appointed Northern editors to conduct the others. We were under the impression that his creatures were eminently servile, and that the tone of the *Picayune*, for example, was sufficiently subservient to satisfy the most exacting despotism; but it appears we were mistaken, for the publication of that journal has been temporarily prohibited, and that the *Bulletin* has been altogether stopped. Possibly, General Butler has discovered the utter futility of attempting to impose on the people of New Orleans, or that his editors, like the official newsmongers at Washington, are such clumsy inventors as to let the truth ooze out.

Moreover, General Butler has closed the Louisiana State Bank Branch, on the ground that the officials were aiding the cause of the South. It is possible that no great inconvenience will be experienced from this characteristic act, because trade in New Orleans is completely stopped, not only by the disinclination to transact business with a city under Federal rule, but that all commerce between the inhabitants of Louisiana and New Orleans is peremptorily forbidden by the Confederate authorities.

The accounts with regard to the rain Arkansas are conflicting, and up to the time we write the rumour of her being blown up is not confirmed. We are neither able to confirm or deny the intelli-

THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

The following telegram was received as we were going to press:—

NEW YORK, August 16, Morning.

Per Bohemian, via Quebec and Londonderry.

General McClellan's army is supposed to have retired from Harrison's Landing down the Peninsula, one portion by land, via Williamsburg, and another portion on transports down the James River. Both routes of retreat were liable to an attack from the Confederates, but it is reported that the movement has been successfully performed.

It is not definitely known where General McClellan's army will operate.

General Jackson has safely crossed the Rapidan, and is south-west of Gordonsville, with 60,000 men.

The high waters of the Rapidan have delayed the Federal forces; but they are reported to be steadily advancing.

General Pope's official report of the battle at Cedar Mountain states that the loss of the Federals was 1500 killed, wounded, and missing, 300 of whom were taken prisoners. Federal General Prince was captured by the Confederates. Confederate General Winder was killed.

The Southern journals claim the victory at Cedar Mountain, and state that thirty commissioned officers of General Pope's army have arrived at Richmond, where they would be imprisoned and finally punished as felons; but not if the Federal Government should cease the war policy inaugurated by General Pope.

General Pope has issued an order stating that his proclamation directing the army to subsist on the country has been abused by officers and men, and forbidding all to molest or disturb the property of citizens. Acts of pillage and outrage will be punished.

Confederate General Lee has addressed a letter to General Halleck threatening retaliatory measures for General Pope's order.

General Halleck answered that as the letter was couched in a tone insulting to the Federal Government, it would not reply.

General Fremont has again been appointed to command the first corps, under General Pope.

It is reported from Memphis that a battle occurred on the 7th inst. at Tazewell, near Cumberland Gap, in which 3000 Federals surrendered; that the Confederates were again in possession of East Tennessee, and that Generals Beauregard and Bragg were at Chattanooga, with 70,000 men. A semi-official Washington dispatch declares the report to be totally untrue, and says that no fight took place at Tazewell, except on the 9th inst., when the Confederates were repulsed with heavy loss.

The Memphis report is discredited.

It is again reported from the South that the Confederates have captured Baton Rouge, with four Federal regiments, and have sunk two Federal gunboats.

Official orders have been issued for formally commencing the draft of 300,000 men on the 1st of September, and also the additional special draft to fill up all the old regiments not filled by that date.

Recruiting is much improved, but the drafting excitement continues. Foreigners who have declared their intention to become citizens, are not allowed to leave the country.

Numerous emigrants enlist on landing.

gence. There appears to be no doubt that on the 6th inst. the Arkansas appeared before Baton Rouge, attacked the Federal fleet, and compelled it to retire. The *Memphis Bulletin*, of the 10th inst., in recording the failure of a Federal expedition destined for the White River, remarks that the Federal vessel Louisville narrowly escaped an encounter with the Arkansas, but makes no reference to any disaster that had happened to the Confederate ram.

The reported murder of General M'Cook turns out to be a fabrication. It was incredible that, in a country swarming with Confederate guerillas, a Federal general should be travelling without a considerable escort, nor was General M'Cook guilty of such imprudence. He had with him a troop of soldiers, which must, at all events, have been nearly equal in numbers to the guerilla band it encountered, for, so far from throwing down their arms and asking quarter, there was a fight between the opposing forces, in the course of which General M'Cook, who took part in the skirmish, was shot. For this casualty of war seventeen innocent men were murdered by Federal soldiers.

At Knoxville, Tennessee, the Confederates have 15,000 men. General Morgan has taken Gallatin, a town connected with Nashville by railroad. He captured Colonel Boone and 300 men, and a Federal freight train containing sixty horses and a large quantity of stores.

According to a despatch from Mobile, dated the 2nd inst., General Morgan officially reports that he had captured twenty towns, 1200 prisoners, and 20,000 stand of arms. We also learn from Southern papers that the Federals have been repulsed near Cumberland Gap, with great slaughter. The only advantage claimed by the North is, that Colonel Peck surprised and killed thirty Confederates whilst they were sleeping.

In Missouri the Confederates are making considerable progress. Last week we recorded the capture of Newark and Alexandria, and since then the capture of Independence, together with a large quantity of military stores, has been announced. It will be observed that the Confederates are supplying themselves with arms and ammunition from the Federals. Before the capture of Independence the Federal forces, under Lieut.-Col. Buel, were defeated, and had to surrender.

Confederate rams are being rapidly multiplied. Two, with conical revolving turrets, are said to be in Charleston harbour, nearly ready for service. Another ram is being equipped at Savannah,

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, August 27, 1862.

Our last report left the market at the climax of its excitement, with Middling Orleans verging upon 24d., and Fair Dhollerahs at 15½d.

On Thursday the demand suddenly fell off without any assignable cause, and an immediate reaction set in. Speculators pressed to realise their profits, sellers withdrew, and American cotton was difficult to move, even at 1d. decline; in Surats there was more steadiness, but some transactions occurred at ½d. reduction—the total business only reaching 5000 bales. The same dull feeling prevailed on Friday, and a few sales were made at 23d. for Middling Orleans, the business being estimated at 4000 bales; but on Saturday the tone was again changed, the Australasia's news was to hand, and gave renewed confidence to buyers; it contained few additional items of interest, but rumoured the fears some had entertained that the approval of the conscription would create disturbances in the North. The cheap lots accordingly were withdrawn, and, with a business of 7000 bales, the top prices were nearly regained.

On Monday the demand opened very briskly, and prices improved ½d. to ¾d. with sales of 10,000 bales, putting Middling Orleans at full 24d. per lb.

On Tuesday the speculative movement gathered greater strength, and a large business was done in the forenoon at advancing prices; later in the day news arrived that Manchester had been very excited, prices there had advanced, on the average, 2d. to 3d. per lb. since the previous Tuesday, enabling spinners to pay the high prices ruling for Surat cotton, better than they could when it was much lower. The effect of this news was to stimulate a great additional demand in the afternoon, and the sales were estimated at 18,000 bales, at a further advance of ½d. on American and Surats, and about 1d. on Brazil and Egyptians, on which there was a great run.

To-day the speculative mania has been wilder than ever, and the sales on the spot are computed to reach the incredible amount of 30,000 bales, or one-half the present stock as shown by the circulars. Every sort of cotton has been most greedily bought up, and in some cases the advances since yesterday are immense. American cotton generally show a rise of 1d., the better grades of Surats 1d. to 1½d., the lower qualities ½d. to 1d., Brazils and Egyptians 1d. to 1½d. on the average. The greatest competition to-day has been for

the higher grades of Surats, and for choice descriptions extraordinary prices have been paid—22½d. is quoted for prime saw-ginned, 20d. for the best Broach, and 19d. for Omrawuttie; these sorts are being bought up to supply the place of American cotton which is now forced quite out of common consumption and is become a fancy article. The following quotations approximate to the present value of cotton on the spot: 25½d. to 26d. for middling Orleans, 25 to 25½ for Mobles and Bowed, 17d. for fair Dhollerah, 17½d. for Omrawuttie, 18½ for Broach, and 21d., nominally, for saw-ginned Dharwar. In cotton to arrive an enormous business has been doing all the week, and prices for the last three days have been rising ½d. per day; the quotations now attained are 17½d. for May shipments of Broach, 16½ for May Dhollerah and Omrawuttie, and about 1d. less per month, according as the time of shipment is more distant.

The prevalence of easterly winds still keeps out arrivals of cotton to a remarkable extent; the import this week so far, is only 3000 bales, and unless some vessels turn up to-morrow, our apparent stock on Friday will be beneath 50,000 bales, of which it is doubtful if that of Surat will show much above zero. It is now becoming perfectly evident that the estimated stock is a mere fiction, and the sooner an accurate count is taken, the better for the true interests of the trade. It is thought by many that the real stock, if correctly taken, would show an excess of 50,000 bales on the assumed one, and certainly there is room for much amendment in that of Surats, for while the estimate to-day would scarcely allow for 10,000 bales in the port, there has been actually sold 15,000 bales, and there is probably, at least, as much more set aside for export.

There are now at sea about 50,000 Surats cleared before May 1, and consequently quite due, besides which 160,000 bales sailed in May and should arrive here in September, 120,000 cleared in June are due here in October, while 80,000 bales sailed up to July 27, due here in November. With these supplies in prospect no absolute famine need be anticipated.

This last commotion for our market is owing chiefly to the unexpected buoyancy shown in Manchester; more confidence is felt there on the future prices of cotton and cloth than at any future period in this crisis; the older accumulations of goods and yarns are now almost entirely swept away, and the actual consumptive demand can be met only from the small production—about one-third of the former quota. The confidence of spinners is strongly evinced by the fact that they have been very large buyers of Surat cotton afloat for some time past, many of those operations, no doubt, are to cover orders, but the bulk of them, probably, are purely speculative.

It is well to bear in mind, however, that prices at their present level are extremely hazardous; the public mind is now fully possessed with the belief that this American war must go on indefinitely, and very likely the conviction will prove just; but it will be strange if periods do not return when plausible hopes of a settlement reappear, producing panics in the market; besides, it is well to remember that in political convulsions, the darkest hour usually precedes the dawn. And it is just when matters seem most hopeless that the solution generally comes. The Russian and Italian wars came to an abrupt conclusion when it was least expected, and from those precedents a wholesome caution should be drawn.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, August 26.

Although the demand for cotton in the Liverpool market, from Wednesday to Saturday last, was not so great as during the few days previous, our market for yarn and cloth has advanced in price from day to day, slowly and steadily.

Yarns for export in almost all quantities up to about 40s., realized no improvement of 1d. per lb., and finer grades about 1½d. per lb. upon Tuesday's quotations.

Home trade yarns have been in better demand, and for 32s twist cops 1d. per lb. advance was obtained, whilst for 40s and 60s twist cops 2d. and 3d. per lb., respectively, have been received.

Cloth of all descriptions continues to change hands at rapidly advancing prices, and up to Saturday the advances obtained on shirtings was from 6d. to 9d. per piece upon the rates of Tuesday. A proportionate advance was also obtained on printers, long cloths, and madapolams.

Some little surprise was manifested on 'Change during Saturday on its becoming known that one of our principal German houses had for sale 5000 bales of No. 30s water twist, of about 120 bundles of 10lbs. each to a bale, spun in Russia from American cotton entirely, which they would deliver at Hull, at about 2d. per lb. less than a similar yarn could be bought here.

To-day our market has been considerably excited, owing to the advices received from Liverpool yesterday and to-day, also to the general belief here that cotton will advance another 6d. per lb. before another pause takes place.

Yarns for shipment are realizing much better prices than on Friday last. Low warps are selling upon a basis of 18½d. per lb. for No. 12s, showing an advance of 1d. per lb. Mule yarns in bundle may be quoted fully 1d. per lb. higher. No. 28s throstle warps have fetched 2s. 4d. per lb., an advance of about 2d. No. 60s, 70s, and 80s double, are higher by 2d. to 3d. per lb. Twist and weft cops are about 1d. per lb. dearer.

Home trade yarns are again better to sell to-day, 32s twist cops are worth 2s. per lb.; 40s twist cops from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d.; 60s twist cops (Bolton spinning), 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d., per lb., and all other numbers in proportion.

The demand for cloth still continues good, especially for India shirtings and printers, the former of which are worth another 6d. per piece, 8½ lbs. having been sold at 14s. 6d., although many of the principal holders of this fabric will not sell at less than 15s. per piece, and others again at 16s., which prices will probably be obtained before another month passes.

TOBACCO.

We have no change to notice in our markets this week. A fair demand has been experienced, for the season of the year, but buyers have found it difficult to make selections from the limited stock on sale. A few parcels of Western Strips were taken, at prices from 13½d. to 15d., and purchases of leaf were made for Ireland to some extent.

There are indications of business for export, for which purpose fair selections can be made in our market. The new import is now rapidly coming forward, and buyers seem disposed to await the sampling, which will shortly commence. The quality of the new crop is understood to be very fine.

The last advices from Australia reported greatly advanced prices for the manufactured article, and some small parcels recently arrived here will find ready sale so soon as sampled.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

BATTLE OF FORT REPUBLIC.

The following List of Casualties, in the 27th Virginia Regiment, is not quite complete. Four or five slightly wounded are not reported:—

Field officers—Wounded: Major Shriver.
Company B—Killed: Lieut. Lenard, Privates Chiltim and Joseph Smith. Wounded: Alex. Smith, Logan, Gowers, J. P. Chiltim, and Nooderspard.

Company C—Wounded: Welcher, Porter, Purseley, and Baker.

Company D—Wounded: Captain F. C. Wilson, Privates R. W. Sauds, F. H. Brown, and — Lotts.

Company E—Killed: Squire Johnson. Wounded: Lieut. Edgar, Privates Nofsinger, Harper, Holly, and H. Sandford.

Company F—Killed: Dick M'Clury, Andrew Martin, and — Carter. Wounded: Lieut. Showber, Privates Ackerley and Rowleson.

Company G—Killed: — Walton. Wounded: none.

Company H—Wounded: Privates Thomas, Hilbaner, Dranheller, Smith, Camden, and Mitchell.

Killed, 8; Wounded, 28; Total, 36.

The gentleman who furnishes the foregoing says:—

"When it is recollected that the 27th went into the fight with but 140 men, it will be seen at once that it suffered severely, the ratio being fully 30 per cent. All who witnessed the conduct of the regiment on this trying occasion, must admit that it was deserving of the highest praise. Colonel Grigsby and Major Shriver had their horses killed under them, and scarcely a man in the regiment but had a hole through some portion of his dress. The following is, I think, a correct estimate of the loss on both sides: Confederates, 600 killed and wounded; Federals, 1000 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners—with loss of six pieces of splendid artillery, 2000 stand of small arms, hundreds of India rubber blankets, &c., &c."

The following is pretty nearly a correct list of the casualties in the 1st Maryland Regiment, during the late operations of Jackson in the Valley.

Wounded: Lieut.-Col. E. R. Dorsey, through shoulder.

Company A—Wounded: Captain Wm. W. Goldsborough, in the side; Colour-Corporal John B. Taylor, severely; Privates Cyrus Butler, severely; Martin L. Rider, in breast; James Lawson, left arm; Polk Mayberry, through ankle.

Company D—Killed: Lieut. Nicholas Snowden; Privates Edward Beatley, — Berry. Wounded: Sergeant H. Wells, dangerously; Corporal McIntyre, severely; — Simpson, severely; John Key, severely; — Acker.

Company E—Wounded: Colour-Sergeant Doyle, severely; Sergeant Wallace, dangerously; Colour-Corporal Cole, severely; Privates Quinn, seriously; Wm. Bannon, severely; Edward Lawn, severely.

Company F—Wounded: Sergeants Kennedy and Vogt; Private George Eisenburger.

Company G—Killed: Private Murphy. Wounded: Privates Ryan and Wagner.

Company H—Killed: Wm. Harris, — Schley. Wounded: Jos. Farr, mortally; W. T. Perry, mortally; Samuel Criddle, dangerously; Samuel Rogers, severely; Philip Coakley, severely; — Colston, dangerously; Renney White, dangerously; — Guy, slightly.

Company I—Killed: Captain M. L. Robertson. Wounded: Lieut. H. B. Bean, severely; G. J. Chapallier, J. G. Barber, L. S. Lancaster, Colour-Corporal Frederick Groves.

BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND.

The following is more full than the lists we have previously published, and, indeed, so far as the regiments mentioned are concerned, may be considered complete:—

LIST OF CASUALTIES IN THE 7TH VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

The 7th Virginia Regiment went into the fight of Monday with about 240 men, and came out with about 140. The loss is not fully learned yet, but the following items may relieve the minds of the friends of the wounded:—

We had killed Captain Blackard, Lieutenant Gooding, Orderly Sergeant Apperson, — Bolling, L. Willis, John Shotwell, Huile, Storey, Webb, and Hucklestep. Captain Jones and Lieutenant Tensil are among the missing. The following are the names of a portion of the wounded:—J. W. Sarver, George Brown, Harley, Levi Dempsey, Orderly Sergeant Yates, Thornhill, Lieutenant Moore, Lieutenant Almond, Sergeant Major Tensil, T. P. Darrell, T. P. Mays, Ensign of the 7th, J. J. Balling, John A. Jenkins, Wesley Manual, Orderly Sergeant Cooper, Lieutenant Eates, Lieutenant Fogg, Lewis Monroe, Daniel Lish, Jesse Young, J. L. Kidd, Ayler, H. J. Wilburn, David Acres, B. P. Meadows, James Monroe, L. N. Monroe, W. H. McQasary, T. J. Mitchell, Orderly Sergeant P. Smith.

Killed and Wounded in the 12th Virginia Regiment, Colonel Weisiger, in the Action of July 1:—

Company A (Capt. Waddell)—Killed: Privates. H. A. Blanks, Jr., Wm. A. Graham, Robert F. Willcox. Wounded: Henry Fisher, T. F. Alley, J. W. Baylor.

Company B (Capt. Lyon)—Killed: none. Wounded: Geo. W. Mills, D. H. Dean, R. H. Johnson.

Company C (Capt. Bond)—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieut. Hawks, Privates M. D. Tatum, G. F. Hill, H. V. L. Bird, David F. Perkinson, Jos. Robinson, B. A. Lucy.

Company D (Capt. Critz)—Killed: J. Old, Nicholas Dawson. Company E (Capt. Banks)—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieut. A. M. Kelley, Sergeant Jos. Carr, Privates L. A. Burwell, Walter Kvan, J. T. Robinson, W. A. Shepherd.

Company F (Capt. Feild)—Killed: none. Wounded: Lieut. E. P. Scott, Jr., Corporal W. C. Brown, Private J. A. Collier.

Company G (Capt. Crawford)—Killed: Private J. B. Symington. Wounded: Privates J. Hovenstein, E. E. Nimmo.

Company H (Capt. Owens)—Killed: Corporal T. B. Braithwaite, Private Lewis Meyers. Wounded: Sergeant J. R. Baldry.

Company I (Capt. Jones)—Killed: Privates John Delbridge, W. E. Edwards. Wounded: Sergeant T. J. Harwell, Privates G. W. Lee, L. F. Kelly.

Company K (Capt. Lewellen)—Killed: none. Wounded: Corporal R. Mitchell, Private Wm. Mann.

A List of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, from the 19th Virginia Regiment:—

Major John T. Ellis, wounded in the thigh.
 Company A—Wounded: W. W. Murray.
 Company B—Killed: James Durren. Wounded: Sergeant Lee Gilmore, Sergeant Shepherd, Sergeant P. Craven, Corporals Barker, O'Brien; Privates W. H. Garth, W. H. Jones, W. J. Robertson, A. Sauter, J. Hucklestep. Missing: W. Leak, P. Pearson.
 Company C—Killed: William Giles, George Rodemser, William Grant. Wounded: Captain J. E. Blair, Lieutenant S. H. White, Sergeant Robert Bowles, Privates M. R. Morris, James Napier, C. T. Thompson, W. D. Scruggs. Missing: Robert Herndon.
 Company D—Wounded: Lieuts. R. J. Harland, H. Baker, S. W. Farrar, Privates W. A. Ball, W. H. Duncan, W. T. England, A. M. Fortune, W. A. Moss, J. Scanlan, J. Strange, W. R. Woodson. Missing: E. M. Miles.
 Company E—Killed: W. C. Wood. Wounded: W. J. Garnett, P. O. Garrod, M. Wood, J. Sandridge, J. H. Pritchett, B. J. Edwards.
 Company G—Killed: W. W. Loving, W. B. Coffee, R. M. Fitzpatrick, Alcock Johnson. Wounded: Corporal B. Hamilton, Privates A. K. Kidd, A. B. Kidd, L. D. Kidd, Geo. May, J. W. May, W. H. Parrish, J. M. Plunket, N. B. Ponton, A. A. Purvis, S. J. Saunders. Missing: J. A. Lowry.
 Company F—Wounded: Privates D. Strange, J. Warron. Missing: C. Barnett, J. Lankford, F. Bohlinger. — Madison, Charles Walton.
 Company I—Killed: C. J. Higginbotham. Wounded: Sergeant T. H. Campbell, Privates D. G. Campbell, Jos. Campbell, E. W. Smith, W. L. Simpson, L. O. Jennings, D. F. M. Burford, W. A. Pendleton, A. S. Quinn. Missing: A. M. Franklin, L. P. Hawkins, T. P. Gill, W. H. Lavender.
 Company H—Killed: Herod Scott. Wounded: Sergeant T. McGinnis, Corporal P. Roberts, Privates G. Hite, John Watts, P. G. Cox, B. Cox, B. T. Joiner, J. Landrum, H. Stinnett, John Davidson, C. W. Brown, B. Settle, E. Cutter, D. Jennings, Lieut. Richardson.
 Company K—Wounded: Capt. J. G. Woodson, Lieut. A. J. Robertson, Sergeant J. H. Rae, Private M. L. Abel.

Report of Casualties in the 38th Regiment North Carolina Troops, on June 26th and 27th:—

Colonel J. L. Hoke wounded, Adjutant Cowels wounded.
 Company A (Lieut. Armstrong commanding) not in action.
 Company B (Capt. Cook commanding)—Killed: Corporal G. W. Wheeling, Private Jas. Stokes, Sr., Jno. Crezart, J. Blackman. Wounded: Sergeant H. B. Brown, J. A. Boon, G. C. Poplin, A. Grose, J. M. Atwood, G. D. Halcumb, W. M. Carter, A. S. Hair, W. Cook, J. E. Hutchins, A. R. Reese, R. D. Russell, D. T. Talley, W. H. Felts, L. J. Wells, W. R. Hains, John H. Grose, C. F. Armstrong.
 Company C (Capt. Wilson commanding)—Killed: Privates L. Gurley, O. M. Warwick, J. S. Britt. Wounded: Sergeants J. W. Walker, G. L. Dougherty; Corporals W. T. Sutton, W. A. Andrews; Privates R. B. Jackson, R. Cobb, W. McLamb, J. B. Cotton, R. B. Stith, W. Brewer, S. W. Sutton, J. S. Sanderson, M. Vaughn, W. B. Harlington, W. H. Pope, J. H. Warwick.
 Company D (Capt. Ashford commanding)—Killed: Lieut. Joseph W. Darden. Wounded: Sergeant O. B. Morrissey; Privates Joseph Persithe, Robert Shipp, M. Lockkany, W. E. Brewer, W. H. Stevens.
 Company E (Capt. McRae commanding)—Killed: Lieut. M. T. Covington, Privates James T. Bostick, M. V. B. Covington. Wounded: Sergeant A. G. Dawkins, Privates H. H. McCaskill, E. Kelly, J. Benoit, N. T. Baldwin, K. M. Covington, C. Crouch, M. Chappell, W. C. Mitchell.
 Company F (Capt. Yount commanding)—Wounded: Lieuts. D. F. Roseman, J. Yount, A. Deal; Corporal N. E. Lignan; Privates A. Arwood, John D. Hoke, John Hetrick, David Hoffman, Jacob Hoffman (since dead).
 Company G (Capt. Flowers)—Killed: R. A. Hines, J. S. McLaio. Wounded: Sergeant Hartness, J. W. Hartness, J. W. Linney, Corporal C. J. Deal, T. F. Murdoch, D. E. Campbell, M. M. Clary, W. L. W. Ellis, J. Q. Elder, J. Gamt, S. N. Hines, J. V. Lackey, J. Wesley Lackey, J. C. Lackey, R. C. Lackey, W. L. Lackey, D. M. Mathison, A. V. Turner, D. A. Wilson, J. R. Murdoch, Capt. Flowers, Lieut. Harrington.
 Company H (Capt. Thornburgh)—Killed: N. H. Crawford, A. M. Dorset, D. N. Miller. Wounded: Sergeant J. L. Andrews, Sergeant T. L. Russell, Corporal E. T. Kearns, A. C. Steed, T. W. Bell, A. M. Bell, P. W. Carter, B. H. Hopkins, James Howell, T. E. Luck, Wm. M. Newby, A. W. Saunders, Jesse Scarlett, H. M. Tomlinson.
 Company I (Capt. Magnus)—Killed: D. D. Hamrick. Wounded: J. Childers, (since dead) R. D. Hughes, E. Macswain, Lieut. Beao, Corporal D. W. Powell, Corporal T. B. Hean, P. Green, W. C. Hamrick, M. Haines, G. C. Kitchen, C. B. Powell, J. C. Williams, A. G. Wickins, Colour Sergeant John Waters.
 Company K (Capt. McLaughlin)—No report of names. Killed—3; wounded 16.

E. GOLDMAN, Acting-Adjutant 38th N. C. T.

List of the Casualties of the Jeff. Davis Artillery, Capt. J. W. Bondurant, Garland's Brigade, in the Battles of June 26th and 27th.

Killed: Corporal J. C. Gregory, Private T. H. McDonald. Slightly wounded: Sergeants R. E. Cobb, J. F. Maul; Corporal E. W. Noble; Privates J. W. Cox, J. J. Howell, J. A. Logan, J. A. Oliver, J. P. Putegnat, R. W. Woodward, W. H. Templin. Severely wounded: J. W. Carter, J. D. Campbell, J. M. Jones, J. R. Smith, J. O. Flaughton. There were 28 horses of the battery killed and disabled.

D. V. BATES, Orderly Sergeant.

Casualties in 13th Virginia Regiment, Elzey's Brigade, June 27th.

Company A—Killed: Captain Cook, Corporal Thomas Slaughter, Martin Burruss, Joseph Burruss, Robert Burruss; William B. Peake, Robert Powell, Edward Staples. Wounded, Sergeant T. Brockman, Reuben Newman, Herbert Newman, F. D. Hume, A. Hensworth, Henry Diggs, W. T. Diggs, Joseph Brockman, S. Cave, W. H. Ricketts, J. O'Neal, A. Walters.

Company B—Killed: J. P. Haynes, J. W. Franklin. Wounded: Captain C. T. Crittenden, Lieutenant A. Grinnell, Sergeants B. B. Ashley, W. A. Judd, Roane Alcock, Beckham, G. Kibby, John F. Freeman, Martin Smith, J. R. Tapp, Thomas Kibby, Stephen Green, J. J. Jones.

Company C—Wounded: Capt. Goodman, Lieut. Grubbs (since dead), Sergeant Major William Mansfield, C. H. Carter, John Bible, O. P. Mallory, D. Hay, George Magruder, R. Moore.

Company D—Killed: Sergeant R. N. Trice, Jos. Browe, J. W. Campbell. Wounded: Lieut. S. H. Parsons, Colour Sergt. Fendall Chiles, Ro. Dunn, Price Perkins, James M. Trice (since dead), P. E. Jones, D. A. Trice, Joseph Sanna.

Company E—Wounded: W. P. Pendleton, D. Newcomb.

Company F—Killed: J. L. Chewoing. Wounded: Capt. Eheart Lollon, Lieut. Linn Graves, Orderly Sergeant E. Z. Brooking, Sergeant John Keaton, Corporal I. Shotwell, A. G. W. Gilbert, H. H. Thompson, H. C. Johas, R. L. Richetts, George Davis, John Johns, J. W. Page, J. A. Calvin, J. L. Harvey, Thomas Harvey, B. F. Carpenter.

Company H—Killed: Lieut. R. B. Strite, H. W. Gilbert, James H. Carter. Wounded: Capt. Sheuan, J. B. Farnsworth, E. R. Legg, F. S. Russell.

Company I—Killed: Colour Sergeant G. W. Chesbire, George Buckland. Wounded: Lieut. Morehead, D. S. Hessey, Joel Robinson, William Loy, F. Shingleton.

Company K—Killed: Lieut. F. D. Sherrard, Owen Millersoo, W. B. Bird, John W. Washington, Thomas Offerell. Wounded: Orderly Sergeant J. A. Hammen, John F. Wright, Thomas Brooks, James Peet, Thomas Pugh, Isaac Gibson, Isaac Armstrong, John Flory, Isaac Hartman, Joseph Gill, Joseph M. Keam. Total killed, 24; total wounded, 80.

Casualties in Company A, 5th Battalion Alabama Volunteers, on the 28th and 29th June, 1862.

Killed: Lieut. D. W. Hustid, Orderly Sergeant J. H. Boyle, Sergeant J. W. Wrenn, Sergeant E. L. Houston, Corporal B. Braeh, Corporal T. Camber, Privates F. Ford, W. Steele, F. M. Hodges, J. Bonnycastle, R. E. Harwood, R. H. Moon, J. J. Whitaker, J. Tomkins, W. Murphy. Wounded: Capt. A. S. Vance Graaff, slightly in foot; Privates J. T. Bradshaw, arm, L. L. Clary, J. R. Bradshaw, leg, W. G. Frost, N. Little, head slight, B. B. Little, side slight, Newton Hill, head slight, J. W. Holloway, head slight, B. D. Nance, leg, J. Ormond, John Patton, E. T. Ramsey, arm amputated, S. B. Spight, W. W. Drummond, T. J. Gilbert, head slight, T. Barnes, N. L. Ferguson, severely, Alex. Griger, foot, M. S. Holland, through lower jaw severely, G. N. Boyd, slight, Wm. S. Hale, severely in mouth, E. E. Heyden, leg and arm severely, J. T. Carpenter, three fingers shot off, C. Dunning, both hands. Missing: E. L. Fargo, James Thompson, M. N. O'Connor. Total—killed, 15; wounded, 24; missing, 3. Total—killed, wounded, and missing, 42.

The loss in the three other companies of the battalion was very heavy. Among them are killed: Adjutant Holcombe, Captain Burton, Company C; Lieutenant Pettit, Company B; Wounded: Lieutenant Rusi, Company C; severely; Lieutenant Mattison, Company B, slightly; Sergeant Porter, Company B, severely.

List of Casualties of the 16th Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, in the Engagement of June 8, 1862, at Cross Keys.

Colonel Carnot Posey wounded.
 Company A—None killed or wounded.
 Company B—Mortally wounded: Private R. H. Harper. Wounded: Private A. B. Caston.
 Company C—Killed: Private Andrew J. Curry. Wounded: 1st Lieutenant W. R. Brown; 3rd Sergeant W. H. Catching.
 Company D—Killed: Corporal W. S. Horner, Private Charles Quinn. Wounded: Private Henry Willows.
 Company E—Wounded: Privates William Garner, J. B. May, A. P. Sparkman, W. Yarborough.
 Company F—Wounded: Privates James W. Lawless, Martin G. Tardier, William Thompson.
 Company G—Killed: Private Richard Payton. Wounded: 1st Lieutenant John B. Coleman, Sergeant Peter Stewart, Privates D. B. McIver, John Matchlen, Thomas Lowry.
 Company I—Killed: Private Thomas Cagon. Wounded: Private James Casey, George Hetchcock.
 Company K—Killed: Private Lewis Davis. Wounded: Privates George Estis, R. C. Terry, Theodore Foltz, Thomas McMorris, William Patterson, J. L. W. Phares, T. W. Roland, Thomas T. Roche.
 Killed: 6; wounded: 28. Total, 34.

List of Casualties in the Sixteenth Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers in the Battle of June 27, 1862, near Richmond.

Company A—Killed: Capt. James Brown. Wounded slightly: Colour-Sergeant J. C. Diel, Privates N. Hiller, John Long.
 Company B—Killed: Privates C. H. Robinson, D. J. Baren. Wounded slightly: Lieuts. H. S. Arnold, P. A. Howard, J. R. Drummond, Privates J. A. Barber, J. F. Massey. Wounded severely: Private Elijah Young.

Company C—Killed: Sergeant Frank E. Tillman, Private James A. Fatherie. Wounded severely: Privates — Mastins, M. Minnus. Wounded slightly: Harry T. Lewis.

Company D—Killed: Privates John Cayney, Timothy Carney. Wounded severely: Corporal G. H. McGregor, Privates Timothy Hancock, Albert Wagener. Slightly: Sergeant J. P. Kettingham, Privates H. R. Hadsall, George Murdock, Henry Phipps.

Company E—Killed: Private Joseph Collins. Wounded severely: Lieut. John Holmes. Slightly: Privates Geo. Root, George Simmons.

Company F—Killed: Privates Clement James, Thomas J. Overstreet, William W. Bruce, George W. Keeton. Wounded severely: Captain J. J. Walton, Privates W. M. Davis, Richard Irving; slightly: Sergeant Thomas L. Smith, Privates William J. Dowus, Private Juriah Monger supposed to be mortally.

Company G—Killed: Privates H. Bobo and James McLure. Wounded severely: Captain George H. Fulkerson, Private John Teriot. Wounded slightly: Privates William Murray, Abe Hunter, and Sergeant Dennis Collins.

Company H—Severely Wounded: Sergeant Baxter Summer, Privates D. O. Summer, and Zach. M. Russell.

Company I—Killed: Private Martin Murray. Wounded severely: Privates Martin Welsh, H. Dallan, F. Gillio, Thomas Drury. Wounded slightly: Captain J. W. Lambert, Sergeant Edward Pirault, William Baker.

Company K—Severely wounded: Sergeant S. Oury, Privates D. Babers, J. T. Haynes. Wounded slightly: George Pilant, F. M. Stocket, and George Thornton.

Killed 15; wounded, 49.

J. J. SILANON, Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding 16th Mississippi Regiment.

List of Killed and Wounded in 21st Mississippi Regiment on the 30th:—

Company A (Capt. Atwood)—Wounded: F. Hume and A. B. Redding.
 Company C (Capt. Brooks)—Wounded: Private V. Smith.
 Company D (Capt. Sims)—Killed: Sergeant W. C. Smith, Privates E. B. Binnie and H. Mackall. Wounded: Privates Jas. Downs, C. Humphreys, J. Schuber, Sullivan and Hemset.
 Company E (Capt. Stawps)—Killed: Privates Thomas Kirkland and J. Cline. Wounded: Lieut. O. H. Cox, Privates H. Grace, N. Mesenger, and Benjamin C. Collier.
 Company F (Capt. Fitzgerald)—Killed: Privates John Walters and Robt. Neal.
 Company G (Capt. Dudley)—Wounded: Sergeant C. M. Stewart, Corporal N. B. Stewart mortally, (since dead), Privates C. M. Stewart, A. E. Williams, S. D. Williams, John Ransack, G. and F. Mitchell.
 Company I (Capt. Gibson)—Killed: A. W. Waggoner. Wounded: Lieut. Martin, Privates J. Corgan, W. R. Ratliff, E. P. Jones, Lynch, John Warmack, and — Ellis.
 Company K (Capt. Renfrow)—Killed: Private J. Shelton. Wounded: Lieut. Foster, badly, Privates R. Bottoms, J. Dausby, J. Noland, A. Miller, C. K. Martin and M. Tucker.
 Company L (Capt. Green)—Killed: Private D. McHue. Wounded: Thomas Fostray.

R. G. SIMS.

1st Lieut. and Adj't. 21st Miss. Regt.

List of the Wounded in the Lynchburg Beausgard Artillery:—

W. S. Reid, C. A. Boyd, — Johns, J. Stratton, A. Stratton, — Mayo, J. D. Stevens, — Green, — Folkes.

List of Killed and Wounded in the 1st Regiment of Rifles, South Carolina Volunteers, Commanded by Colonel J. Foster Marshall, at Gaines's Mill, June 27:—

Field and Staff—Killed: Sergeant-Major A. H. McGee. Wounded: Major J. W. Livingston, slightly, Adjutant Joe Berry Sloan, severely.

Company A—Killed: Privates Jasper Crain, G. B. Stephens, W. D. Reeves, J. M. Clayton. Wounded: Lieut. J. W. Philpot mortally, Sergeant W. P. Hester severely, Privates J. M. Beasley ditto, W. A. Lay ditto, J. P. Durham ditto, M. Colburn slightly, J. J. Morgan severely, J. D. Albertson slightly, F. Bowers ditto, J. B. Reid ditto, P. B. Powers ditto, D. M. Niel severely, L. Herndon ditto, A. J. Martin, slightly, R. M. Martin ditto, F. Rogers ditto, A. J. Bell ditto, W. P. Riggins ditto, C. C. Morgan ditto, M. A. Martin severely.

Company B—Killed: Privates W. H. Perrin, Lockwood, Webb, J. G. Blackburn, W. C. Round. Wounded: Lieut. W. C. Davis, Corporal W. W. Sharp, Corporal W. A. Kyle, L. A. Bell, J. H. Delany, W. H. Hamilton, C. V. Hammond, W. A. Hareison, G. Houser, W. A. Lanier, P. H. McDowell, J. N. McIlwain, A. P. Riley, C. C. Riley, T. J. Rikard, W. A. Shelits, G. White, L. W. White, J. P. McCom.

Company C—Killed: Sergeant John Rogers, Privates Ira Barker, E. D. Slaton, M. L. Johnson, Miles M. Caloway, Jos. B. Powell, C. P. A. Whitten. Wounded: Capt. J. J. Norton, Private Nimrod Sullivan, F. J. Hall, Jesse M. Hall, John Thomas, William Hodge, Isaac Hobbs, Feril Spied, Sergeant James Robins, A. Colly, J. W. Cameron, Ira Nicholson, W. N. Ransons, F. Vonholden, H. Huskamp.

Company D—Killed: Sergeant W. R. Burrough, Privates T. C. Burrs, T. D. Braddy, But Young. Wounded: Captain F. E. Harrison, Sergeant J. R. Sadler, Privates, G. O. Anderson, John A. Bates, I. C. Braddy, A. D. Campbell, H. B. Grant, E. L. Hall, J. R. Haynie, M. P. Lewis, B. S. Mitchell, L. W. McLees, J. D. McConnell, W. P. Robinson, G. W. Richardson, W. L. Simpson, J. F. Strickland, Jesse R. Woolhright, S. J. Webb, Warren Watkins, S. H. Yeargon, J. H. Goodram, A. C. Beatie, P. J. Osborn.

Company E—Killed: Lieut. L. R. McFall, Sergeant Miles Knox, David A. Ross, John W. Morgan, Warren D. Morgan, William R. Whitten, James R. DeArman, Andrew S. Hunnicutt, Warren R. Cannon, Thomas Chastian. Wounded: 1st Sergeant C. C. McKenny, Nathan B. Robertson, John B. Moody, David S. Todd, Robert C. King, William B. Lawrence, James Hopkies, Thomas J. Stribling, John M. George, Henry Hartman, William H. Gibson, David C. Rankin, Joseph Gibson John L. Morgan, Francis M. Cleveland, John C. Knox, John M. Rankin, James Stone, James Jackson, James H. Johnson, Harmon Stillwood, David L. Leroy, W. J. H. Leroy, S. N. W. McFall, William F. Morgan.

Company F—Killed: Captain Hawthorn; Privates J. J. Henderson, James Lyles, and G. T. M. Brown. Wounded: Sergeants Armstrong, Miller and Ballenger; Privates Thomas Reeden, Thomas Price, H. N. Harrum, W. T. Beardin, H. R. Hughes, R. B. Hayse, J. Dickson, Henry Sanders, Charles Mason, William Maldin, W. T. Abbott, T. R. Morris.

Company G—Killed: Corporal A. P. Lindsay; Privates L. A. Calanan, J. L. Grier, R. F. Cunningham, J. A. Davis, L. Fields, W. P. Morrison, E. W. Fruit, G. B. Richey, William H. Simpson, Joseph Smith, F. Clinkscales, L. O. Reid. Wounded: Capt. G. McD. Miller; Lieut. Latimer; Sergeant Means, Sergeant R. W. Hadden; Corporal J. A. Burton; Privates W. D. Anderson, C. A. Botts, L. D. Bowie, William Boyd, A. P. Brooks, T. W. Brooks, J. W. Brook, W. J. Calvert, W. T. Cowan, M. Flinn, M. Freeman, B. T. Parsavay, T. S. Gordon, A. C. Johnson, J. F. Latimer, J. L. Latimer, W. T. Latimer, E. J. Humphries, J. G. Martin, J. H. Mattison, G. W. Milford, B. M. Milford, A. H. McGee, J. M. Fruit, R. A. Robertson, J. W. Thomson.

Company H—Killed: Capt. J. H. Hugoin; Lieut. J. G. Brown; Corporal S. A. McCormick, Corporal N. Leggit, Corporal R. P. James. Wounded: Lieut. G. W. McCoy; Privates J. B. Moody, L. Wiggins, C. W. Peabody, A. H. Hines, H. Finkley, P. T. Saunders, A. G. Walter, N. H. McInos, Sergeant N. Smith, J. F. Faltering.

Company K—Killed: R. A. Branyan, George Craymes, B. M. Slatt, J. C. Telford, W. A. Gambrel, J. J. T. Mitchell, J. W. C. Mitchell, Reuben Keaton, William McMurry, T. H. Morrison, R. C. Key, Corporal William Williamson, J. H. Haake, Jesse Davenport. Wounded: Captain G. W. Cox, Lieutenant W. C. Norris, W. A. Bighy, W. A. Bagwell, G. W. Bagwell, J. P. Alexander, L. R. Williams, J. M. Dunlap, W. F. Cox, W. M. Fuiks, L. L. Telford, Perry Gains, L. P. Man.

Company L—Killed: Privates A. Mitchell, J. C. Young, J. A. Holoway, C. C. Burus, R. E. Carter, J. M. Geotree, E. T. Chambl'r. Wounded: Corporals H. D. Rowland, W. S. Harris, D. F. Anderson, Privates R. S. Kay, J. M. Watson, L. W. White, J. O. Hammet, L. G. Williams, J. W. Fowler, J. M. Fowler, G. W. Vandiver, J. L. Vandiver, L. P. Woodruff, W. T. Simmons, A. Y. Shearly, Albert Johnson, D. C. Stott, J. M. Geer, Israel Nelson, R. F. Brown, W. L. Shearer, C. C. Bolt.

List of Casualties in the 3rd Alabama Regiment, July 1, 1862.

Sergeant Major C. Whitman, wounded.
Company A (Mobile Cadets)—Killed: P. L. Lockwood, F. J. Stewart, W. M. Caulfield, W. J. Ledyard, jun. Wounded: Lieutenants W. H. Averill, B. F. Yniestra, J. M. Redwood, Sergeant J. H. Hastings, Corporal J. B. Gillet, T. B. Allen, Benjamin Baldwin, C. Caster, C. Dunn, J. T. Harpin, W. B. Holt, R. L. Krebs, E. Ledyard, J. Newburger, J. Price, H. Pritchard, Charles Pollard, J. C. Reynolds, P. C. Randel, Joseph Thornton, E. K. Waterhouse, D. Wheeler, jun.
Company B (Gulf City Guards)—Killed: W. C. Ayres, L. J. Kims, J. T. Berton, G. L. Sammersett, Thomas Giblin. Wounded: O. C. Donnavan, James Hudson, G. E. Turner, T. H. Bibb, F. F. Hampshire, T. H. Kellogg, W. C. Johanson, H. H. McCoy, W. F. Sammersett, Lieut. A. F. Robbins, C. Steele.

Company C (Tuskegee Light Infantry)—Killed: H. H. Bailey, John Crawford, E. F. Scott, John M. Turner. Wounded: J. Alexander, B. Breedlove, Capt. C. J. Bryan, Lieut. E. A. Etheridge, Corporal D. F. Wright, W. B. Holt, John R. Harris, Otis Monaca, L. B. Pierce, Walter Ransom, J. J. Rutledge, E. B. Small, Jas. Snider. Missing: Sergeant E. F. Baber, Henry Foster, Stephen Pace.

Company D (Southern Rifles)—Killed: T. J. McBryde, L. B. Feilder, R. N. McNeil, J. M. I. Gillis. Wounded: C. C. Perry, Capt. Powell, Thaddeus McGowan, Joe Roe, P. G. Thompson, S. H. Smith, W. Swink, A. S. Connel, G. C. Baker, T. J. Bagby. Missing: C. Rosenthal.

Company E (Washington Light Infantry)—Killed: J. S. Foley, Leo. Goldsmith, G. F. Bowers. Wounded: Sergeant J. C. Turner, Corporal M. Bouillet, A. W. Foster, J. Y. Gilmore, J. C. Levy, T. J. McLaughlin, Capt. J. W. Chester, Sergeant Stephenson, Corporal J. M. Coleman. — Bridges, John Burton, W. Hamstung, T. A. McDonald, W. Shearer, George Taggart, C. F. Westfall. Missing: Thomas W. Cocks, W. G. Cocks, E. McVoy.

Company F (Metropolitan Guards)—Killed: Charles Powell. Wounded: Sergeant H. Myer, Privates Cabon, Toomer, Bergin, Arrington, Bonham, Durden, Hausman, Henley, Lorre, Keating, McDaniel, Pringle. Missing: Privates Dolin, Dreyfus.

Company G (Sharpshooters)—Killed: None. Wounded: N. M. Cowling, J. Stubbs, P. Giduce, A. Sadler.
Company H (Lowndes Beauregard's)—Killed: Sergeant Keese, Sergeant Shelby, Privates Myley. Wounded: Privates Sharp, Stone, W. Stanley, W. H. Turner. Missing: Privates Pierce, W. H. Alexander, W. Alexander, B. H. Dudley, Lever, Broadway, Scofield.

Company I (Wetumpka Light Guards)—Killed: Colonel-Sergeant W. M. Due, Privates W. F. Lindsay, H. C. Tommy. Wounded: Lieutenant L. H. Hill, Privates J. E. Carter, C. K. McMorris, B. J. Goss, W. A. Benson, L. A. Callaway, J. R. King, G. A. Jones, W. Jeter, W. M. Teague, J. Skinner, D. Price, C. A. Ready, Sergeant J. A. Davis. Missing: Privates Bea Bross, J. C. Banks, J. A. Dixon, William Lloyd, John Lynch, Charles Law, J. N. Nirwood, H. J. Norris, N. A. Rawls, J. J. Stoker.

Company K (Mobile Rifles)—Killed: Corporal William Trent. Wounded: Sergeant Traylor, Corporal McGuire, Privates Buford, Jones, Keeler, Mosely (1), Mosely (2), Inerarity, Clark, Lesesue, Young, Hunter, Howard.

Company L (Dixie Eagles)—Killed: Privates J. A. Pipkins, W. J. Keener, G. Hudson. Wounded: Lieut. Kennon, Sergeant Martin, Privates C. Delbridge, M. W. Dick, C. Oliver, M. Kennon, Young, Patterson, Coggins, Greenwood. Missing: Privates Owens and Tillery.

List of Killed and Wounded in Company A, 1st North Carolina Regiment.

Killed: Orderly-Sergeant J. W. Hartsfield, Privates Oscar L. Mitchell, Isham W. Mitchell, John Smith. Wounded: Elijah Belvin mortally, Sergeant M. F. Scarborough severely, Atlas H. Jones seriously, James W. Powell, James H. Grady, W. H. Pace, James Belvin, John Pully, Baldy Pierce, Calvin Pierce, Wesley Young, Wesley Jones, Joseph Howland, Wm. Buffalo, Wm. A. Jones, Anderson Williams, Perry Lloyd, Wm. T. Massingale, Jackson Ellis, Augustus Hicks, H. C. Hodge, Henry Perry, Lewis Browning, Green Sanderford, Lieut. J. Z. Terrell severely in the ankle, Young B. Clifton, Jacob Frazier, M. Pearce. Total—killed, 4; wounded, 27.

CONFEDERATE REPRISALS.

The following is the text of the order in reference to reprisals for General Pope's orders and conduct:—

Adjutant and Inspector-General's office,
Richmond Aug. 1.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 54.

1. The following orders are published for the information and observance of all concerned.

2. Whereas, by a General Order, dated July 22, 1862, issued by the Secretary of War of the United States, under the order of the President of the United States, the military commanders of that Government within the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas are directed to seize and use any property, real or personal, belonging to the inhabitants of this Confederacy which may be necessary or convenient for their several commands, and no provision is made for any compensation to the owners of private property thus seized and appropriated by the military commanders of the enemy.

3. And whereas by General Order No. 11, issued on the 23rd of July, 1862, by Major-General Pope, commanding the forces of the enemy in Northern Virginia, it is ordered that all commanders of any army corps, divisions, brigades, and detached commands will proceed immediately to arrest all disloyal male citizens within their limits, or within their reach in the rear of their respective commands. Such as are willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and will furnish sufficient security for its observance, shall be permitted to remain at their homes, and pursue in good faith their accustomed occupations. Those who refuse shall be conducted South beyond the extreme pickets of this army, and be notified that if found again anywhere within our lines, or at any point in the rear, they will be considered as spies, and subjected to the extreme rigour of military law. If any person having taken the oath as above specified, be found to have violated it, he shall be shot and his property seized and applied to the public use.

4. And whereas, by an order issued on the 13th of July, 1862, by Brigadier-General A. Steinwehr, Major William Steadman, a cavalry officer of his brigade, has been ordered to arrest five

of the most prominent citizens of Page County, Virginia, to be held as hostages, and to suffer death in the event of any of the soldiers of the said Steinwehr being shot by bushwhackers, by which term is meant the citizens of the Confederacy who have taken up arms to defend their homes and families.

5. And whereas it results from the above orders that some of the military authorities of the United States, not content with the unjust and aggressive warfare hitherto waged with savage cruelty against an unoffending people, and exasperated by the failure of their efforts to subjugate them, have now determined to violate all the rules and usages of war, and to convert the hostilities hitherto waged against armed forces into a campaign of robbery and murder against unarmed citizens and peaceable tillers of the soil.

6. And whereas this Government, bound by the highest obligations of duty to its citizens, is thus driven to the necessity of adopting such just measures of retribution and retaliation as shall seem adequate to repress and punish these barbarities; and whereas the orders above recited have only been published and made known to this Government since the signature of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war, which cartel, in so far as it provides for an exchange of prisoners hereafter captured, would never have been signed or agreed to by this Government, if the intention to change the war into a system of indiscriminate murder and robbery had been made known to it; and whereas a just regard to humanity forbids that the repression of crime which this Government is thus compelled to enforce, should be unnecessarily extended to retaliation on the enlisted men in the army of the United States, who may be unwilling instruments of the savage cruelty of their commanders, so long as there is hope that the excesses of the enemy may be checked or prevented by retribution on the commissioned officers, who have the power to avoid guilty action, by refusing service under a Government which seeks their aid in the perpetration of such infamous barbarities.

7. Therefore it is ordered that Major-General Pope, Brigadier-General Steinwehr, and all commissioned officers serving under their respective commands, be, and they are hereby expressly and specially declared to be not entitled to be considered as soldiers, and therefore not entitled to the benefit of the cartel for the parole of future prisoners of war.

Ordered further, that in the event of the capture of Major-General Pope, or Brigadier-General Steinwehr, or of any commissioned officer serving under them, the captive so taken shall be held in close confinement, so long as the orders aforesaid shall continue in force and unrepelled by the competent military authority of the United States; and that in the event of the murder of any unarmed citizen or inhabitant of this Confederacy by virtue or under pretext of one of the orders hereinbefore recited, whether with or without trial, whether under pretence of such citizen being a spy, or hostage, or any other pretence, it shall be the duty of the Commanding General of the forces of this Confederacy to cause immediately to be hung, out of the commissioned officers, prisoners as aforesaid, a number equal to the number of our citizens thus murdered by the enemy.

By order, S. COOPER, A.A.G.

The following is the letter of Jeff. Davis to General Lee, instructing him to communicate the facts in the above order to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States' armies:—

Richmond, Virginia, July 31.

Sir,—On the 23rd of this month a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners of war was signed between Major-General D. H. Hill, in behalf of the Confederate States, and Major-General John A. Dix, in behalf of the United States. By the terms of that cartel it is stipulated that all prisoners of war hereafter taken shall be discharged on parole till exchanged. Scarcely had that cartel been signed when the military authorities of the United States commenced a practice of changing the character of the war from such as becomes civilized nations into a campaign of indiscriminate robbery and murder. The General Order issued by the Secretary of War of the United States, in the city of Washington, on the very day that the cartel was signed in Virginia, directs military commanders of the United States to take the private property of our people for the convenience and use of their armies, without compensation.

The General Order issued by Major-General Pope on July 23, the day after the signing of the cartel, directs the murder of our peaceful inhabitants as spies, if found quietly tilling the farms in his rear, even outside of his lines, and one of his Brigadier-Generals, Steinwehr, has seized upon innocent and peaceful inhabitants to be held as hostages, to the end that they may be murdered in cold blood, if any of his soldiers are designated as "bushwhackers." Under this state of facts, this Government has issued the enclosed General Order, recognizing General Pope and his commissioned officers to be in the position which they have chosen for themselves,—that of robbers and murderers, and not that of public enemies, entitled, if captured, to be considered as prisoners of war. We find ourselves driven by our enemies, by steady progress, towards a practice which we abhor, and which we are vainly struggling to avoid. Some of the military authorities of the United States seem to suppose that better success will attend a savage war in which no quarter is to be given and no age or sex to be spared than has hitherto been secured by such hostilities as are alone recognized to be lawful by civilized men in modern times.

For the present we renounce our right of retaliation on the innocent, and shall continue to treat the private enlisted soldiers of General Pope's army as prisoners of war; but if, after notice to the Government at Washington of our continuing repressive measures to the punishment only of commissioned officers who are willing participants in these crimes, the savage practices are continued, we shall reluctantly be forced to the last resort of accepting the war on the terms chosen by our foes, until the outraged voice of a common humanity forces a respect for the recognized rules of war. While these facts would justify our refusal to execute the generous cartel by which we have consented to liberate an excess of thousands of prisoners held by us beyond the number held by the enemy, a sacred regard to plighted faith, shrinking from the mere semblance of breaking a promise, prevents our resort to this extremity.

Nor do we desire to extend to any other forces of the enemy the punishment meted above to General Pope and such commissioned officers as choose to participate in the execution of his infamous orders.

You are, therefore, instructed to communicate to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States the

contents of this letter, and a copy of the enclosed General Order, to the end that he may be notified of our intention not to consider any officers hereafter captured from General Pope's army as prisoners of war.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

JEFF. DAVIS.

General R. E. Lee, commanding, &c.

The following letter gives an interesting account of the Battle on James Island:—

Anderson, South Carolina, June 28.

My dear —,

Uncle C— wrote you by the "M." that I had received my first wound. I reached the city the day after he wrote, and, after two weeks' confinement in bed, came up to this place; my wound is healing by degrees, and I hope to be in Charleston about a week from this, though I shall not be fit for duty for a fortnight or more. I also received a slight bruise in my side from a piece of a shell, which only troubled me a few days. After following up the enemy all the winter, about the middle of May they made a demonstration on James Island. Our battalion, known as the Charleston Battalion, under Colonel Gaillard, was put in advance so as to give us a front position in defence of our homes and firesides. After many days and nights of watching, and many an anxious time, being continually under fire of the shells from their gunboats (from which we managed to protect ourselves), on the evening of June 2 the pickets reported the landing of a regiment of Federals about 4 p.m. Our battalion advanced to meet them, but they declined the combat; and as we could not attack them without exposing ourselves to the fire of their gunboats, we waited for them till June 3, about 3 a.m., and then fell back to our camp, leaving two companies out as pickets. After a short rest and a good breakfast, about 6 a.m., on the same day, our pickets began firing on the enemy, who consisted of a regiment from New York, one from Pennsylvania, and one from Massachusetts; we were soon under arms, with six companies of the Charleston Battalion, under Colonel Gaillard, and five companies from Colonel Stevens' regiment, under Colonel Ellison Capers, who being senior took command (two of the above companies were the pickets). We were soon in sight of the Yankees, and every man as cool as if he were on a deer hunt, opened the ball. The enemy, finding our men good shots, fell back from thicket to thicket, until they reached a settlement, where they posted themselves in the houses, and opened a hot fire on us; we laid and their fire passed over our heads, and, at a given signal, six companies were detailed to charge them. The Sumter Guards, under my command (Captain King being absent as Judge Advocate on a court-martial), were among those detailed; we were soon on our feet, and had to go 250 or 300 yards over an old field to reach the houses; and when about fifty yards off, they gave us a volley, which was too high, and hit only a few; Colonel Capers then gave the command to fire, and, after pouring in a volley, we charged with the bayonet at "double quick," when the rascals ran like sheep; the sport then was like shooting rabbits. We broke the centre of the Pennsylvania regiment (the others being the first to run), and after taking a few prisoners, we found some Federals in a small thicket, who opened fire upon us. I held a captain with my left hand, who had been brought out by one of our men, and just as I was handing him over to a man who was going to the rear, a ball struck me in the right shoulder, passed under the small bone connecting the collar-bone and arm; striking it slightly, it glanced and passed through my back, between the shoulder-blade and ribs, and came out near the spine; it hurt a little, which enraged me. Our men being about twenty steps from the thicket, and having as I thought, used powder enough, I sheathed my sword (my right arm being useless) and placing my hand in my waist strap, gave the order to "apply the steel," and as soon as the scamps saw the metal, they "caved in," and gave up. Our orders being to retire as soon as the boats opened on us, we fell back, having chased the enemy about two miles, and on our way back I was struck by a shell. Our company was fortunate; William Macbeth and myself only being severely wounded, and young Valentine, slightly wounded. The surgeons tell me I am very lucky, as a half-inch lower in front would have lost my right arm, and a half inch further in the back would have broken my spine, and killed me. I think I am spared for a wise purpose, and hope I may be as lucky in my next fight. Our company acted well, and every man did his duty. After this fight on the 3rd of June everything remained quiet near our camp until the 16th, when the enemy attacked us with 5000 men, we having but 500 men; but in a battery with four heavy guns. After two hours of hard fighting, we had 500 more men sent to us, and in another hour the enemy were off. They made three attempts to storm the battery; in the first attempt they reached the ramparts, our men not being prepared for them, as they came up slyly about 4 o'clock in the morning, and we had only a few men at the battery; but when our men did come up there was great havoc. In three hours fighting we lost 40 killed and 100 wounded, whilst the enemy lost about 500 killed, and 500 wounded and prisoners. General Evans says it was one of the hardest fights of the war. Being previously wounded, and in the city, I knew nothing of it until it was all over. Our company was the first to enter the battery under a galling fire, and our men fought like bulldogs. Our loss was heavy; poor Henry King was shot as he ordered the men to charge, he fell passed through his lungs, and he only lived thirty-six

hours. Poznanski was killed instantly; Valentino, already alluded to as wounded, was shot, and died an hour after; Sam. F. Egerton was shot and died during the night; and poor John Edwards, after the fight was over, was killed by the last shell fired—he did not know what hurt him. Our wounded were Dr. Tennent, G. W. Dingle, Tom Lockwood, Joe Wells, Terry Roumillat, H. Valentine, R. C. Evans, W. W. Johnson, and H. Neuville, all of whom will recover. Henry S— was in both fights. I am promoted to the captaincy of the "Summers," and in our next fight will make them avenge the death of our comrades. As the city was likely to be attacked, most of the females have been removed, and our family are all at this place, quite well, though they do not like having to leave their homes. The city is strongly fortified; and one thing is certain, the enemy can never take it by land, unless they do it over many a gallant soldier. We are all looking for a battle in Virginia, and the Federals will no doubt give their version of it, but we shall beat them. Having been checked here in the vicinity of the city, they will probably wait until they can attack us with a large fleet, being afraid to try again without it. This may be the last time you may hear from me, as I expect always to be in the advance guard, and may fall a victim to the shot of the Northern hirelings.

Yours, &c.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

New York, August 13.

Affairs in Wall-street are in a melancholy state; the spirit that formerly animated that thoroughfare and the region round about seems to be fast disappearing. Everybody is afraid to enter into time transactions, as no one can tell what even a day may bring forth. Exchange and gold will soon advance rapidly. The shipments of breadstuffs, although tolerably large, amount to very little in comparison with the indebtedness to Europe, which is estimated as follows: importers in the European trade, \$60,000,000; importers in the China, East and West India, and South American trade, \$25,000,000; produce dealers and shipowners \$20,000,000; bankers and stockbrokers, \$80,000,000; miscellaneous, \$15,000,000; making a total of \$200,000,000. Will this frightful sum ever be paid?

The holders of foreign merchandise are in a quandary; they do not like to sell on credit, and although the stocks of goods in the possession of middle men are very small, a hand to month business is being done for cash. But few promissory notes are making against *bona fide* transactions. Accommodation bills still "go," because (paper) money is so easy.

Great anxiety is manifested in reference to drafting; there is a rumour to-day that the conscription is to be put off until September 1; if so, Mr. Lincoln may be preparing himself for peace. Such a wise conclusion may have been dictated by the severe reverse that "Stonewall" Jackson has inflicted upon General Pope. It is to be hoped that the mist of the immediate future will soon be wiped from our eyes; all is darkness just now, and we pray for light. We should tumble into a military despotism, if there was sufficient brains in the powers that be, but the absence of that commodity, as well as the little respect that is still paid to state lines, prevents that finale to this inglorious war.

PARIS, August 27.

Every other political question, whatever may be its intrinsic importance, has just now sunk into insignificance in comparison with Italian affairs. You remember the vehemently Gallic discussions which took place, and the excitement that was produced in the whole of the Parisian press, by the statement of M. de la Guéronniere's paper *La France*, on the 21st of this month:—"Yesterday, M. le Marquis de Lavalette called on His Holiness the Pope. The French Ambassador, it appears, gave to His Holiness, in the name of the Emperor, the assurance that the French Government would not allow any invasion of the territory of the States of the Church, and would guarantee its integrity."

On the 25th, the following appeared in the *Moniteur*.

Several newspapers have asked what will be the attitude of the French Government in view of the agitation which now prevails in Italy. The question is so clear that any doubt seems impossible. In view of insolent threats, and the possible consequences of a demagogic insurrection, the duty of the French Government, and its military honour, oblige it more than ever to defend the Holy Father. The world must be well aware that France does not abandon those to whom, when in danger, she extends her protection.

That was (to use General McClellan's happy style) a finisher. *Le Siècle*, *L'Opinion Nationale*, *Le Temps*, *Les Débats*, on one side, *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le Pays*, *La Patrie*, on the other, did not come up in time. *L'Indépendance Belge* has shown more pluck; that veracious sheet bears in general its independent name as a fine modern example of antiphrasis; but in this instance it

went so far as to print that "the note in the *Moniteur*, announcing the resolution of the French Government to resist the threats of Garibaldi, has thrown no light whatever on the subject." Every one else had considered the announcement clear enough; but the Brussels editor has got an opinion of his own. He was the man who found out that McClellan had got thirty miles out of the way in the Richmond battles, without losing his footing.

The latest news from Italy that has come to hand is, that Garibaldi, having left Catania in the night of the 25th, has embarked on board an English ship, accompanied by a few of his staff, and has landed safely in Calabria. According to the latest accounts, he was still at Mileto, at the head of 1300 men. The royal troops had re-entered Catania after his departure, and taken a few hundred volunteers prisoners.

The Neapolitan provinces have been proclaimed in a state of siege, and General de la Marmora has been appointed Extraordinary Commissioner. Tranquillity prevailed at Naples, but great excitement existed in Calabria. The towns of Bovat, Oppido, Nicotera, Mileto, Palmi, Gerace and Carignano had pronounced in favour of Garibaldi, and others were expected to follow their example. A large number of ships, which had brought Garibaldian volunteers from various parts of Italy, were anchored off Gioja. The division of General Brignone had received orders to proceed to Calabria immediately. General Ciakini has left for Sicily, after having concerted measures with General de la Marmora, who had issued a proclamation "directed against those subversive men who, under the pretence of hastening the accomplishment of Italian unity, have provoked civil war in Sicily." The proclamation continues thus:—"General Garibaldi, their chief, has thrown himself on this continent, threatening to introduce anarchy. It is the duty of the Government to crush the rebellion. A state of siege has therefore been proclaimed. The commanders of divisions will unite military and civil powers. All assemblages are to be dispersed by force. The exportation and retention of arms is prohibited. All arms must be given up within three days. The liberty of the press is restricted."

The sacred cause of national independence has the warmest friends everywhere; but, all liberal minds are getting every day more and more disgusted with demagogues. It is to be hoped that the liberties of Italy will survive this painful crisis.

Garibaldi's appeal to the Hungarians to get up an insurrection amongst them against the Emperor of Austria, and General Klapka's remarkable rebuke, have been published too extensively for my mentioning those curious documents.

The Eastern question is getting more and more into the shade for the present, but it will certainly take a fresh start before long.

The only fact worth mentioning about home politics in France is that, contrary to what had taken place for several sessions before this, there were no political speeches from the Presidents of the several departmental *Conseils-généraux*. The Duke de Morny himself, in his opening speech, abstained from all mention of politics.

La France has published a series of articles on the American question, which show a knowledge of that country and its people seldom met with here, and they were written with a degree of talent which our journalists do not often deign to bestow on the subject. The conclusion of M. J. Cohen's argument is immediate recognition. To give you an idea of the flippancy of the French journals, could you believe that the *Opinion Nationale*, not later than Sunday last, attributed to Jefferson Davis the very orders of General Pope against which President Davis so nobly and so rightfully protested? "*C'est ainsi que l'Opinion Nationale écrit l'histoire.*"

But it is refreshing to see that fair justice is done to the South in such a paper as *La France*, whose political principles have just received such a sanction as that which I mentioned at the beginning of this letter.

The journal *La France* has published a series of articles on the American question, from the able pen of M. J. Cohen. We reproduce the concluding communication.

To every practical man, to every earnest and intelligent mind, the separation of the American Republic is decisively and irrevocably accomplished.

Numerous and all-powerful causes of inevitable dissolution have been threatening the Union of the American States for the past fifty years, but there is further the wild passion and unforfeited hatred engendered by civil war which no concession will satisfy.

The South may be vanquished; it never can be reconquered. Such a gigantic rising of a whole nation cannot be put down with cannon balls. When a people fight under such conditions as the Southerners do, they may be crushed but not exterminated. If the North could possibly rebuild the Union by military coercion, it would still be under the continuous threat of other, and more and more formidable insurrections, and nothing could tame the fiery resentment of the subdued nation.

Woe to the United States if they could renew, after a successful warfare, the Federal tie now broken. The seceded States might perish; but, worse still, the liberal principles, the glory, the free institutions of North America would be lost for ever. Even so, the triumphant North might proclaim the emancipation of the blacks; but the liberties of the American people would be for ever annihilated.

In order to keep down a population quivering with hatred, to repress never-ceasing plots and conspiracies, to elude continuous attempts at independence, dictatorship becomes indispensable, martial law must be the only law, public order can be preserved only by force and maintained by settled despotic rule. No more free press, no more free speech, no more personal liberty; but stringent laws against all those suspected of disaffection, and the prisons filled, and under pretence of public safety all human rights trampled down. Such would be the inevitable consequences of an artificial reconstruction of the Union.

And we should see free America in her turn fatally bound to the ruinous system of large standing armies. How would her Government manage, after the subjugation of the South, to give satisfaction to those numerous soldiers, now accustomed to the life of the camp, excited by their fighting habits, and eager for new struggles and new battles? Where would their warlike ardour find an outlet? In Canada or in Mexico? A dangerous problem it would be, and a terrible threat to the peace and security of the whole world!

But no! never can the North subjugate the South. More than a year has elapsed since the fierce struggle has been raging, and there is no sign of a decisive victory in favour of the North. The South can stand any number of unimportant reverses, without being seriously weakened. The South has on its side what its ancestors had in the War of Independence, what the Russians had in 1812,—time and space. Its armies can fall back and disappear, can use up the invader's patience and wear out his strength, and then turn on him and compel him to retreat before their desperate attack.

This is no speculation—it has actually taken place more than once during the last twelve months. The Federal troops had advanced in large numbers into the heart of the Confederate States—they had been successful in several conflicts. The North was already loudly boasting of its triumph. Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, were under its sway; New Orleans was occupied. And now the tables are turned. The South has got the ascendancy, and the Confederate armies threaten the city of Washington, whilst the terrible war of guerillas has begun in earnest in every region where the Federals have carried the flag of the extinct Union.

Such a struggle can last for years, inflicting irreparable ruin upon the country of which Washington was the founder, and drowning it in blood. What motives, therefore, can be urged for waiting any longer?—what further disasters are we to witness between these infuriated nations? It is folly to entertain the slightest hope that they may cool down, and that reason and humanity can take the place of anger and hatred. They are in such a state of excitement that nothing can stop them but utter prostration and death. It is the duty of civilized Europe to throw the whole weight of its power into the scale—into that scale where, together with the destinies of America, are mixed up some of the highest interests of the world. Europe has long offered her friendly advice in the name of justice and humanity; her conciliatory tone, the amicable expression of her kindly feeling, have been disregarded—the time has come for her to assume a sterner attitude.

After all, Europe suffers from this war just as much as does America. Her workshops are closed; her manufacturing population is reduced to unparalleled sufferings; her industry is utterly paralyzed; her political status itself is endangered by the consequences of the American crisis. It is impossible that the present state of affairs should continue without awful disasters to herself. It is her bounden duty to protect her most vital interests, and hence her sacred right, after useless entreaty, to act.

There are three modes of action: mediation, intervention, and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

Mediation is impossible; the consent of both belligerents would be required—one of them should be led to propose or accept of an armistice; but animosity on both sides is now wrought up to such a pitch that the attempt is useless.

Intervention is nothing else than a declaration of war. What European statesman could be found to plunge his country into war.

The recognition of the Confederate States is, on the contrary, an efficient means, a legitimate one, and one in perfect accordance with the principles of modern right.

What encourages the struggle is the passive attitude of the European Powers. It has been pretended that the sympathy of the civilized world for the cause defended by the South was an encouragement to the resolute defence of their soil by the Confederates. As long as the North can rely on the neutrality of France and England, it will persevere in its system of war to the knife, which is certain to cause the utter ruin of both parties, and the destruction of the free institutions of America.

The South has won the sympathy of public opinion at large, for the sole reason that it has on its side justice and right. What does the South require? The liberty of choosing its own Government, of making its own laws, and it is a right which it has always enjoyed, and which was expressed to the fullest extent in the Federal contract. There are some who call the Southerners rebels and insurgents; this would be true if the United States had ever been a power, where a part of the people might have revolted against the Sovereign Power. But they were only a Confederacy in which each State preserved its sovereignty, its independence, its absolute right to break the Federal connection. The North has wilfully ignored these plain truths; the North has violated the Federal contract; the North wants to make the South a slave to its autocracy. The Southern States, therefore, present the noble spectacle of a people fighting for its liberty; for more than a year it has given the proof—by its free vote at the ballot, that its citizens will be independent—by its gallant fighting, that its citizens are able to defend their independence against the foreign foe.

These are the two conditions which modern international law demands for a new nation to be recognized, and the Southern Confederacy has more than fulfilled both of them. Modern international law says that the new State must have an existence of its own; it must be organized; it must be in accordance with the wants of the country; it must be the expression of the will of its inhabitants; it must be strong enough to defend itself—it must be just what the Southern Confederacy undeniably is.

France has proclaimed these great principles of public right, France has acted on them, France cannot trample them down by wronging a nation which has been long offering her friendship, and asking from her justice—a nation to whom

she is united by congenial ties, by near relationship, by so many and so important interests. It is easy to understand the hesitating policy of England. In spite of the professed friendly feelings of her statesmen, it is impossible to forget that, after all, North America is to the United Kingdom an old foe and a formidable rival; and one might well believe that the proud British, who claim an undisputed sway over the seas, would not be overcome by grief in the event of the States of America having inflicted on themselves irreparable disasters. But the interest and policy of France are different—it is her object to encourage, on the opposite side of the Atlantic, the welfare of friendly nations, with whom she may rely on for the lasting benefits of mutual friendship and advantageous intercourse.

In France, in England, and even in America, public feeling is evidently more and more impressed with the justice and the propriety of the formal and early recognition of the Southern Confederacy. It is a highly important symptom. When a question is thus solved in its principle by public opinion, the time is near when it will be practically settled by the wisdom of the interested Governments.

A LIBERAL DONATION.

Dr. James Camak, of Athens, Ga., has been appointed a special agent of the Georgia Hospital Association, to look up and attend to the wants of the 12th Georgia Regiment. Previous to leaving Athens he received the subjoined communication, enclosing the handsome sum of \$1000, from Judge Lumpkin, as a patriotic contribution to the wants of that gallant and suffering regiment:—

Dr. James Camak, Special Agent Georgia Hospital Association:

I have deposited \$1000 of my salary, this year, as a fund to be used in enabling indigent sick and wounded soldiers from Georgia to get home when discharged, without means for that purpose, from the hospitals and army. While in the hospitals their wants may be supplied, and transportation furnished by the Government. But to turn a sick and wounded soldier adrift, poor and penniless, to reach his humble home, 600 miles distant, is cruel indeed. Two reached Athens recently just in this condition; one of them having his leg shot off by a cannon ball, in the fight at Lee's Farm, on the 16th of April. Even his clothes were unchanged since the amputation of his leg—three or four weeks previously. The army abounds in such men, who patiently bear suffering and privation, freely giving toil, obedience, and blood to the cause. Was the like ever seen?

Before Dr. Camak's recent appointment, I had selected the Reverend Mr. Crumley and Dr. Flinn, chaplain to the 16th Georgia Regiment, to disburse this fund. The appointment of Dr. Camak at once directed my attention to him. Will he consider the money as appropriated to the foregoing object, and subject to be used at such time, and by such persons, as he and Mr. Crumley may see fit to select, or by themselves, if opportunity occur?

I have thought that Governor Brown might venture to take the responsibility of appointing a special agent for Virginia, where, it is computed, we have 40,000 soldiers from this State, and place \$5000, or even \$10,000 in his hands, to be applied to the aid and comfort of indigent sick or wounded soldiers from Georgia. The Legislature would ratify such an appropriation.

J. H. LUMPKIN.

Augusta, Ga., May 3, 1862.

Judge J. H. Lumpkin—Dear Sir—Your letter and the enclosed \$1000 was received just as I was leaving Athens, too late to reply. I have been so liberally supplied with funds by the Georgia Hospital Association, whose agent I am, to be used for the purposes that you so nobly and generously have provided for, that I cannot use yours until I have disbursed that of the Association.

As there is some risk in carrying the funds with me, permit me to return them to you.

I have the honour to be,

Respectfully and truly yours,

JAMES CAMAK,

Special Agent Ga. Hospital Association.

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE.

The *Charleston Daily Courier* publishes the following graphic letter written by a captain in the Confederate army who is not yet of age:—

Camp on James River, Thursday Morning, July 3, 1862.

Dear Father,—I take the advantage of this, my first opportunity, of penning a few lines to let you know that I am quite well, and, with the exception of a few bruises, am, by the mercy of God, still on my feet, and ready for another round. But I will endeavour, in my limited time and space, to give you a few details of our experience since I wrote to you on last Thursday. On the next day our regiment was sent down to make a demonstration in front of the enemy's batteries, to attract their attention from Jackson's forces, who were moving in their rear. After waiting until the afternoon, the regiment was drawn up in line of battle, and my company and Harrison's thrown out as skirmishers. We advanced in front of our pickets, and encountered those of the enemy in a very thick wood, where they waited our coming, and opened on us with a heavy fire of rifles, which killed Albert Miles, and wounded two of Harrison's men. I received a shot through the breast of my jacket, but none of my men were hurt. We drove the picket to the reserve, and the reserve to the regiment in rear, when the enemy opened on us a terrible fire of grape and shell, which wounded several men in the regiments in our rear. Having discovered the enemy's position, and accomplished our object, we fell back, and were much complimented on our little action. This having been the first time our men had been under musketry, or fired a gun, I was much pleased with the gallant manner in which they stood their ground. Night closing in soon after, we returned to camp, where we spent the next day in resting. On Sunday morning, about 2 o'clock, we were roused with orders to cook rations and prepare to march, as the enemy were falling back from their position in our front. About 5 o'clock the regiment was formed, and the brigade moved on towards the Chickahominy. About 8 o'clock we passed through the enemy's fortifications, and came upon the rear of their column. As soon as we came in sight our brigade was formed into line of battle, skirmishers thrown out, and immediately after their artillery opened upon us. We advanced slowly through some terrible swamps, in which we often sank waist deep in mud and water. About sundown we

came upon their position, just beyond a skirt of thick woods upon reaching which they opened on us with a very heavy fire of grape and shell, which cut down the bushes and trees on every side of us. For a while we lay down in the bushes, when a volley cutting down many of our men, and taking off both legs of Sergeant Tom Hill (a particular friend of Ben's and mine), and a volley poured into us by a line of infantry just in our front, proving too hot, we rose and charged about a quarter of a mile, driving back the enemy's line about 300 yards, and coming within about forty yards of a brigade of infantry, which was formed just in front of our regiment; here we halted under a terrible fire, and began to return volley for volley, our men coolly loading and firing, and making every shot tell. During the fight, the right and left wings became separated, and I took command of the left wing. Just then the fire was most deadly, and our men were falling on every side, but not one quailed. As I passed down the line encouraging the men, a grape-shot struck me on the left thigh, and brought me to my knees, but, concealing the pain, I moved down to the rear of my company, and took my position where I could watch them. Just then Ben Taylor, who was capping his gun alongside of his brother, turned his head to the rear and said, "Give it to them, boys," and put his gun to his shoulder to fire, when a ball struck him in the head, and he fell upon his face dead. He never spoke again. Poor Jim, I felt so sorry for him; he laid down his gun, turned Ben over, and gazed upon him in mute sorrow. Stepping up to him, I put my hand upon his shoulder, and said, "Jim, I have no consolation to offer you except that Ben has fallen at his post; there he lies, yonder is the enemy; avenge him." He picked up his gun, and turning his pale, quivering face to me, he said "Captain, I can fight them now," and he did fight them right gallantly. About the same time Dolphus Johnson was shot in the thigh, the ball ranging upwards and lodging in his groin: Bill German shot through the lower part of the ankle; Sergeant West through the arm just above the wrist; and Corporal R. Reardon through the arm above the elbow. Not a man of them uttered a groan, but coolly crawled to the rear. When Johnson was shot I took his rifle and cartridges and used them until we retired. During the fight Colonel Bluna was shot through the arm, and I was left Lieutenant-Colonel; and Sentall was shot through the ear. While loading, a Minié ball took off the top of the second knuckle of my first finger, and a second struck me in the breast; the first brought the blood pretty freely, but the second, striking just upon a Yankee Bible, razor, and bullet moulds, which I had picked up and stuck in my pocket, paralyzed my whole side for some time, and keeled me over, and was much the more painful. Soon after we were ordered to retire, as our friends in the rear were firing into us, and had killed several of our men. This we did, falling back in beautiful order, and being highly complimented by General Kershaw. We fell back to the skirt of the woods from which we had advanced, and the firing having ceased we threw our pickets upon the battle ground, and started to bring in our wounded. By this time night had closed in, and a heavy rain was falling. Worn out, the men lay down in the water and slept until morning, except when awakened by the cries of some poor wounded fellow, who was suffering, waiting, watching, and praying for the appearance of daylight and relief. Thus the night passed and the morning dawned, and the sun came out; but the enemy, under cover of night, had left, leaving a line of ghastly dead and wounded Yankees, to mark the spot where the conflict had raged hottest. In the engagement, out of 300 men, we lost 100 killed and wounded. The 3rd Regiment lost 150 out of 300, and the 2nd and 8th lost heavily. The enemy fought desperately, but unavailingly, and left the ground strewn with men from the 5th and 6th Vermont and some regiments of regulars, with which forces our regiment had to contend. We were employed during the early portion of the day in burying our dead, and caring for the wounded, and about 10 o'clock, being relieved by Stonewall Jackson, we marched to the support of Longstreet, who was trying to cut the Federals off from the river. We pushed on all day, and after a weary march of twenty miles, by a very circuitous route, over a rocky road, where my shoes were actually torn off my feet (I performing the latter part of the march barefooted), we reached the ground (where our forces had fought terribly for several hours, and from which they had finally driven the enemy) about 3 o'clock a.m., footsore, weary, and exhausted. Moving in front of Longstreet's lines, our division formed in line of battle just as the grey dawn broke in the east, and discovered to us piles of dead and wounded, who were thickly strewn over the fields and woods as far as the eye could reach. Here was where our men and the enemy had met in the shock of battle, and where they had fallen thickest, and there we lay down to rest and wait until we could see sufficiently well to make another attack. What the reflections of men were, who, worn out, dispirited, and around whom lay all the scenes of carnage which characterize a battle-field under these circumstances, you may imagine, but I cannot describe. About sunset we advanced upon what we supposed the enemy's position, but not a gun opened upon us. Scores of dead men, whose glazed and open eyes stared glassily at the sun, and whose blood stained the grass, showed where they had been. Dismounted guns, shattered caissons, dead horses, and mangled limbs and trunks showed where they had fought, and a line of baggage, knapsacks, coats, guns, &c., showed the direction in which they had fled, and in that direction we pursued, marching often through swamps that seemed almost too thick for a bird to penetrate, and again across fields and down lanes where we were almost stifled with dust, and forced to yield to the power of the sun. At length, about 5 o'clock, p.m., the enemy were reported occupying a very strong position just in our front, which they had fortified. Our artillery was ordered out to open on the enemy, and a brigade of Georgians and Alabamians to support it. No sooner had our guns opened than they were dismounted, the caissons torn to atoms, and the horses and men piled and mangled together. Other batteries were ordered out with the same success, and the few men and horses who were left came dashing back, panic stricken, and sought refuge in flight. Then we saw what was coming. Our brigade was ordered to the front, to support the one already sent out, and, forming in line, we marched to the skirt of woods which separated us from the open ground, where the enemy had formed to receive us. His position could not have been better selected. Upon a hill, about half a mile in our front, were planted thirty siege guns and twenty light batteries, manned by United States' regulars; while in front the ground descended gradually to our position, midway between which and their batteries was a line of 30,000 of their best troops, who were selected to cover their retreat to their gunboats, two miles distant. Upon this line and their batteries we advanced. For the first half mile of the mile and a half we marched the shells burst around us incessantly. After that, just as we got into the woods, the gunboats opened upon us with their broadsides of rifled guns, the shells from which came hurling through the woods, crushing and burst-

ing, and tearing down numbers of the largest trees in their course. Then came the grape and canister from the batteries in our front, and soon the musketry opened, actually sweeping down whole lines of men in our front, and from our own ranks, and making our path one over dead and dying men. We passed over four lines of men, who, sent out before us, were unable to stand the fire, and lay close to the ground, from which no threats or persuasion could move them. Our men trampled them into the mud like logs, and moved on in an unwavering line, perfectly regardless of the numbers who were falling around them. It was just here that Arthur Parker, who had been quite sick, said "Boys, I am almost done; but I'll go as close to them as I can." Scarcely had he spoken when a ball passed through his bowels. He did not speak, only pressed his head to his side and turned round, when a second ball passed through his head, and he fell dead. Keedle was shot through below the knee at the same time, and Lieutenant Burcknight through the head, while Ebby Butler and Sergeant Miles were both killed instantaneously by grape-shot passing through their breasts, and Warreu Brooks was struck in the leg by a ball. But we pushed on until we found the line we were to support within 600 yards of the battery, and there we halted under cover of a hedgerow, and lay down to rest. The line in front of us, unable to stand up in front of the fire, had laid down, while the troops in our rear poured several volleys into us, wounding and killing many men. Finding the place untenable between friend and foe, General Kershaw proposed to the general in our front to charge the battery, and let us support him. This he refused to do. Kershaw then offered to charge it with our brigade, if they would support him after he took it. This they also refused, and, as the Georgians and Louisianians on our right were moving up, we could not fire without injuring them, and we could do no good where we were; we were directed to fall back to our original position and reform line of battle. I held our position with the left wing until the right was beyond range, and then directed the left to retire, I keeping some distance in their rear and falling back very slowly. No sooner had our men retired when there came a portion of the Confederate soldiery dashing past me panic stricken, and huddled together like sheep, presenting elegant marks for the grape and cannon balls which cut paths through them, and hurled them, writhing and digging, into the mud and water of the swamp. One man, in his haste to get out of danger, shoved me on one side, and just at the instant a canister shot tore his head off, and splattered my face with his blood and brains. As you may suppose, I was not much vexed at his impoliteness. On our way out we passed over the ground which we travelled in going in, and found men lying dead in every direction. Upon reaching the rear we were marched into a skirt of woods to rest for the night, the fight having now closed, and the enemy ceased firing. When morning dawned they were gone again, having reached James River, and being safely under cover of their gunboats. Early in the morning I rode over the battle ground, our brigade having been marched up to occupy it, and the sight which was there presented beggars description. Entering the field at the point where our artillery had been posted, I came upon numbers of dead and dying horses, who, with the drivers and gunners, lay in a pile together; their several dismantled guns, their caissons, fired and blown up by the enemy's balls, all presenting an aspect of desolation and ruin. Then came the point at which our infantry lines advanced through the open fields and engaged that of the enemy. For a mile the ground was thickly strewn with the mangled and dying, showing with what desperate energy our men had advanced, and with what energy they were repulsed. Men, mangled in every conceivable manner, to the number of 10,000 were strewn out before me. The painful details of our own wounded I will spare you; but will pass to the enemy's side of the field, where one-half of the number lay; there were men with their arms, legs, and hands shot off, bodies torn up, features distorted and blackened. All this I could see with indifference; but I could not but pity the wounded: there one poor devil, with his back broken, was trying to pull himself along by his hands, dragging his legs after him, to get out of the corn rows, which the last night's rain had filled with water; here another, with both legs shot off, was trying to steady the mangled trunk against a gun stuck in the ground; there a fair-haired Yankee boy, of 16, was lying with both legs broken, half of his body submerged in water, with his teeth clinched, his finger nails buried in the flesh, and his whole body quivering with agony and numbed with cold. In this case my pity got the better of my resentment, and I dismounted, pulled him out of the water, and wrapped him in a blanket, for which he seemed very grateful. One of the most touching things I saw were a couple of brothers (boys) both wounded, who had crawled together, and one of them in the act of arranging a heading for the other, with a blanket, had fallen, and they had died with their arms round one another and their cheeks together. But your heart will sicken at these details, as mine did at seeing them, and I will cease.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GENERAL M'CLELLAN.

(From the Times.)

"Thus far," writes General George B. M'Clellan—page 8 of his *Military Commission to Europe*—"the allied generals displayed none of the qualities of great commanders—their measures were half-way measures, slow and blundering—they failed to keep constantly in view the object of the expedition, and to press rapidly and unceasingly towards it." This criticism refers to the period when on the 27th of September the allied generals had got to Sebastopol, having landed their army on an open beach on the 14th of September, fought and defeated the enemy at the Alma, sent their sick and wounded away, buried their dead, and taken up a position never afterwards abandoned till their object was achieved. "Although (he says, page 5) fully aware that it is much easier to criticise operations after the result is known than to direct them at the time, I shall not hesitate to invite attention to what appear the evident mistakes on either side. This, not for the purpose of finding fault or of instituting comparisons" (though the very next sentence contains a comparison between the petty operation of landing near Vera Cruz and the disembarkation of the allies in the Crimea), "but with the hope that it may serve to draw the attention of our officers to the same points, and perhaps assist in preventing similar errors on our own part hereafter." It is almost cruel to the young officer to proceed with these quotations, and we shall only add one more:—"If a deficiency of men and means is assigned as a reason for the early operations of the allies, it is but another proof that in undertaking this affair they neglected one of the clearest rules of war—that is, to undertake no important operation without

full and reliable information as to the obstacles to be overcome, and the means of resistance in the hands of the enemy." "We cannot afford," he says, "a Moscow campaign." How little when he wrote these lines in January, 1862, did the American officer imagine that he should be at the head of an enormous army levied for the purpose of invading a State once incorporated in the country he served, and of destroying the city in which his enemies, once his own countrymen, were assembled to defend their homes and their liberties! The deductions he draws from his observations in the Crimea are applied to the effect of a foreign invasion of the United States, and he remarks that, though a small army could be crushed by the superior numbers of the people, a force of 100,000 disciplined men would be quite invincible, because the multitude brought to bear against them work their own destruction, for "if without discipline and instruction they cannot be handled, and are in their own way." There is a sort of analogy between Sebastopol and Richmond. Neither Williamsburg nor White Oaks was quite equal in results to the Alma, it is true, but the covering force was obliged to retire. The enemy blocked up the water entrance to their city; the Federals command the sea as the allies did, and they have not been able to force the water batteries. The Confederates are said to be as strong as the Russians were. Their Gortschakoff is in the field outside. The Federals, too, have been attacked on their right before the place. Are they quite as proud of their Interman? Does General McClellan stand the test of his strictures on those who were in a position somewhat like his own? We make the Americans a present of the comparison. The latest news we have from his army is that it is moving somewhere or other, having made a *fiasco* in the advance to Malvern Hill. McClellan has now been more than a month in his place of refuge at Harrison's Landing. At last he "prepared for a great battle." "On Tuesday, August 5, he moved out and took possession of Malvern Hill, and sent back for the greater part of his army, but the messengers took the wrong road and the troops did not come up till it was too late. "The enemy were not asleep," but came out in force. General McClellan went back to his camps again, and the Confederates took possession of Malvern Hill, and are, we suppose, there now. All that comes from the Federal army is the same intelligence of great sickness, aggravated by intense heat, and certified by boat loads of sick soldiers, and promises of something going to happen. We must wait with patience for the march of events, which move more rapidly than the Federal arms, as it is nearly always the case that the initiative is taken by the Confederates.

LIGHT ON A DARK SUBJECT.

Vanity Fair has a bit at the "intelligent contrabands," who figure so largely in the correspondence of the press from the various seats of war, and at the verandah of editors and readers who believe one word in twenty spoken by the coloured individuals in question. Here is a part of *Vanity Fair's* squib:—

"You b'long to de army, mars'r?" asked the intelligent contraband, uneasily.

"Yes. That is—I am—yes; I am with the army, sir," replied the Tribune correspondent; "and I would like, sir, to ask you a few questions. Where is Beauregard, at Corinth or at Richmond?"

Intelligent Contraband.—"Yis, mars'r."

Tribune Correspondent.—"Where, at Richmond?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"And how many men has he?"

Int. Con.—"Niggers, mars'r?"

Trib. Cor.—"No, soldiers!"

Int. Con.—"Bout sixty hundred thousand, I spec's."

Trib. Cor.—"What! Are you sure? Aren't you mistaken?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"Well, when did he arrive here?"

Int. Con.—"O, two, tree, four mants ago."

Trib. Cor.—"You mean weeks, don't you?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"Do you think the rebels will evacuate Richmond?"

Int. Con.—"O, yis, mars'r, dey'll fite like de debil."

Trib. Cor.—"You don't understand me, sir. I mean, will they run away?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r, dey ollers runs away."

Trib. Cor.—"But if McClellan had attacked the city three weeks ago, he could have killed them all, couldn't he?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r; he killed 'em all, I spec's. I got under a fence, an' he didn't saw me."

At this point of the chat, the mind of the Intelligent Contraband seemed illuminated by the vague splendour of some familiar memories, for he screwed his not very expressive visage into a grin, and added, "Now, mars'r, couldn't ye gib dis nigger a drop o' rye? I orlful dry workin', mars'r."

The Tribune Correspondent expressed an opinion that alcohol was a poison, and that nothing could be more terrible than the effects of drunkenness. To which the Intelligent Contraband replied,—

"Now, mars'r, dat's jes wat I want."

"Whose slave were you?" asked the Correspondent, after a pause.

Int. Con.—"Mars'r Davis's."

Trib. Cor.—"What, Jeff Davis?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"And he treated you with great brutality, no doubt?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r, treat me fus' rate."

Trib. Cor.—"But you want your freedom, don't you?"

Int. Con.—"O yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"How would you like to go North?"

Int. Con.—"Putty cold Norf, ain't it?"

Trib. Cor.—"O no. Ever been North?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"To what place?"

Int. Con.—"To Florider, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"Florida?"

Int. Con.—"Yis, mars'r."

Trib. Cor.—"Why, did Jeff Davis live in Florida?"

Int. Con.—"O yis, mars'r; he lib dar some forty, fifty year, I spec's."

The evidently untrustworthy nature of the replies of this Man and Brother began to strike the correspondent at about this juncture, and he shut up his note-book and retired.—*The Savannah Republican*.

AN AFFAIR ON THE AUCILLA.

(From the *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*.)

Captain G. W. Scott, of the Tallahassee Guards, has reported to General Finegan the following particulars of an affair on the Aucilla. It occurred some time since, but the account has not lost its interest:—

Tallahassee.

Sir,—I have the honour to report that I left my camp, in Wakulla county, at 3 p.m., on Friday, 30th ult., with fourteen men and five days' provisions, for a scout to the East bank of the Aucilla River. At 7 p.m., on Sunday, we reached the edge of the Aucilla Swamps, when we picketed our horses, finding it impossible to take them any further. At half-past 1 a.m. Sunday, having secured a trusty guide, we entered the swamp in an old trail, with three days' provisions on our backs. Desiring to get as near the coast as possible, I made for a point about two miles from the mouth of the river, nine miles from our horses, and sixty-five from my camp, which point we reached about 7 a.m. Sunday, having waded most of the way through mud and water. When within half-a-mile of the river we saw many signs of the enemy having been there.

Leaving the squad in charge of Sergeant Lester, I proceeded with the guide and one man to make a reconnaissance of the river bank. We soon discovered smoke ahead, and after a cautious approach came on to the enemy's camping ground, which he had left but a few hours previous, as his fires were still burning; here we found wood sawn up ready to be taken aboard, Boston and New York papers dated as far back as November, and many other evidences that they had camped here for months, feeling perfectly secure, as they have since told us that they did not believe that white men could penetrate the swamp. Having brought up my men and made our camp close by, I determined to await their return. Placing my pickets half a mile below, and selecting a position in which to meet them, I gave each man his post, so that he could be into it at a moment's warning. Thus we awaited their approach until 12 o'clock Monday, when my pickets from below reported "The boats are coming." In an instant my men were at their post. Now my position was such, that if one of the boats succeeded in passing me they would cut me off, as the trail by which he entered the swamp, and which was the only way we could get out, passed close by where they cut wood, about two miles above, so I determined, as there were three boats bearing down on my little command, and had no means of knowing the number of men they contained, that justice to my men required me to make sure of the first boat, so I instructed my men at the report of my pistol to fire a volley.

Half a mile below my position the river made a curve, the wind being fair, the first boat or cutter rounded the curve and came up beautifully, her large sail hanging so low that it was impossible for me to tell how many men she had. I let her approach within twenty steps, when I rose and fired my pistol and my men their rifles. I immediately demanded a surrender—the enemy dropped to the opposite side of the boat, which threw up the side next to us, thus concealing them entirely. Four muskets were raised over the edge of the boat, one or two of which were fired without effect, (when we took them two had been discharged) my men then fired again, when I ordered them to cease firing. The boat then agreed to surrender. Two men were killed and two wounded in this boat.

Detailing Sergeant Croom and three men to take the prisoners into the swamp, I prepared to meet the other boats. Moving my men further down the river, as the next boat came up I was in position to see that she had eight men. I permitted them to come up to within twenty paces, when I stepped out on the bank and demanded an immediate surrender. The enemy dropped into the boat just as the others had done, but coming down a little too hard she went clear over, emptying men, arms, casks, and all into the river. The officer of the boat called out that he surrendered—the men, however, struck for the opposite shore, but when I ordered them to return, or I would have them shot, they all came back. The tide running out carried the casks, oars, seats, &c., of this boat down the river, so that when the third boat rounded the curve, seeing the disaster that had occurred to the others, she headed for the other shore, and thought it not prudent to come up in range of our rifles.

By this time I had a prisoner for each man I had for duty, and having nine miles of thick swamp to carry them through and but a narrow, dim trail to travel, I thought it best to save what I had and get out of the swamp before dark. Having no implements which to dig a grave, we covered the dead bodies up carefully in one of the boats and run it into a narrow creek. After securing the other boat and securing the arms, sails, oars, &c., we took up the line of march for our horses, and reached them about sunset. I immediately made an arrangement with my guide and some other citizens to return and bury the dead, and convey the boats, arms, &c., to a place of safety, all of which, I am happy to state, has been accomplished, the party reporting that the enemy had not visited the place since I left. Each boat had four muskets and each man had a revolver. The muskets of the first boat we secured, but the men dropped their revolvers overboard. The arms of the second boat were lost when she capsized, but I have made an arrangement by which I hope to secure all the arms.

The prisoners taken were, Samuel Curtis, Master and Acting Second-Lieutenant, and eleven men of United States gunboat King-Fisher, now blockading St. Mark's River. From statement of prisoners, she has 120 men, and mounts four 68-lb. guns, and one 30-lb. rifle; they have been getting their supplies of wood and water from the point at which I met them, and one of the men told me that, at one time when he was out, they shot three beavers, but did not take them aboard. I found no evidence of their having any communication with persons on shore.

I cannot close this report without mentioning the manner in which my men discharged their duties. During the five days they were not dry, but in going to and from their posts, passed through water waist deep. Then constant duty, together with the numerous insects, rendered their situation extremely unpleasant, yet they bore it all without a complaint, and when the enemy was coming down upon them with his three boats, they stood to their posts with a cool determination that evinced that the motto in each heart was "victory or death," and that they were men worthy to enjoy that liberty for which they are struggling.

I am much indebted to Mr. Jacob Chaney, a citizen of Taylor county, who guided us through the swamp, and did everything in his power for our comfort; also to his lady for her kind attention to my sick and wounded prisoners.

I am, sir, yours with respect,

GEORGE W. SCOTT,

Captain Commanding Tallahassee Guards.

Brigadier Gen. Jos. Finegan,
Com'd. Dep't. E. & M., Florida.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT.

Mr. A. J. B. Beresford-Hope is a candidate for the representation of the above place in the House of Commons. In reference to the American war, this gentleman has always maintained a thoroughly consistent attitude, and from the first has denounced the conduct of the North, and clearly foresaw the impossibility and understood the iniquity of attempting to subjugate the South. Mr. Hope is a Liberal-Conservative, and, from his social position and high character, has an unmistakable claim on the suffrages of the constituents. The following is his address to the electors:—

Gentlemen,—I venture to offer myself for the representation of your borough, in succession to your late respected member Mr. Ricardo.

Connected as I am with North Staffordshire, I feel that I do not approach you as a stranger, while I can promise that if I succeed, my best exertions will never be wanting to further your interests.

I come before you as a Liberal-Conservative, untrammelled by party connections, and anxious to maintain our country prosperous at home, honoured and influential all over the world, enjoying the largest amount of freedom compatible with good government, and ready alike to repel attack or to second its just pretensions by the display of sufficient physical resources.

I shall accordingly support all measures calculated to place the national armament on a sufficient, though not extravagant, basis, convinced as I am that stinginess on this head will in the long run prove the most extravagant policy. I am also a warm supporter of that great volunteer movement, to which I am convinced that England in no little degree owes her present security.

A Churchman myself by conviction, I desire to secure to those of my fellow-citizens, whose convictions tend other ways, the same toleration which I claim for my own opinions.

I approach foreign politics with all the painful feelings produced by the sight of the growing distress in the manufacturing districts. While private and public benevolence can do much to alleviate the sufferings of our countrymen, and while British enterprize can be turned to open fresh cotton markets, it is idle to expect that trade can be fully restored until commerce is renewed with the Confederate States of America. At the same time England ought never to speak when she is not sure her voice will be respected. The time must soon come when the judgment of united Europe will ratify the independence of the Southern States. In the meanwhile it is open to us to sympathize with the gallant exertions of an unanimous people struggling for constitutional freedom against tremendous odds. It is equally open to us to deplore the unhappy infatuation which has driven the Northern Union to venture its all upon the cast for empire, misnamed liberty, and thus to risk the material ruin of both sections of the former Republic and its own moral degradation.

As to questions nearer home, it is enough to say that it is England's best interest to keep friends with France, by letting France feel that our friendship is not extorted by fear.

Trusting that this expression of my opinions will be agreeable to you, I have the honour to remain, gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE.

"Bohemian," the Richmond correspondent of the *Mobile Register*, in referring to the fight at Mechanicsville, near Richmond, says:—

The part taken by Captain Rosser, of the 2nd Company Washington Artillery, in the fight of Saturday, has won him great praise. He managed his two guns so skilfully, and brought them so beautifully from a position where all supposed him lost, that the spectators looked on in amazement. Although belonging to the Washington Artillery Battalion, he is now on detached duty, and with General Toombs. Still a young man, a West Point Cadet in the last class that graduated under the five years' regime, a brave, talented and efficient officer, Captain Rosser has gained the admiration of the whole army. Since the campaign in Virginia began, no man has seen more active service, as he has been constantly on the outposts, and with General Stuart, of the cavalry, was instrumental in holding Munson's and Mason's hills so long a time, and of waving the Confederate flag for weeks in sight of the Capitol at Washington.

He is a particular favourite with General Toombs, of whom a good story is told in connection with the fight at Mechanicsville. Seeing Rosser at a post of great danger and without adequate support, he raved about furiously and sent repeated requests to the generals to reinforce him. No attention was paid to this, until finally, when an additional battery of the enemy appeared, he sent a courier to General Magruder to say that he should lead his brigade to assist Rosser, unless other reinforcements were immediately sent. "You had better not do it without orders," was the reply. Toombs chafed under this for some time, and at last his fiery spirit could stand it no longer; it seemed certain that the brave men who were fighting would be sacrificed. His brigade was put under arms, and orders or no orders, he was just preparing to rescue his favourite, when Rosser extricated himself in the beautiful style already spoken of. Those Georgians, who are justly proud of their leader, would have fallen to a man or accomplished their object.

"SKEDADDLE."—We have received many inquiries as to the true meaning of this new vulgarianism. We have no lexicographic authorities to which to refer; but "Skedaddle," as we understand it, is a new Yankeeism, invented by them to express the difference between a regular RnR stampede and panic, and a hasty retreat in which the retreating forces are not quite frightened out of their wits.—*Savannah Weekly News*.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 2s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28, 1862.

The Collapse of the Federal Armies.

BEFORE we go to press it is probable that the overdue mails will arrive with some days later intelligence, but the news received from New York up to the 13th inst., though less exciting than usual, is by no means devoid of interest or instruction, for every incident is a commentary on the collapse of the Federal armies.

What has become of the 700,000 men? Or, allowing liberally for the difference of the army on paper and its actual strength, what, we ask, has become of the 600,000 men who were sent forth to conquer the South? The three principal armies are those under Generals McClellan and Pope, and the army in Tennessee. At the highest Northern estimate they do not comprise a force of 250,000. Where are the rest? Granting that 100,000 are scattered about in smaller bodies, how are we to account for the missing 250,000? Perhaps instead of 700,000 troops, the North never had more than 500,000, but the larger number have been charged in the estimates, and we are inclined to think that the actual levies have exceeded the smaller number. Assuming, however, that only half a million have been raised, we have still to account for the whereabouts of 150,000 soldiers. A portion have deserted, or, as it is called, are away from service on leave of absence. A still larger portion are in the Northern hospitals or in their homes wounded and maimed, and, no doubt, intensify the disinclination to recruit the Federal army. The largest portion have fallen in battle, or have succumbed to disease. Let any one add up the Federal losses as admitted by themselves, and let him consider the whispered reports of the numbers that have died from pestilence, and he will see that it is tolerably certain, supposing the North has not had more than half a million of soldiers, that the present effective force is far less than 350,000. If ever the truth is known, it may be found that in two campaigns the Federal losses have been not much less than 200,000 men.

The present position of the United States' armies testifies to the extent of their disasters. The grand army of the Potomac is shut up in a position from which it cannot advance, except to be driven back with loss; from which it cannot retreat, except at the hazard of being cut up by the victorious foe, and in which it cannot remain without being decimated, if not annihilated by pestilence. The rumour of the abatement of sickness in General McClellan's army, in consequence of a supply of fresh vegetables, turns out to be fallacious. There it lies in the Peninsula, assailed from day to day, and from hour to hour, by an enemy which claims more victims than cannon-ball or sword. So much for the pet army, led by the pet general of the United States.

From Pope's command we hear that typhoid fever is so prevalent that 180 cases were reported in one regiment. General Pope, too, looked upon but a few weeks since as the coming man who was to lead the troops to victory, and whose arrogant boasting that he came from the West, where he had seen only the back of the enemy, and whose sarcasm in reference to McClellan's slowness, were hailed at Washington and

New York as delightful omens, has already proved a failure. His rashness is as disastrous as the caution of General McClellan. He has been surprised by the enemy, sustained a disastrous defeat, and, together with his staff, narrowly escaped capture. We do not wonder at the angry comments of a portion of the New York press in reference to the battle near Cedar Mountain. We have now sufficient details to appreciate the importance of the Confederate victory. General Banks was driven back, with great slaughter and loss of prisoners, and instead of the Federal commander being asked by General Jackson for permission to bury the Confederate dead, the last-named general notified to General Pope that he would be allowed two days to remove his wounded and bury his dead, but that he would not be permitted to carry off any of the spoils of the field. The retreat of Banks, though it terminated the battle, did not save the Federal army from further disaster. That ever-ready commander, General Jackson, attacked his foe by night with artillery, and produced that species of panic and that kind of rout which Federals call a "skedaddle." Thus the army of the Valley of Virginia has been tried and found wanting, and instead of inspiring confidence, its future excites the liveliest apprehensions.

We have very little to say about the army in Tennessee. That State is overrun by guerillas; the Confederates are threatening the capital, and are capturing towns. Likely enough, as Mr. Chandler told the United States' Congress, General Beauregard did not evacuate Corinth until his enemy had been defeated by disease. Certain it is, the army of the West has done nothing, is doing nothing, and that the boundaries of its encampment include the area of its influence. The army led by General Halleck into Tennessee, and which was to crush out the rebellion in that and the adjoining States, seems to have melted away, or, at all events, the remnant is reduced to a condition of forced inactivity.

The Federal general has been driven out of Arkansas, and is no more spoken of. The Federal army in Missouri is not strong enough to hold the towns that the Confederates attack. The army in Kentucky cannot repress the universal manifestation of loyalty to the Southern cause, and the progress of Southern arms under the admirable direction of General Morgan. In Alabama we are only reminded of the existence of the Federal army by the atrocious brutality of its commander. South Carolina and North Carolina are all but decimated of Federal forces, which have been transferred to the Federal armies of Virginia. General Butler, of New Orleans, thinks his position insecure, and like the rest of the Northern commanders, implores his Government to send him more men. We need not extend the list of Federal failures, though many of them, such as the defeat of Secessionville, are worthy of consideration. Failure has marked every movement, and collapse, more or less complete, is the condition of the armies of the United States. We do not offer any speculation as to the future, but we may remark that 300,000 recruits will only place the Northern armies, in point of numbers, as they were before they were crippled by the casualties of battle and by pestilence.

The Federal navy, which, like the army and even more than the army, was declared to be invincible, has been equally unsuccessful. What are its triumphs? Excepting New Orleans and Memphis no important towns have been taken by its agency, and it is not able, at least in the opinion of Federal commanders, to guarantee the continued Federal occupation of those towns. But the career of the Federal navy has been singularly inglorious, not to say disgraceful. It ought to have conquered, for it was pitted against a power without a navy. Yet it was beaten by the Merrimac, and it has been beaten by the Arkansas. A portion of it is in the James River, unable to proceed to Richmond, unable to attack Fort Darling, from which it has been repulsed, and unable to protect the Federal transports from Confederate attack. At best, it has saved the routed army of the Potomac from capture, and this is its only service. Commodore Farragut could do nothing before Vicksburg, except digging a ditch eight feet wide to

divert the course of the Mississippi; and, at present, so far from assuming the offensive, his object is to beat a safe retreat. The fleet before Baton Rouge has been driven away, and was, therefore, unable to prevent the Confederates taking that place. Commander Porter's fleet has returned to the James Roads, but not crowned with laurels. Charleston and Mobile have been threatened with destruction, but the threats have not been carried into effect. Yet the United States' navy, let us admit it, has done something; it has made war on unarmed merchant ships, most gallantly bullied unarmed crews, and exultingly insulted the flag of England. But these are victories which only the United States would tolerate, much less glory in.

The Undercurrents of Disunion.

WHEN the war began we were assured that it could not last. The Secessionists were but a faction at the South; the North was agreed as one man in the cause of the Union. This was then the cry of every friend of the Federal Government in America, from the Secretary of State down to the editor of the *New York Herald*. This cry was repeated in England by politicians and journalists, some of whom would not, and others, perhaps, could not, know any better. The fiction of Unionism at the South was soon exploded. In the autumn of last year, no one of good information and sober judgment believed in it; after the capture of New Orleans it found credence only in the official despatches of Federal generals and ministers; now, we may doubt if Mr. Seward himself, even officially, believes it. The next cry was—grant that the South is resolved, with perfect unanimity, never to re-enter the Union; the North is three times as strong in numbers, ten times as strong in available wealth and military materiel; and the North is perfectly unanimous in resolving never to consent to the dissolution of the Union. Sharpsighted observers soon began to discern that the pretence of Northern unanimity was as baseless as the former pretence of Southern divisions and dissensions; and what, three months ago, was known to close observers is now patent to the public; hardly to be mistaken by any man who ever reads a newspaper. It is not wonderful that this should be the case; it would be strange if it were otherwise. The North is fighting for empire; is waging a war of aggression for an object of gratification to the national vanity, but unnecessary to the national greatness or security; is endeavouring to conquer a foreign country in order to impose upon it systems favourable to the interest of one class or one territorial section in the North, but as detrimental to other classes and other sections as to the South itself. In a war of aggression no country ever carries with it the full sympathy of all its citizens; a mercantile, money-making, money-loving community, where capital is very scarce and human labour very valuable, always contains numerous classes averse to all wars, except wars of self-defence; and the greater the sacrifices entailed by avoidable war, the more numerous and powerful does the peace party become. Interest, sentiment, and political conscience combine to array against this war a strong and respectable, if as yet silent and uninfluential, section of the Northern people.

There is in America a lack of political courage, which always leads Englishmen, at a time when the feeling of the dominant and noisy classes sets powerfully in one direction, to underestimate the force of the counter-current. We always underrate the numbers of an American minority, because American minorities are slow to show, scarcely even venture to feel, their real strength. This is a phenomenon which, as characterizing the politics of a free country, we find it difficult to understand. Brought up in no habits of implicit deference to the will of a majority, Englishmen are never afraid to be singular in their politics. Even our most extravagant mob-worshippers—even those arch-demagogues who hold that the rabble can do no wrong—have courage to defy, if need be, not only the censures of the sober and thoughtful portion of society, but

the clamour and curses of the multitude. Mr. Bright dares to withstand, at the same time, the convictions of statesmen and the passions of the people—to be sneered at in the House of Commons and pelted in the streets, as at the commencement of the Russian war—in mere vindication of his consistency to a crotchet; and nobody thinks it strange that he should do so. We admire his pluck; but we feel that there are hundreds of Englishmen as brave as he, if not in so bad a cause. But in that land which he admires, among that people which he adores, Mr. Bright would be simply an impossibility; no Northern American dares to be unpopular. And therefore, when we hear the first murmurs against a war sanctioned by popular passion, and supported with all the strength of that moral and material tyranny which is wielded by an American majority, we may be very sure that the murmurers feel that there is strength also on their side—that strength of numbers which alone gives political courage and self-confidence to the free citizens of the Great Republic.

There is anything but unanimity in the North; there is a conflict of interests, a conflict of feelings, a conflict of opinions; and if we take together those whose obvious interests, those whose political attachments, and those whose sober convictions, incline them against the war, it may be doubted whether they constitute at present a minority of the Northern people. That people is in no respect homogeneous; its different sections have varying occupations, are of different origin, and regard the present crisis from utterly distinct points of view; and the progress of events brings out their differences with daily increasing clearness, and renders it daily more difficult to avert an open rupture.

In the first place, the States of the West have nothing in common with New England, and little in common with New York and Pennsylvania. The West is agricultural; it depends on its enormous production of grain, to which its industry is almost entirely devoted; it derives from other regions everything, except the coarser kinds of food, which it requires. Not only tea and coffee, wine and spirits, spices and silks, but cotton and woollen stuffs, iron and steel, all its instruments of production, all its clothing, all its luxuries, come to it from outside its own frontiers. In this respect its position and its interests coincide with—and until recently it never forgot that they did coincide with—the position and the interests of the South. The Eastern States are mercantile and manufacturing communities. Even the great State of New York is not an agricultural country; that is to say, it consumes more of bread-stuffs and other agricultural produce than it can raise. The States of the Atlantic seaboard north of Mason's and Dixon's line produce generally less food than they consume; they are fed from without. They received their supply of grain from the West, and from the South, until the war cut off the latter source of supply. They produce far more cotton and other manufactured stuffs, hardware, and so forth, than they require, and with these they must buy their food. In order to make their own commodities as dear and those of their sister States as cheap as possible, in order to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, they imposed heavy restrictions, by means of navigation laws (for they are the shipowners of America), on the export of Southern and Western produce, and heavy duties on the import from foreign countries of those cheaper manufactures which, in the Western and Southern markets, would have lowered the price of their own. The South emancipated itself by secession from a commercial slavery which extorted from it an indirect tribute of about ten millions sterling per annum; advantage was instantly taken of that secession to double the weight of the chains imposed on Western commerce, and the amount of the tribute extorted from Western industry. The first use made of their advantage by the Eastern States was the passage of the Morrill Tariff.

The interests of the West and the South were identical; the Abolition agitation has been skilfully used for years past to divide them. The Western men care nothing for the negro; free or slave, they will not have

him on Western soil. As a free man, he lowers the rate of wages when he is willing to work, and when he is not, he supports himself by theft. As a slave, his labour has been made competitor with theirs for the possession of territories. Hence the antagonism of the West to slavery; arising, first, as the treatment of the free negro proves, from hatred of negro competition for land or for wages, but aggravated, no doubt, by that European antipathy to the institution brought in by the new settlers who flocked from England, Ireland, and, above all, from Germany, to the Far West. Therefore, at the beginning of this contest, the sturdy Western people readily took up arms for Fremont and Abolition, to conquer, to revolutionize, and, perhaps, to despoil the South. But they are beginning to understand that, in regard to Abolition, they have been cheated; that the South will not be conquered; and that the prolongation of the war, the infamous tariffs, which can only subsist while Southern ports are blockaded, and the interruption of trade along the Mississippi, are ruinous to Western interests. They are beginning to comprehend that they are fighting to rivet their own chains and mutilate their own prosperity. And it leaks out, in spite of the vigilant censorship of Mr. Seward, even in the press of the Eastern States, that the West is growing tired of a war waged on such terms, and will not much longer lavish those lives which are its best wealth in the service of ungrateful and treacherous associates. The bugbear of a possible closure of the Mississippi by the Confederates has vanished on reflection. The farmers of Illinois and Iowa are now aware that this great natural highway, closed by war, will certainly be reopened by peace; and peace they evidently begin to desire.

Even in the East, many of those who had much to lose are beginning to count up their losses, and to weary of them. They see that conquest is impossible; they see that they can never regain their monopoly of Southern trade; and they are asking themselves—for as yet they dare not ask the Government—whether it be well to throw away all that remains to them in the desperate endeavour to recover that which is irretrievably lost.

To the dissensions caused by divided interests, we must add those which arise from the divisions of political party, smothered but not stifled by war and tyranny. The Democratic party still exists, is still numerous, still counts in its ranks the majority of thoughtful and moderate politicians, still influences the great States of the West, still predominates in the Empire City. Mr. Lincoln, it must be remembered, was the elect of a party, not of the nation. Had the Democrats remained united in 1860, it is not probable that he would have had a majority in the North, and he would not have been President. But the Democrats split, and the result was that, with a very strong Northern party against him, the Republican candidate had every Northern vote, but three, in the Electoral College. It must not be imagined that in losing the South the Democratic party has been extinguished. Even in Congress it is still formidable; in the country it is scarcely a minority. The Democrats, at first, were for the most part in favour of the war. It was for their party interest to reclaim six millions and a-half of Southern Democrats for the Union; it was in accordance with their political convictions that every effort and every sacrifice should be made to maintain or to restore the Union. On the Union and the Constitution the Democratic party had always taken its stand; in the name of the Union it had demanded and extorted sacrifices and compromises from the South, and overawed the clamorous Disunionists of New England. For the Union it was willing to spend freely and fight fiercely; and therefore at the commencement of the war—while as yet it seemed that reunion might be possible, while as yet the war was waged in the name of the Constitution, while as yet Abolitionism was discouraged and Emancipation unnamed in the Cabinet—the Democratic party gave its cordial and energetic support to the Government. But it never

entertained that ferocious and cowardly hatred of the South—that diabolical malignity towards Southern women and children—which characterizes the Republicans. It had no desire to reduce the Border States to a desert, and to hound on negro incendiaries to burn the cities which the Federal army could not reach. It desired no tampering with the Constitution, no violation of Federal law, no invasion of the rights of the individual States. The devastation of Virginia, the enslavement of Maryland, the infamous crimes of Butler, Mitchell, and Andrew Johnson, were outrages on the principles and feelings of the Democratic party. Mr. Lincoln's absurd scheme of gradual emancipation and wholesale transportation, and the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, were felt by that party as wrongs and insults to itself. Thereafter the Democrats ceased to be supporters of the Government; and when it became manifest that the South was unanimous in secession, and that reunion was utterly impossible; when this change in the conditions of the contest was practically recognized by the conduct of the Federal Government and of the Federal armies; when the war became a war of pillage, devastation, and murder—in a word, a war of vengeance—then the Democratic party remembered that all its old ties of friendship and fellowship, all its political and personal connections, were with the South. It realized the fact that it was fighting side by side with its inveterate antagonists, not for the restoration of the cherished Union, but for the destruction of its ancient and faithful allies; that it was serving not under the banner of constitutional law, but under that of illegal tyranny; not to repair a breach that never could be healed, but to waste the property of the friends whose support had made it strong, and to hang, if they could be caught, the leaders whom it had trusted and admired. With such objects as these the Democrats have no sympathy; in such a conflict their good wishes cannot be with the aggressor; and, therefore, nothing but the terrorism of the Government and its mob supporters prevents the Democrats from rising in violent opposition to the war.

The foreign element in the population of the North was at first, for different reasons, no more opposed to the war than the Democratic party. The emigrants are mostly Abolitionists, and the Abolitionist leaders promised them a war against slavery. The Irish are always ready to fight; the Germans were ready to enlist for ninety days of war, with a vast prospect of pay, plunder, and promotion. But the former have been disgusted with bad leadership, with hardships, illusage, and starvation; with the insolence of civilian officers, and the cowardice of a citizen soldiery. They have had enough of swamp water and hard biscuits; of Butler, Banks, and Sickles; of Pennsylvania and Wisconsin comrades, who throw down their arms at the first fire. The Germans find that pay is irregular, plunder perilous in presence of a superior cavalry, and promotion not to be hoped for; that they have to serve, without fame or favour, under native American commanders, and for purely American objects. And neither soldiers nor civilians of foreign race are willing to make enormous exertions and painful sacrifices to restore a Union or maintain a Constitution for which they feel no peculiar affection. They came to America hoping to find security, prosperity, freedom, and no fiscal burdens; they find order and industry ruined, and are subjected to inquisitorial tyranny and grinding taxation. No wonder that they are heartily weary of the war.

The preposterous Tax Bill, the terrible conscription, are daily making thousands of converts to the cause of peace. The Western States, threatened with imposts on every occupation and on every article of consumption—with heavy pecuniary burdens which they cannot afford to meet—utter murmurs ominous of angry and effectual resistance. The quiet citizens of the North, threatened with forcible enlistment in the ranks of armies rapidly wasting away in unhealthy garrisons, or pestilential swamps—and driven back from the seaports and the frontiers, at every attempt to escape, to the recruiting office—are beginning to ask why, if these things are to be

endured from Mr. Seward, they should not prefer the dominion of Mr. Davis. They may reasonably ask if it be worth their while to bear these things, in the vain hope of imposing a similar tyranny upon the South. Already the Northern Government exists only by force, and carries on the war with resources only to be obtained by military tyranny; and if the people of the North summon up courage to resist that tyranny, the Government and the war must cease together.

The Justice and Duty of Reprisals.

FORBEARANCE is not always a virtue. When it is so extended as to give impunity to vice it becomes a crime. A criminal code that slurs over wrongdoing, or a lax administration of justice, is injurious to the community, and encourages and fosters the disposition to transgress the law. Mercy to the criminal does not consist in suffering his evil deeds to go unpunished, but rather in prompt and sufficient punishment. This principle, thoroughly understood and acted on in civil affairs, is applicable to a state of warfare. It has been agreed by all civilized nations that the horrors of war should not be unnecessarily intensified. Instead of following the savage custom of murdering captives in cool blood, or even of selling them for slaves, their lives are considered sacred, and at a fitting time they are restored to their country. So far has this been carried that they have as little restraint as is consistent with safety, are often permitted to go at large on parole, or they are exchanged at the earliest opportunity. It is considered disgraceful to make war on women and children, and so before the bombardment of a town notice is given that the women and children may depart. When a country is occupied it is the business of the commander to see that private property is respected, and particularly, to protect the persons of the civil inhabitants.

In the last great European war outlying pickets were forbidden to fire into each other, because the slaying of a few picket soldiers does not, in any way, decide the contest, and is, therefore, a useless expenditure of blood. But it sometimes happens that civilized nations are obliged to act contrary to these and other humane provisions, that rob war of much of its bitterness, and which prevents it from degenerating into mere savage ferocity. In India, for example, we executed the Sepey prisoners by blowing them from the mouths of cannon, on account of their diabolical treatment of women and children. In China we have been reluctantly compelled to retaliate on the Chinese for their barbarity, for we had no other means of checking it. Not that Englishmen in either case changed their nature and became savages, but their severity was the reply to the brutality of their enemies, and did not proceed from a mere spirit of vengeance, but was looked upon as a simple and bounden duty. No one who considers the question can fail, we think, to recognize the paramount obligation of reprisals, and assuredly no one can deny that the acts of the United States call loudly for retribution and punishment. We regret unfeignedly the necessity for Southern reprisals, but as there is the necessity, we rejoice that the Confederate Government has determined to avenge outraged humanity.

Some persons may be of opinion that the declaration of reprisals should have been made months ago, and that even now it is too merciful in its tone, but no man can pretend the declaration is made too soon, or that it is too stern, and, at the same time, Europe must admire the generous hesitation of the Confederate Government in punishing the extreme barbarity of the United States.

On the part of the Southerners there would have been some excuse for eager and almost unscrupulous vengeance. They only ask of the North to be let alone, and the North replies by invading their country and desolating their homes. Yet, so devoid of offence has been their conduct that calumny has been almost hushed, and the partisans of the North have been obliged to repeat *ad nauseam* the old

story about the Confederates scalping and boning their enemies, and making drinking-cups of Federal skulls, and children's toys of Federal back-bones. When the provocation is allowed for, it is impossible to help a feeling of surprise at Southern forbearance. The name of Butler has been heard above the din of battle, and doubtless the remembrance of his rule in New Orleans has nerved many an arm with giant strength, but the fight being over, the prisoners and the wounded received the most humane treatment.

What a contrast is presented by the conduct of the North! How have the Federals treated those whom, with bitter mockery, they choose to designate their fellow-citizens? We do not intend to recite all the authenticated crimes of the Northern soldiery, or even to dilate on a few of the most conspicuous. We shall not dwell on the murder of a civilian on his way home from church, without trial or provocation, in the presence of his wife and children; or upon the murder, at the same time and place, of a boy fifteen years old. We shall not note the violations of the sanctity of the flag of truce. We shall not notice the attempt to introduce pestilence into a Confederate army. Even the action of Turchin, in Alabama, when he gave up defenceless schoolgirls to his licentious soldiery, and sanctioned inexpressible and devilish brutality—even the act of General Mitchell, in approving such conduct, will not be the subject of our remark. We shall content ourselves with citing deeds that have been approved by the Government of Washington; and they are sufficiently numerous and gross to justify the loud cry of indignation that has been raised in Europe, and the unanimous condemnation of the North, as unspeakably degraded, brutal, and savage.

General Butler has made his name historical. The murder of Mr. Mumford might have been forgotten. His suppression of the liberty of the press—and we learn by late advices that he finds it necessary to suppress the paper edited by his own creatures—would, in a month or so, have passed into oblivion; his notoriety evoked by bullying foreign nations through their representatives might not have endured. But the name of Butler will be remembered in connection with his infamous order about the ladies of New Orleans. That proceeding was denounced as execrable by the British Parliament, and by the press and people of Europe, but it has been approved by the people, press, and Government of the North.

The ravings of New York, the savage demand for the blood of the South, the proposal to exterminate the Southerners, *if possible*, by a servile war, are not offences against the Government of Richmond; but we submit that the late war-meeting at Washington, owing to the presence and participation of Mr. Lincoln, and the character of the resolutions passed, was an offence to the people of the Confederate States, as represented by their constituted authorities. The United States have been obliged to formally renounce the "rebellion" sham by signing a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Yet the President of the United States approves, by his presence, of a resolution passed by a mob-meeting, condemning the leading Southerners to death, and their property to confiscation. With just as much right the President of the Confederate States might assent to a resolution decreeing a sentence of confiscation and death against Mr. Lincoln, his civil coadjutors, and the officers of the United States' army and navy.

But the Confederate Government has not thought proper to notice any but official and avowed violations of the laws of civilized warfare. President Davis, in his letter to General Lee, states the reasons that have induced him to issue an order for reprisals. On July 23 was signed a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, by which it was stipulated that all prisoners hereafter taken shall be discharged on parole until exchanged. The prisoners in the hands of the Confederates exceeded by some thousands those in the hands of the Federals. On the same day that the cartel was signed, the Federal Secretary of War published an order to the commanders of the United States to seize the private property of the peaceful inhabitants of the South for the use of

their armies, without compensation. That is, Mr. Stanton, on behalf of the United States' Government, recognized plundering as a duty of United States' commanders. We need not remark that it is totally opposed to the practice of civilized warfare to plunder the peaceable inhabitants of the enemy's country. When a country is the seat of war the peaceable inhabitants suffer, because the commanders are not able to keep the soldiers in perfect discipline, though they do their best by punishing theft by death. But to directly encourage plunder is an unparalleled enormity.

The day after the cartel was signed, and it is evident that the arrangement for the exchange of prisoners was to be the signal for an outburst of savageness, General Pope who has distinguished himself by allowing his soldiers to rob the people of the Virginia Valley without let or hindrance, and, indeed, by his express command, published an order for the murder of suspected persons as spies, though, as President Davis observes, "found quietly tilling their farms in his rear—even outside of his lines:" and General Steinwahr, under his command, seized upon some of the inhabitants and kept them as hostages to be slaughtered, if any of his soldiers were killed by some unknown persons, whom he calls "bushwhackers." These orders place the lives of the peaceable inhabitants at the disposal of General Pope's soldiers. Now, it is contrary to the usage of civilized warfare to treat people as spies without convincing evidence that they are spies, and that they are, or have been lately, occupied in that capacity, and it is clear that an army is bound to look after its own security, and not murder civilians because it cannot protect itself against small bands of the enemy. It would be a waste of space to further illustrate the United States' transgression of the laws of civilized warfare.

The reprisals of President Davis are merciful as well as just. He perceives the trick of the cartel, but he will not, until all other means are exhausted, infringe on its humane provisions. He does not demand an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. If there were produced a score of Butlers, Mitchells, and Turchins, the women and schoolgirls of the North would be in no danger of retribution. This is, of course, small consolation to those who can treat women as Butler, Mitchell, and Turchin have done, and who care much less for their countrywomen than they do for themselves. At present reprisals are limited to the officers in General Pope's command, though, if that should prove an ineffectual check, a more general retribution will become indispensable. Notice of the reprisals is given to the United States Government, so that by countermanding General Pope's orders the affair may be adjusted. It will be remembered that at the outset of the war it was said that Confederate sailors were to be treated as pirates; and that a threat of reprisals deterred the North from executing its barbarous purpose; and we should not be surprised if President Davis's determined action does put a stop to the outrages it denounces. If not, its rigid fulfilment cannot fail to have a salutary effect. Nothing checks savage ferocity but the fear of punishment, and the civilized world cannot but applaud President Davis for adopting the only possible means of terminating a state of affairs disgraceful to humanity. We doubt not our readers will agree with us that further forbearance on the part of the Confederate Government would have been a crime.

Federal and Confederate Resources.

POLITICAL Economy leads us to compare the resources of nations, or organized communities, to those of individuals; and it is on this principle that the great bankers of the world scrutinize closely the natural advantages, the character of the population, the debt and general standing of the Governments for whom they negotiate loans. The United States of America have never been, properly speaking, a nation; the Constitution, their articles of co-partnership or bond of Union, was a mere league or treaty between the States for mutual protection, postal arrangements, coinage of money, and free

trade with each other. The practical recognition of the individuality of the States, however, has been confined to their respective inhabitants, the people of other nations having regarded them as a whole; but now that a separation has taken place, it becomes necessary to analyze the strength and position of the several members of the late political firm. The North, up to the present time, has continued business at the old stand, under the same name, and, therefore, retains in a measure the credit that has been formerly lavished upon the united concern. Upon the basis of this prestige it boasts of its resources as being without limit, and in every way superior to the South. It can easily be shown that such is not the case. The tendency to centralization of financial power in the North began in the year 1816, when a system of high duties on foreign merchandize was adopted in order to pay off the indebtedness incurred in carrying on the second war with Great Britain; this had the effect of fostering manufactures in the New England States, whose people ever afterwards claimed protection from the Government in the shape of exorbitant tariffs against the wishes of their neighbours of the South, who contended that a tax on importations could only be levied for purposes of revenue. The monopoly of the money affairs of the country was further increased by the advent of the steamships *Sirius* and *Great Western* at New York in 1838, which commenced that commercial revolution that finally caused the city to be the great financial entrepôt for the entire Union, by reason of its becoming the stopping place for the foreign bankers. Up to that period the transactions in exchange on London were conducted solely to balance the imports and exports; the regularity of steam communication put another face on matters, and the capitalists of Europe found profitable employment for their money in Wall-street, lending it to their correspondents there, with the same freedom, and certainty of time in getting it back, as they would to their customers at home. Hence New York, for a number of years past, has had a floating indebtedness to Europe of \$200,000,000, for which she has paid only 4 per cent., reloading the amount to the West and the South at double that rate of interest, thereby commanding the business of those two sections, and reaping a harvest of hundreds of millions of dollars. New York had gained a step in the same direction some years previously by the construction of the Erie Canal, which gave her water communication with the lakes, and attracted the trade of the West at the expense of the other Atlantic cities, who were too slow in the prosecution of their plans of internal improvements. The failure of the Bank of the United States was also a benefit to New York, as that misfortune caused Philadelphia to cease being the financial centre, and, at the same time, took away her commerce with India and China, which had been conducted through credits issued by that institution. Charleston, too, that for more than half a century had been the great port for trade with France, was obliged to yield to her Northern rival; and finally, the whole country became tributary to the commercial emporium. The sun of Wall-street lent its rays to the surrounding States, drawing the moisture of wealth from the other portions of the Union, and the fortunes thus made have been invested in real estate in large cities, manufacturing establishments in small towns, railways, and other fixed properties, that must necessarily become valueless by the loss of connection with the South; and which, if appearances indicate correctly, will be followed by that of the West. As we remarked in our last number, "these two sections have not been pampered up by the false principles of Protection; they have depended on their natural resources, and never sought artificial aid; they, therefore, will be unharmed by the dissolution of the Union; while their old co-partners, who have so stupidly disregarded the teachings of Adam Smith, will be ruined." The heavy tolls that they have been subjected to by the Northern States have necessitated them, in a degree, to assume the position of dependencies.

It is idle for the people of the North to assert that their late co-partners of the South have been indolent and careless of progress. In the cultivation of cotton, rice, tobacco, naval stores, and other products suited to their soil and climate, they have exhibited an enterprize unexampled in the history of the world, without contending against the laws of nature. The same may be said of the West in the growth of cereals and raising of animals. The North, both in food and clothing material, has not sufficient for its own consumption, and will be "poor indeed" when the transformation scene now taking place reaches its culminating point.

Though we may admire Republican institutions, as they were inaugurated by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, and the other illustrious founders of the Revolution, and as they have ever been carried out by the people of the Southern States of America, we must, nevertheless, candidly admit that our Transatlantic cousins progressed as rapidly and prospered as much under the Colonial Government as they did the first thirty-five years after their independence. Does not Australia advance as quickly as California? It is a mistake to suppose that the "Union" has done such wonders. It no doubt has benefited the North to the injury of the South, and the whole civilized world is now praising the Confederates for their noble effort to throw off the commercial and political shackles placed upon them by the domineering power of the Federalists.

It is well known that the American States in no manner began to develop themselves until the cotton crop grew to be of importance to England, France, and Germany, and the great staple became the king of commerce. This fact gave the United States a financial credit with European nations that they otherwise would not have had, and has been the true lever of their prosperity, enabling them to construct railways, canals, and engage in those various enterprizes, both public and private, which have made them alike the wonder and the admiration of the world. The cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, having been established as commercial places, became the bankers and commission merchants for the South; and consequently they increased in population and in wealth with almost mushroom growth; manufactories of every nature and kind were erected in the Northern States, principally to supply the Southern States, now containing twelve millions of inhabitants. The mines of Pennsylvania were opened to meet the demand for coal and iron. Imports were made through New York to supply the South and the West with the fabrics of Europe, as well as to furnish the large Northern communities employed as bankers, brokers, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and mechanics, who were receiving every year increased employment from their Southern neighbours.

So dependent has the North been upon the South, that the ships built in the New England States have been constructed, for the most part, out of timber cut from the forests of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida, while their freights have been derived principally from carrying the raw material outward and northward, and the manufactured articles homeward and southward. The exports of the South have paid for eight-tenths of the imports into the Northern cities. The South has purchased freely of Northern imports and manufactures; has patronized Northern hotels and watering places, and has sent her children to Northern colleges and schools. But the schism that has been created will naturally change the order of things. Ships will be built in the Southern States, where there is timber and iron in abundance; manufactories will spring up south of Mason and Dixon's line, where there is the very finest water power, and where coarse fabrics can be made just as cheap as in Massachusetts. Imports direct from Europe will go on in an extended scale, as Free Trade is a cardinal principle with the Southerners. Colleges will be multiplied in Norfolk, Charleston, and other cities. The climate of the South, moreover, is so diversified that it will grow as much corn and feed as many animals as required, without interfering with the production of cotton, rice, and tobacco; Virginia, indeed, having always

been a large exporter of wheat and vegetables to the Northern States.

The South has long felt that she was being drained of her earnings by the grasping conduct of the North; but it is always difficult, without a political change, to alter the current of commercial transactions. The establishment of the Confederate Government will enable its citizens to engage in transactions with other countries, without being subjected to an onerous system of high tariffs or extra commissions to the North. Although the cotton crop of the Confederate States has never exceeded 4,700,000 bales, it is estimated that the production the first year after peace is restored will amount to 6,000,000 bales; the natural increase in the number of slaves, as well as the few sent from the Border States to the Cotton States proper, in consequence of the pending conflict, warrants this conclusion. At this stage it is not easy to say what point in the Confederacy will become the financial centre; the laws of trade will soon, however, decide the locality for a Southern Wall or Lombard-street. The North had an advantage in early intelligence from this side of the Atlantic; but the establishment of telegraphic communication has brought the South equally near to Europe for all mercantile purposes.

Rebellion, or War: the Consequences of a Misnomer.

No nation engaged in a great war ever yet behaved towards its enemy and towards foreign States as the Northern people and Government have behaved for the last eighteen months. No belligerent ever yet dreamed of treating as inferiors—as scarcely entitled to the laws and usages of war—an army and a people whose equality had been proved in a series of severe battles, almost all of them ending in his own signal discomfiture. No country, already obliged by the quarrel actually on its hands to send into the field in one year above a twentieth part of its whole male population, ever dreamed of insulting foreign Powers, and doing its best to provoke a quarrel with the world in arms. Yet the North has done both these things. It has assumed to treat as subjects the citizens of the South, who were never at any time its subjects; it has plundered their territory in violation of the usages of war, and shot and hanged them, as if it possessed over them a jurisdiction which, while the Union subsisted, the Federal Government never dared to claim. And, while its whole available force is required to carry on, with no sensible success, the one quarrel already on its hands, it seems anxious to provoke a war with England, and by no means solicitous to avoid a war with France. If we were not aware of the profundity of American ignorance, we should be penetrated with admiration of American pluck; but as it is, we believe that the North is but dimly conscious that it could not endure a European war, and almost entirely unconscious that only the most untroubled patience and forbearance on the part of England has prevented a declaration of war at any moment during the last twelve months. We believe that the Northern people do not know, and that the Northern Government scarcely understands, that it has given us a hundred such causes of war as would have provoked us to draw the sword against France or Russia. The North utterly misconceives its own position and its own behaviour; it takes liberties alike with the laws of war and the law of nations; not only because it habitually disregards all law, human and divine, but because it has hardly yet realized the fact that the laws of war and the rights of neutral Powers have any bearing on the contest in which it is at present engaged.

The Government and the people alike set out with the idea that they were going to put down an insurrection, or rather, to quell a riot. Mr. Lincoln spoke and acted as the Sheriff of Lancashire would speak and act if an Irish mob got for a day or two the upper hand in Liverpool; he proclaimed the

fact of a riot, and called out a sort of *posse comitatus* to quell it. And this view has influenced throughout the conduct as well as the language of the Northern press, people, army, and Government. One by one, belligerent rights have been conceded to the South. The right of hanging prisoners as rebels, before it had been exercised, was practically disposed of by the defeat of Manassas Junction. The pretension to treat Southern privateers as pirates was abandoned when Mr. Lincoln was compelled, by the threat of reprisals, to give up legal proceedings against the crew of the Savannah. The *status* of Southern officers and soldiers has been acknowledged by the regular negotiation of a cartel of exchange; but still Northern generals affect to treat the citizens of a Confederate State as rebels; still Mr. Seward absurdly calls Confederate men-of-war "pirates;" still the North does not seem fully to realize the fact that it is at war. As concerns the belligerents, their treatment of one another is a matter which they may be left to settle between themselves. But Mr. Lincoln proposed at first to exert his right of "crushing rebellion" in a way that would have brought him into immediate collision with neutral Powers; he pretended, under an Act of Congress passed for that purpose, a right to close the ports of the South by mere proclamation, or to levy customs duties on vessels going in and out, by means of war-ships stationed outside; and it became necessary that foreign Powers should inform him that they would not tolerate such an assumption of authority by the Federal Government in respect to ports which, to whomsoever they might belong *de jure*, were practically in possession of a Government, or *quasi*-Government, at war with that of the United States. Without abandoning the pretension, the President wisely forbore to act upon it, and the neutral Powers were satisfied.

Still persisting in their resolution to regard one of the greatest and bitterest wars of modern history as a mere riot, and an army of nearly half a million as "an assemblage of disorderly persons," the Northern people were naturally very indignant at the recognition by England and France of the belligerent character of the Confederacy. Furiously they protested that there was no war; that there could, would, and should be no war; that 600,000 men, drilled, armed, regimented as soldiers, and subject to martial law, were only 'a number of special constables sent South to keep the peace, and protect the law-loving, Union-abiding citizens of the Southern States. Mr. Seward had said all this in his despatches, and had threatened, if any foreign Power dared to declare that the Federal Government was making war on the South, he would undecieve such Power by making war upon it in serious earnest. But neither the bluster of the Minister, nor the ravings of the press of America, could alter the fact, or affect the determination of the neutral Powers; and by degrees, as Mr. Seward learned something of public law from diplomatic controversies, and as the necessities of war compelled the North to have recourse to regular warlike operations, they learned how much they had gained by a declaration which, in their own despite, conferred on them the rights and powers of belligerents.

But while they have eagerly accepted those rights, and exercised those powers, they have failed to fulfil those correlative duties which a belligerent's position imposes on him in presence of the flag of a neutral State; they still cling to their first notion of treating the whole war as an affair of police, and cling to it in their dealings with neutrals, even when they have abandoned every one of its consequences in their dealings with the Southern forces. Had Captain Craven succeeded in capturing the Nashville, he knew that his Government must treat her crew as prisoners of war; yet he reviled us for harbouring a "pirate," and waxed furious when we enforced our intention of placing exactly on an equal footing the men-of-war of two Powers with whom we desired to remain on terms of equal amity. Had America been at war with France, the Tuscany would never have pretended a right to watch a French ship in an English port, or attack

her in English waters. Nor, in the case of a war with Great Britain, would the captain of the Iroquois have found fault with hospitalities accorded by French and Spanish colonies to a British cruiser, as he found fault with the reception of the Sumter. The outrage on the rights of Morocco, in the capture of Confederate citizens on her soil, was a consequence of the same inveterate determination to usurp the rights but not observe the duties of a belligerent character. Nay, the crowning insult offered to Great Britain in the seizure of Mason and Slidell arose out of the same temper. Put aside Captain Wilkes's astounding ignorance of public law, and his wonderful nonsense about incarnate despatches, does any one suppose that he would have dared to seize those gentlemen if he could not have pretended to call them rebels? Had they been Mexicans proceeding during the Mexican war from one neutral port to another, would any American captain have thought of seizing them under the British flag? In these cases, as in many others, this very disposition to deny their own position as belligerents has led the Northern Government and its officers to strain in a most violent manner the rights which belligerents claim as against neutrals in time of war upon the seas—rights to which, except as belligerents, they would have no claim whatever.

As belligerents, they are entitled to blockade the enemy's ports, and to intercept his supplies of all goods contraband of war; and, moreover, as not being bound by the Treaty of Paris, we cannot deny, though their own jurists deny it, their right to capture the enemy's goods under our flag. In order to enforce these rights, they have a further right, strictly analogous to a policeman's authority to apprehend suspicious characters—the right of search; that is to say, they are entitled to stop any vessel carrying—first—goods the property of an enemy; second—goods contraband of war, if the vessel be bound to an enemy's port; thirdly—goods of whatever kind, bound for a blockaded port. If the vessel contain no enemy's goods, and be not bound for an enemy's port, whatever she may contain, and whatever may be the destination of her cargo, the belligerent cruiser has no right to detain her for an hour. These rights can only be exercised on the high seas, or within the jurisdiction of the belligerent. Within three marine miles from a neutral shore, the neutral vessel is neutral territory, and the cruiser that attempts to overhaul her is guilty of exactly the same offence as an army which carries on operations on neutral ground; that is to say, of an act of war against the neutral Power. And further, the right of search and detention must not be vexatiously exercised. It is just ground of complaint if the cruiser detain and search a vessel not suspected of having enemy's goods on board, and obviously bound for a neutral port. It is ground for heavy damages if a cruiser detain and carry into port a vessel not in strict law amenable to capture; and in innumerable instances British prize courts have awarded to American vessels, busily engaged in contraband trade, heavy damages against British officers whose zeal to apprehend the offender has led them beyond the letter of the law.

How have the Americans used their privileges as belligerents? They have from the first blockaded, or held under nominal blockade, the ports of the South. As it is only an effective blockade that gives the right of capture, and as their blockade was at first notoriously ineffective, every British ship seized by their squadrons off those ports, if not carrying contraband of war, ought to have been restored, with compensation. Not one vessel was so restored.

As the blockade became more efficient, Nassau, in the British island of New Providence, was made the entrepôt of an active contraband trade. Arms, ammunition, &c., were sent from England to Nassau—an innocent voyage, for there can be no contraband of war between neutral ports. With this voyage the United States' cruisers had no right whatever to interfere; but these arms and stores were destined to be shipped to Southern ports on the first convenient opportunity; and any vessel caught on

this voyage is clearly liable to capture, as carrying contraband of war to an enemy's port, whether blockaded or not. The Federal cruisers, acting under orders from the same Secretary of the Navy who approved the outrage on the Trent, have blockaded the port of Nassau. This, if not an act of hostility, is clearly an act of international discourtesy, of which our Government was entitled to complain. It was passed over. The Federal cruisers boarded, searched, and often captured vessels leaving Nassau, in the exercise of their rights; but as the vessels engaged in the contraband trade always watched their opportunity, this was not enough; and so the Federal ships—in violation of law—took to searching and capturing vessels entering the port of Nassau. Such vessels, trading between two neutral ports, are exempt from capture, except in the case of having enemy's goods on board, which renders them liable to be detained for trial and condemnation of the goods. Such vessels, therefore, ought in no case to have been condemned, and never should have been detained, except when enemy's goods were found on board; but, as a matter of fact, they have been searched not for enemy's goods, but for arms; these being found, they have been carried into United States' ports, and there—without regard to the fact that they were engaged in a strictly lawful voyage—they have either been condemned or released without compensation.

British shipowners have protested without effect; they have complained to the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Lord Russell, with strange misapprehension of the facts, or, still stranger indifference to the honour of his country, replied that if the United States would not permit them to carry on this perfectly lawful trade between Liverpool and Nassau they had better abstain from it. Such advice might be worthy of the Government of Holland or Portugal—might be wise in a weaker Power, compelled to yield to superior force—but it comes with very ill grace from the Minister of the first of Maritime Powers. However, as no redress for their wrongs was to be obtained through the Foreign Office, the British shipowners had to choose between trusting to the speed of their vessels, and abandoning all trade with Nassau, for with all trade to that port do the Federal cruisers interfere. Almost before they had time to ponder and decide upon the course to be taken news arrived from the Bahamas, which put the question in a new light.

The British steamer, *Adela*, carrying mails from Bermuda and Liverpool, left the former port for Nassau on July 4. On the 7th she was within a marine league of the Abaco Lighthouse, a point of British territory, and therefore within British jurisdiction. She was chased by a large vessel, which fired two shells into her, but showed no colours, and was, therefore, presumably a pirate. The *Adela* hoisted the English flag; the stranger hoisted the Stars and Stripes, and fired three more shells in quick succession into the unarmed and unoffending merchantman. The latter then stopped, and was boarded by a boat from the United States' frigate *Quaker City*, which carried her into Key West for adjudication, refusing even to give up the mail-bags.

The British steamer *Herald*, steering for Nassau, was chased within British waters by the United States' steamer *Adirondac*, which fired shot and shell into her. The *Herald* held on her way, and entered Nassau in safety. The captain of the British man-of-war *Greyhound* protested. The captain of the *Adirondac* maintained his right to chase and fire on British vessels in British waters, and by such defence admitted the fact of having done so, which he has since denied.

Again, is it not plain that this is not the conduct of belligerents—that the Government which gives orders to its cruisers to act in this matter is treating British merchants and shipowners, not as neutrals in war but as accomplices in rebellion?

In both cases the Federal cruiser committed piracy, by firing on a merchant vessel without making her any signal, by blank gun, to bring-to, and in one case without showing her colours. In both cases the

offence was committed within British jurisdiction, and was exactly of the same nature as if the Tuscarora were to attempt to cut out the Emily St. Pierre in the port of Liverpool. In both cases the Americans were guilty of an attempt to murder, for which our Government is entitled under treaty to demand their surrender, to try them, and to punish them according to our municipal law. In neither case, fortunately—as the captain of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Petrel* remarked—was murder actually committed. But if any seamen had been killed by the shot or shell of the American ships, murder it would have been, and murder committed “against the peace” of the Queen of England. If subsequently taken within reach of British law, the officers and crew of the *Adirondac* or the *Quaker City* would have been amenable to our laws for the punishment of wilful murder.

In order that murder may not be committed, it behoves our Government to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Federal squadron from the Bahamas. It is their duty, also, to exact ample reparation for past offences, and ample security against their repetition. If they fail to do this, they will be answerable for the consequences; first, for the murder of British seamen by pirates sailing under the flag of the United States, and secondly, for the war by which that murder will certainly be avenged.

A Very Verracious Story.

LET no man who desires to seem grave attempt to read the following paragraph except when he is alone. It is taken from the leading columns of a London daily newspaper. We are not joking. The story, as we give it, was published in the *Daily News* of yesterday, being a part of its first leader. We should not refuse to recognize merit. We grant the imagination of our contemporary—who has told more than once the story of Federal skulls being used for drinking cups, and Federal back-bones for children's toys—is nasty, decidedly nasty, but it really is powerful. The *Daily News* thus writes:—

Among European Savans the name of M. Honzeau is well known. He is a Belgian, who happened to be in Texas when the present war broke out. All last year he was prevented from escaping; the Confederates were afraid of what he might tell if they let him go; and when he did find means to fly it was only to Matamoros, in Mexico. He left his house empty; mere bare walls, he says, with the ashes of his burnt papers for the only contents. He dared not carry with him the notes he had made of his residence in Texas. One paper, however, he did carry, though if it had been found it would have caused him to be hanged on the next tree. The Unionist citizens of San Antonio entrusted him with a memorial to President Lincoln. He rolled up the manuscript, and carried it in the barrel of his rifle till he found means to transmit it to Washington. These facts are related by M. Honzeau himself, in two letters to the *Independence Belge*, which appeared there on the 6th of last month. The arrival of these letters in the Northern States has evidently intensified the rising excitement there on the Negro Enlistment question, as may, indeed, well be. In them M. Honzeau tells some things that he has seen since the Confederates have felt the pressure of the war, and have understood how desperate their condition is becoming. He has seen—not in a single instance, but as a regular procedure in certain neighbourhoods—the burning of the slaves together with the cotton and plantation stores. We will say no more than that the whole property was collected for destruction, in the alarm of the Yankees coming, after the fall of New Orleans; the negroes were called into the workshops and storehouses, locked in, and burnt with the rest of the property—the whites surrounding the buildings to prevent escapes. The witness's remark is one which may be of use to us, as well as to the Northern citizens, who have at length thus received some information from the far South:—“This revolution will in time be regarded as the great feature of modern history, not only because it hastens the freeing of American slaves, but because it furnishes the most wonderful example of social monomania—a furious monomania contracted under the prolonged influence of the very spirit of despotism and pride.

We beg our readers not to spoil their enjoyment of the fun by being critical. The idea of the illustrious Savan being kept twelve months in Texas and then having to escape *via* Mexico—seeing that a host of people have been allowed to leave Texas in the interim—is absurd; but let it pass. The picture of the bare walls of his house, and the ashes of

the notes of his residence in Texas, is a pretty flight of post-prandial fancy. One paper he did take away, which, if it had been found, “would have caused him to be hanged on the next tree.” He rolled up the precious manuscript and put it “in the barrel of his rifle.” What a comfort the gun did not go off! A common-place, matter-of-fact person might ask, why on earth the Savan did not carry the tale in his head instead of his rifle, and so avoid risk of his life; but we protest against any such questioning. Our contemporary does not address matter-of-fact people; and, besides, the manuscript in the gun-barrel is a telling part of the romance. Then comes the great sensation. The Savan has seen—it is evident, though a prisoner, he was not confined,—“he has seen, not in a single instance, but as a regular procedure in certain neighbourhoods,” the cow jump over the moon, and “the burning of the slaves together with cotton and plantation stores.” The description is very graphic, the negroes were huddled into the workshops and storehouses, locked in and then burnt, whilst the whites remained outside preventing the egress of their slaves, and enjoying the perfume of the burning flesh. The Savan has not quite finished the narrative. After the negroes were thoroughly baked, and done to a turn, the whites regaled themselves upon the cooked carcasses of their slaves. The Savan has tasted negro flesh, not in a single instance, but as a regular procedure in certain neighbourhoods. In order that the luscious feast might be complete, phlebotomy was performed upon female slaves, and the cooked flesh was washed down by copious draughts of negro blood. The Savan has tasted this delicious drink, not in a single instance, but as a regular part of the diet in certain neighbourhoods. The Savan brought away a portion of the cooked negro-flesh concealed in his left eye, and we are happy to say he sees none the worse for it. We congratulate M. Honzeau at his escape from the cannibals, which, if his body bears any resemblance to his imagination, is easily accounted for; and we bid him beware of our contemporary, who, since he can swallow his story, might feel inclined to taste his flesh, for we have seen, not in a single instance, but as a regular procedure in certain neighbourhoods, Savans cruelly roasted by their editorial friends.

Reviews.

THE PORT AND TRADE OF LONDON.*

A FOREIGNER who thinks he can see London in a week or a month is deceived. He may traverse the great thoroughfares, but by so doing he will get a very inadequate conception of the districts that lie on either side of them. Even the Londoner is by no means familiar with London. There are important streets, huge suburbs, and densely-populated quarters of which he has hardly so much as a passing knowledge. The stranger is impressed with the interminable streets and motley crowds, and with the difficulty of being “anybody” in Modern Babylon, yet he feels unable to grasp the idea of what London is. He can only view it in parts, and cannot weld the parts together. But if the sojourner would pass his time on the Thames, on the wharves, in the docks, in the dock vaults with their countless miles of railroad, and in the great storehouses brimful of merchandize, he would have a more vivid appreciation of the vast city than many intelligent cockneys have who were cradled within hearing of the chimes of Bow bells, and who have never left the place of their birth except to eat shrimps at Gravesend, or to pass a week at that salubrious but unsightly watering-place, Margate. The commerce of London is at once the expression and the cause of the vastness of the metropolis. Without it nearly three millions of people could not exist huddled together on the same spot; with it, one understands how the multitude is attracted, and why the metropolis is so large compared to the country. Still we must not forget that the port of London does not stand alone. There are other important depots in the United Kingdom, notably Liverpool, the worthy peer of London, and into which is poured a large portion of the riches of the New World. England is not only the mother of the Anglo-Saxon

race, but the old country is the commercial metropolis of the empires conquered by the energy of her offspring.

Mr. Capper commences his history of the commerce of London from the time of the Romans, and we regret that the historical part of the work is so contracted that the subject is disposed of with a brevity that leaves much unwritten that, if it had been written, would have been read with profit. It would be instructive to watch the slow development of the infant commerce, for slow, very slow, was the early growth of our trade. Even before the Roman Conquest trade had been carried on with Britain. Alfred is reported to have done all he could to foster commercial enterprise, and from the first the people manifested considerable aptitude for barter and money getting. Still England was looked upon by foreigners, even to the reign of the Tudors, as doomed to comparative poverty; a very good breeding ground for soldiers to fight the battles of warlike French Kings, but no one had the least suspicion that she could and would become commercially great. Yet the individual merchant, at an early period, became very powerful. Our author tells us how

John Mercer, a merchant of Perth, who traded with France, when returning home from that country in 1377, was driven by stress of weather on the coast of England, and was seized and confined in the castle of Scarborough, until an order from court effected his discharge. His son, to avenge the injury, collected a fleet of Scotch, French, and Spanish vessels, with which he cruised before Scarborough, and made many captures. At this time the navy of England would appear to have been very deficient; and the Duke of Lancaster, who governed England in the minority of his nephew, appears to have been unable to attack Mercer's fleet. Therefore, John Philpot, an opulent citizen and alderman of London, took upon himself to collect vessels in the Thames, to arm them with a thousand men, and send them to sea in search of Mercer, whom they took, together with his prizes and fifteen vessels, his consorts, all richly loaded. By this enterprize, Philpot got much envy and ill-will amongst the nobles and military men of the kingdom, and he was called and questioned on the subject in the King's Council; but he obtained much applause from his fellow-citizens, who elected him Lord Mayor at the next election.

During the reign of Elizabeth English commerce advanced considerably, and this was due, in the first place, to the removal of the prohibition upon the importation and exportation of merchandize in foreign ships; that is to say, the freedom enjoyed by trade enabled it to take advantage of a conjunction of fortunate circumstances.

The voyages of Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh, and the other sea-kings of the Elizabethan era, fostered a spirit of enterprize, as well as enlarged the trading area. But the event which had, at that period, the most direct bearing on the growth of English commerce was the Spanish war in the Netherlands. The manufacturing industry of the oppressed, yet struggling country, was expatriated, and “about a third part of the merchants and manufacturers who wrought and dealt in silks, damasks, taffeties, bareges, serges, &c., settled in England.” Queen Elizabeth was ceaseless in her endeavours to promote commerce, and her endeavours were singularly successful. She granted letters patent for the establishment of the Company of Levant Merchants; and articles of peace were signed with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Under her auspices was founded the mighty corporation of the Honourable East India Company.

James was not less favourable to peaceful pursuits, and to him belongs the glory of laying the foundation of English-American colonization. It is recorded in a private letter of that period, that—

Our Iceland fishery employs 120 ships and barks of our own.

And our Newfoundland fishery, 150 small ships. And our Greenland whale fishery, fourteen ships. As for the Bermudas, we know not what they will do; and for Virginia, we know not what to do with it, the present profit of these two colonies not employing any store of shipping.

To-day, the paralysis of the commerce of the then new-born nation, and which was then so commercially inferior to Iceland and Greenland, has crippled the great industry of Europe, and pauperized her artisans.

In 1623, the exports of all England were £2,320,436; the total imports, £2,619,315. We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Capper in his survey of the progress of our commerce until the £5,000,000 of exports and imports in 1623 had increased to £375,000,000 in 1860. But the increase from 1800 to 1860 is still more striking. In 177 years, that is, from 1623 to the first year of the nineteenth century, our trade had increased from £5,000,000 to £73,000,000. But during the next sixty years, it advanced from £73,000,000 to £750,000,000. It is the fashion with some politicians to talk about the wars of England as mistakes, and her profuse expenditure as money wasted, but if she had not maintained her independence and asserted her maritime supremacy, her trade would not have attained such enormous proportions. Spain fought for the subjugation of the Netherlands, and the cost of that war ruined her; England fought for liberty and for her interests, and her expenditure was a profitable investment.

* *The Port and Trade of London: Historical, Statistical, Local, and General.* By CHARLES CAPPER, Manager of the Victoria (London) Docks. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

The legal port of London extends from London Bridge to the North Foreland. The five docks have a water area of 272½ acres; and the warehouse, vault, and shed accommodation is 106,039,358 cubic feet, and this does not include the warehouses in town belonging to the docks. There are also bonded and other warehouses of considerable extent. In 1860, the shipping of the port of London was 2943 vessels of 919,591 tons burden. The number of vessels employed in the trade of the port is not represented by the shipping belonging to it. In 1860 there were :—

ENTERED INWARDS:—		
	No.	Tonnage.
British Sailing Vessels	19,990	3,371,681
" Steam Vessels	4,676	1,610,083
Foreign Sailing Vessels.....	4,414	1,011,319
" Steam Vessels	462	142,888
Total.....	29,542	6,135,971

ENTERED OUTWARDS:—		
	No.	Tonnage.
British Sailing Vessels	9,394	1,302,355
" Steam Vessels	3,475	1,086,133
Foreign Sailing Vessels.....	3,852	848,589
" Steam Vessels	438	134,639
Total.....	17,159	3,371,637

The progressive increase of steam vessels belonging to the United Kingdom has been very rapid, as may be seen from the following table :—

Vessels.	Tons.
1814	59
1829	3,018
1830	30,009
1840	87,539
1849	158,729
1860	454,327

After giving an account of the Port of London as to its extent and adaptation to the requirements of commerce, Mr. Capper summarizes the foreign commerce. With regard to the United States, Liverpool has such a lion's share of the trade, that he treats it in the aggregate. In 1860, the amount of our trade with the United States was,—

Imports	£44,724,312
Exports	22,907,681
Total	£67,631,993

In that year the importation was,—

Of cotton.....	£30,069,306
Of tobacco	1,181,182
Total	£31,250,488

These were the chief but not the only articles of Southern produce. Mr. Capper observes :—

Of the great import trade from the United States, the bulk was raw cotton, which we imported to the amount of no less than thirty millions of money. This enormous quantity of produce was chiefly received from the Southern States, the shipping ports being New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston; whilst, on the other hand, the great bulk of our exports of manufactured goods was to the Northern States, which diffused them through the Union by means of coasting craft and railways.

This well-known fact cannot be too often repeated or too much studied. Not only will the independence of the South, by breaking up the monopoly of the Northern manufacturers, increase our exports to America, but by sending our exports direct to Southern ports the cost of the transit *via* the North will be avoided, and the saving will be shared between the English manufacturer and the Southern consumer. It is only the bare truth to say that, next to the Southern States, England will derive the greatest advantage from their independence.

Mr. Capper's book is not only worthy of careful perusal, but it is invaluable as a work of reference. We trust the author will receive so much richly-merited encouragement as to induce him to continue his useful labours, and to supplement the present volume by a more elaborate treatise on those points he has not fully dwelt upon, and on those cognate questions which he has altogether omitted. But those who read "The Port and Trade of London," will be more surprised at its comparative completeness, than inclined to canvass its deficiencies.

A VOICE FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

Lord Adolphus Vane Tempest, M.P., has favoured us with the following letter which he has received from America :—

Philadelphia, July 29.

My Lord,—You cannot conceive with what a thrill of pleasure thousands upon thousands look upon any proceeding in Parliament, or elsewhere, tending to peace in this distracted country; for although there seems an outward unanimity in favour of the war at the North, it is only because of the complete suppression of freedom of speech and the press. Not a word can be uttered even to a few friends, not a public meeting held, not a step taken in favour of peace. It is Austria or Russia over again. From a careful observation, we may

fairly assert that at least one-third of our reflecting people, perhaps one-half, would vote for a peaceful separation, North and South, if they had the opportunity. But we can perceive no such opening, at least outwardly. The defeat of the North at Richmond has made the Southern Confederacy more confident and resolute, and the North professes its intention of persevering to the end, and has called for its 300,000 new recruits, one-third of which it may perhaps obtain. But when we consider the little progress actually made by the Government, and at what a stupendous cost of life and money, and that its only success has been owing to its command of the water by its fleets, it can scarcely be doubted that a mediation on the part of England or France would be accepted. And so little independence is there left in the community, that what the Government would accept, the mass of people would, like a flock of sheep, hasten to sanction, as in the Trent case. It has been stated by the Government organs, that the original number of 700,000 men called out, had been reduced to about 300,000 before the late battle at Richmond, by the casualties of war, sickness, and desertion; and at that battle, from comparing the accounts of both sides, the Northern loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners has not been less than 25,000 men, besides a loss of army supplies to the value of about \$3,000,000.

It is said that one-third of the troops are now sick and useless, and, of course, regiments of new recruits would not only be useless without discipline, but mere food for the sickness of the country at this hot season. Moreover, the tidings of death, sickness, and wounds, have reached every town and village in the land, and the spirit of voluntary enlistment is far different from its zeal of last year, when young men considered the war as a mere holiday frolic, and when the fighting element was generally absorbed. We may say, with certainty, that not over one-third of the new call will be answered. In the next place, there seems no other mode of continuing the Government, but by a steady issue of paper currency; the result of which all past experience has shown us. The last downward step is substituting postage stamps for silver, for all sums under one dollar. It is said that about \$80,000,000 will be required for this purpose. The present estimate is, that were the war *now* concluded, \$1,000,000,000 would not cover the whole debt already incurred; and when we come to bounties payable at the end of service, half-pay and pension, the result almost defies calculation. Then we have such a system of internal taxation as was, perhaps, never known in any country, and a new Tariff Act which would have disgraced a monarchy of the last century. Indeed, not only the present, but prospective, difficulties of the Government are so great, that we may justly infer that it would accept mediation if offered. The Emancipation party now sees very clearly that the war is for the restoration of the Union, with slavery secure as before, and, but for being kept down by the bayonet, it would give the Administration a deal of trouble. But it dares not organize, hold any public meetings, or take any steps in opposition. This party would, no doubt, hail a mediation.

And what sympathy can England possibly have with the North? She is at war to restore slavery; she has passed a prohibitory tariff; she has destroyed all liberty within herself; she has always bullied, and continues to bully, England, notwithstanding the wonderful and magnanimous neutrality of the latter. Nor is it an unfair inference that it is malice towards England, by depriving her of cotton as much as any desire to coerce the South, that leads to the blockade of her ports.

Let us see if England can have any sympathy with the North on the score of patriotism in this contest. The *real* motives of the war were three. Firstly, the enjoyment of what is called "the spoils," or plunder of the public purse, common to all parties, but immensely increased by war expenditures. Secondly, the firm establishment of the "Protective system," by an immense national debt and consequent taxation. Thirdly, the retention of slavery in the Union. It needs no acute observer to have perceived that the North has realized a large proportion of its wealth and prosperity by slave-labour. It was the factor of, and controlled the labour and supplies of, four millions of slaves, and thereby added ship to ship, warehouse to warehouse, spindle to spindle. In fact, while the South had the shell, the North had the kernel of the nut. The latter saw at once the loss of this stupendous profit, if the Southern Confederacy succeeded, and placed itself under the control of any foreign Power; it deemed a war for the recovery of the Union with slavery far preferable. But too wary to state its motives, it raised the cry of Union, Constitution, Patriotism, and thus awoke the naturally excitable temperament of the people to a state of madness. Now, in view of this trinity of selfish motives, can England sympathize with the North in instituting this horrible war, and thus violating the very basis of the Government as laid down in the Declaration of Independence—"the consent of the governed?"

Nor among the conceded rights of the free sovereign States to the general Government, was that of withdrawal, and the Constitution declares that all powers not expressly conceded are retained by the States. Hence, the right of secession is, at least, a doubtful one, calling especially for measures of compromise, or peaceable separation, instead of war, on the part of the North.

The madness of this latter step is apparent, for even success is only conquering and holding by the bayonet certain subdued provinces, as in the case of Poland or Hungary; the foundation principle of the Union is utterly lost—"the consent of the governed." On the other hand, the sympathy of England ought to be, as it ever has been, with the brave and resolute weaker party. Her interests are stupendously involved in a separation; the supply of the whole South, and much of the North under a low tariff; the obtaining the crops of the former on her own terms, and a share in the coasting trade; the employment of her thousands of starving operatives

at home; and, above all, subserving the true interests of humanity, civilization and religion, and even those of our Northern States themselves, hugging their chains and approving their tyrant.

Propter causas vivendi perdere vitam.

Only to Europe, then, do we peace-men look for an early settlement of this horrible contest. One of whom, a native American, of six generations, subscribe himself,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
A SEPTUAGENARIAN.

THE CONFEDERATE CONSCRIPTION.

Below we give the text of the Conscription Act passed by the Confederate Congress, which came into effect on May 17, 1862. The object of the Bill, as appeared by the debate at the time of its passage, was for the purpose of giving the Executive authority to systematize and apportion the levies in the several States, districts, counties, and parishes. The eagerness of the people to enlist in defence of their homes and country, was depopulating whole neighbourhoods, and rendered such an Act indispensable.

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED "AN ACT TO FURTHER PROVIDE FOR THE PUBLIC DEFENCE."

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to call out and place in the military service of the Confederate States, for three years, unless the war shall have been sooner ended, all white men who are residents of the Confederate States, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years at the time the call or calls may be made, who are not legally exempted from military service. All of the persons aforesaid who are not now in the armies of the Confederacy, and whose term of service will expire before the end of the war, shall be continued in service for three years from the date of their original enlistment, unless the war shall have been sooner ended: Provided, however, That all such companies, battalions, and regiments, whose terms of original enlistment was for twelve months, shall have the right, within forty days, on a day to be fixed by the commander of the brigade, to re-organize said companies, battalions, and regiments, by electing their officers, which they had a right heretofore to elect, who shall be commissioned by the President: Provided, further, That furloughs not exceeding sixty days, with transportation home and back, shall be granted to all those retained in the service by the provisions of this act beyond the period of their original enlistment, and who have heretofore not received furloughs under the provisions of an act entitled "An Act providing for the granting of bounty and furloughs to privates and non-commissioned officers in the Provisional Army," approved 11th December, Eighteen hundred and sixty-one, said furloughs to be granted at such times and in such numbers as the Secretary of War may deem most compatible with the public interest; and Provided, further, That in lieu of a furlough, the commutation value in money of the transportation herein-above granted shall be paid to such private, musician, or non-commissioned officer who may elect to receive it at such time as the furlough would otherwise be granted; Provided, further, That all persons under the age of eighteen years, or over the age of thirty-five years, who are now enrolled in the military service of the Confederate States, in the regiments, battalions, and companies hereafter to be organized, shall be required to remain in their respective companies, battalions, and regiments for ninety days, unless their places can sooner be supplied by other recruits not now in the service, who are between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, and all laws and parts of laws providing for the enlistment of volunteers and the organization thereof into companies, squadrons, battalions, or regiments, shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That such companies, squadrons, battalions, or regiments organized, or in process of organization by authority from the Secretary of War, as may be within thirty days from the passage of this act so far completed as to have the whole number of men requisite for organization actually enrolled, not embracing in said organization any persons now in service, shall be mustered into the service of the Confederate States as part of the land forces of the same, to be received in that arm of the service in which they are authorized to organize, and shall elect their company, battalion, and regimental officers.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That for the enrollment of all persons comprehended within the provisions of this act, who are not already in service in the armies of the Confederate States, it shall be lawful for the President, with the consent of the Governors of the respective States, to employ State officers, and, on failure to obtain such consent, he shall employ Confederate officers, charged with the duty of making such enrollment in accordance with rules and regulations to be prescribed by him.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted, That persons enrolled under the provisions of the preceding section, shall be assigned by the Secretary of War to the different companies now in service, until each company is filled to its maximum number, and the persons so enrolled shall be assigned to companies from the States from which they respectively come.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That all seamen and ordinary seamen in the land forces of the Confederate States, enrolled under the provisions of this act, may, on application of the Secretary of the Navy, be transferred from the land forces to the naval service.

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That in all cases where a State may not have in the army a number of regiments, battalions, squadrons, or companies sufficient to absorb the number of persons subject to military service under this act, belonging to such State, then the residue or excess thereof shall be kept as a reserve, under such regulations as may be established by the Secretary of War, and that at stated periods of not greater than three months details, determined by lot, shall be made from said reserve, so that each company shall, as nearly as practicable, be kept full. Provided, That the persons held in reserve may remain at home until called into service by the President. Provided also, That during their stay at home they shall not receive pay. Provided further, That the persons comprehended in this act shall not be subject to the rules and articles of war until mustered into the actual service of the Confederate States, except that said persons when enrolled and liable to duty, if they shall willfully refuse to obey said call, each of them shall be held to be a deserter, and punished as such under said articles. Provided further, That whenever, in the opinion of the Presi-

dent, the exigencies of the public service may require it, he shall be authorized to call into actual service the entire reserve, or so much as may be necessary, not previously assigned to different companies in service under provision of section four of this act; said reserve shall be organized under such rules as the Secretary of War may adopt. Provided, The company, battalion, and regimental officers shall be elected by the troops composing the same. Provided the troops raised in any one State shall not be combined in regimental, battalion, squadron, or company organization with troops raised in any other States.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted, That all soldiers now serving in the army or mustered in the military service of the Confederate States, or enrolled in said service under the authorizations heretofore issued by the Secretary of War, and who are continued in the service by virtue of this act, who have not received the bounty of fifty dollars allowed by existing laws, shall be entitled to receive said bounty.

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That each man who may hereafter be mustered into the service, and who shall arm himself with a musket, shot, gun, rifle or carbine, accepted as an efficient weapon, shall be paid the value thereof, to be ascertained by the mustering officer, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War, if he is willing to sell the same, and if he is not, then he shall be entitled to receive one dollar a month for the use of said received and approved musket, rifle, shot-gun, or carbine.

Sec. 9. Be it further enacted, That persons not liable for duty may be received as substitutes for those who are, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

Sec. 10. Be it further enacted, That all vacancies shall be filled by the President from the company, battalion, squadron or regiment in which such vacancies shall occur, by promotion according to seniority, except in cases of disability or other incompetency; Provided, however, That the President may, when in his opinion it may be proper, fill such vacancy or vacancies by the promotion of any officer or officers, or private or privates, from such company, battalion, squadron or regiment, who shall have been distinguished in the service by the exhibition of valour and skill, and that whenever a vacancy shall occur in the lowest grade of the commissioned officer of a company, said vacancy shall be filled by election: Provided, That all appointments made by the President shall be by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Sec. 11. Be it further enacted, That the provisions of the first section of this act relating to the election of officers shall apply to those regiments, battalions or squadrons which are composed of twelve months' and war companies combined in the same organization, without regard to the manner in which the officers thereof were originally appointed.

Sec. 12. Be it further enacted, That each company of infantry shall consist of one hundred and twenty-five rank and file; each company of field artillery of one hundred and fifty rank and file, and each company of cavalry of eighty rank and file.

Sec. 13. Be it further enacted, That all persons subject to enrollment who are now in the service, under the provisions of this act, shall be permitted previous to such enrollment to volunteer in companies now in the service.

I.—ORGANIZATION OF TROOPS—ELECTION, APPOINTMENT, AND RANK OF OFFICERS.

1. Volunteers tendering themselves directly to the Confederate Government for three years, or the war, may be accepted, either singly or in companies, battalions or regiments, organized by the election of their officers. When the officers have been elected, vacancies are filled by promotion within the same company, battalion or regiment, except in the lowest grade of company officers, which is filled by election.

2. When troops have been raised by the several States for the Confederate service, all appointments thereto, except staff appointments, are made and commissions issued by the State authorities under their own laws. Such troops must be organized, in all other respects, as herein provided, and are considered as in the Confederate service from the date of their transfer, during the term of their enlistment.

3. A regiment is composed by law of ten companies, neither more nor less, which must all be of one arm. A battalion cannot be accepted as such with less than five companies, and is entitled to but one field officer, unless the number of companies exceeds five.

4. A company must consist, if infantry, of at least sixty-four privates; if cavalry, of at least sixty; if artillery (unless otherwise expressly authorized), of at least seventy, in addition to all officers. Companies now in service, whether for twelve months or for the war, may be filled up under the recruiting regulations; but no company shall contain more than 125 rank and file. The muster rolls of companies stand as the evidence of the rank of their officers until commissions are issued.

5. Officers hold rank from the date of the muster or acceptance of their respective commands into the service of the Confederate States, or, when appointed by the President, from the date of their appointment.

The officers of the regimental staff—assistant quartermaster and commissary, surgeon, assistant surgeon, chaplain, and (when not already a lieutenant of the regiment) the adjutant, and the officers of the general staff—are always appointed by the President, through this department. The recommendation of the commanding officer is respected in making these appointments.

A battalion is entitled to no adjutant except from among the lieutenants thereof; and only to one assistant quartermaster or commissary, and to one medical officer.

Except staff appointments, upon the recommendation of the commanding officer upon whose staff the vacancy exists, no appointments are now made from civil life.

II.—TERMS OF ACCEPTANCE—ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

6. No troops, other than twelve months' volunteers, re-enlisting for two years, will be accepted for less than three years or the war, except for local or special service.

7. All troops will be armed and equipped before being ordered into the field; or their arms and equipments will be paid for, if required, upon inspection and valuation by the proper officers.

8. No horses are furnished to cavalry; but forty cents per day are paid for the use and risk of horses, and those killed in battle are paid for.

9. Batteries with equipments complete, including horses, will be furnished to all light artillery companies, in the order of their acceptance, or will be paid for at valuation, if furnished by the companies. Companies may be accepted as heavy artill-

ery, when required to man stationary batteries; but no companies re-enlisting from other arms of the service will be accepted as light artillery unless specially recommended by superior officers.

10. No troops will be accepted for local service, unless required by the officer commanding the district in question, and then only as prescribed by the act of Congress, receiving pay, subsistence, &c., only while in actual service.

Except under this act, no troops will be accepted with any condition as to where they will serve.

III.—ENLISTMENT AND MUSTER INTO SERVICE—PAY, BOUNTY, ETC.

11. Troops thus organized and inspected are mustered into service by officers designed for that purpose, and are considered as in service and entitled to pay and allowances from the date of their muster; or when previously accepted and placed under orders by authority of this department, from the date of such acceptance, which should then be indicated on the muster rolls by the mustering officer.

Where men have been sworn into service, and accepted upon inspection prior to such organization, their pay and allowances will begin from the date thereof, which should also be noted upon the muster rolls.

After troops have been mustered, the muster rolls should be forwarded at once to the adjutant general, and the mustering officer is authorized to call upon quartermasters and commissaries for their due supplies, transportation, &c., until they are otherwise provided for. No commissions will be issued until the muster rolls are received.

12. Twelve months' men re-enlisting under the regulations for two years or the war may be mustered into service in companies, battalions, or regiments, as soon as the organization thereof is agreed upon; and their period of enlistment and the rank of their officers elected will date from such muster. But the re-organization cannot take effect, nor pay begin under such muster, until the period prescribed by the regulations.

New volunteers enlisting for three years or the war may be received into such re-enlisted companies, or may form companies with re-enlisted men, which may be mustered during their furlough, such muster and reorganization to take effect as above provided.

13. Volunteers or recruits enlisting for three years or the war will receive a bounty of \$50, payable as soon as they are sworn into service and accepted upon inspection by a medical officer, together with transportation and subsistence from the time and place of enlistment, until inspected and mustered.

Persons authorized to receive enlistments may order the men enlisted to rendezvous at an appointed time and may make requisition for their subsistence there until fully organized; but volunteers enlisted by officers commissioned in advance by the President are not entitled to any allowance until organized into companies.

14. The right to receive recruits for three years or the war, to the number of 125 rank and file, has been extended, by acts of Congress, to companies now in service for twelve months, as well as to re-enlisted companies, and to all companies now in service for the war.

The regulations in regard to recruiting (General Orders, No. 6), and the regulations in regard to re-enlistment (General Orders, No. 1), and all the blank forms necessary for recruiting and mustering into service, may be obtained from the adjutant-general.

IV.—SUPPLIES AND ALLOWANCES.

15. All equipments, transportation, clothing, subsistence, &c., or commutation therefor, are furnished to troops in service by the proper officers, in conformity with regulations, and no person, not expressly commissioned for the purpose, can be authorized to make any purchase or contracts whatsoever for the government.

16. Contributions of clothing, or other stores for soldiers, hospitals, &c., will be transmitted free of charge, if delivered properly addressed to any officer of the quartermaster's department. Agents of States in charge of such articles will be allowed free transportation from their homes to the place of their destination and back.

Commutation is allowed the soldier for clothing, at the rate of \$25 for six months.

V.—FURLOUNDS, DISCHARGES, RESIGNATIONS, ETC.

17.—Applications for furloughs must be addressed to commanding officers.

No discharge will be granted except in case of physical disability, certified by a medical officer, unless a substitute be furnished for the war, in conformity with the regulations.

No resignation will be considered unless forwarded by commanding officers, nor accepted unless for satisfactory reasons stated.

18. All communications from persons in the service must be transmitted through the office of the adjutant-general, and all communications from subordinates must be duly forwarded through their commanding officer, or they will not be considered.

NOTE.—All communications from camps should contain, in addition to the specifications of the regiment, the name of the post office to which answer should be addressed.

INCIDENTS OF THE OCCUPATION OF MEMPHIS.—A gentleman who left Memphis about the time of its occupation by the enemy, furnishes us with some interesting incidents, which we append:—"When the Federals ascended to the roof of the post-office, for the purpose of hoisting the Stars and Stripes, the cheers, groans, yells, and hisses, of the inhabitants made the place a pandemonium, and some one in the crowd fired a pistol shot, which shattered the bricks on the cornice, barely missing the officer on the roof. A citizen slipped quietly up to the trap-door and locked it inside, and the Federals were prisoners. Word was sent to the Commodore, and he threatened to shell the town in twenty minutes if they were not released. The threat had its effect, and the Mayor took occasion to inform the Commodore that he was not responsible for the 'indignity.'—A Confederate flag was discovered on the bluff, flaunting in full sight of the Yankee squadron. The Commodore ordered it down. It wouldn't come. It was nailed to the masthead. A detachment was sent up with axes to cut down the pole. Again ensued a scene of angry commotion. The crowd surrounded the mast, and swore that the first man who touched it would be killed. Some of the Conservatives in the throng, because they counselled moderation, were set upon by the newboys and whipped. Several knock-downs took place. The detachment found it impossible to stem the current. Word was sent to the colonel of the regiment at the foot of the bluff, and four companies were despatched to cut down the Southern flag, which was done amid the groans and hisses of the crowd. Quiet was now again restored, and nothing more ensued during the day or night to disturb it.—*Mobile Register*.

THREE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF SETTLEMENT OF CAROLINA—JUNE, 1562.

(From the *Charleston Courier*.)

At any other period so important an anniversary as the completion of the three hundredth year since the planting of the first European colony on the shores of Carolina, and the erection of the first fortification on the Atlantic coast of North America, could not pass unnoticed by some signal commemoration; but we are now engaged rather in acting history than in recalling it. But even at this crisis, amid the din of arms, and during the impending conflict, it may not be uninteresting to go back 300 years, to the landing of Ribaut at Port Royal, in June, 1562.

The reign of Charles IX of France is memorable for the long struggle between the Huguenots and the adherents of the Church of Rome, a struggle embittered by the fires of religious animosity, and carried on with varying fortunes until it culminated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Lord Admiral de Castillon, better known to us as Admiral Coligny, had been enabled hitherto to maintain the cause of the Huguenots, but he saw evident symptoms of renewed conflicts, which might eventuate in their destruction. Taking advantage of the disposition of the times to carry on explorations and found settlements in America, he conceived the project of establishing a Transatlantic colony, which might serve as a place of refuge for his co-religionists, in case of disaster.

With this view, an expedition had been sent to South America, which, through the treachery of its leaders, had failed to accomplish its purposes. On February 18, 1562, another expedition set sail from France, under the command of Captain Jean Ribaut, an officer of much distinction and merit. This expedition consisted of two vessels only, but embraced many persons of gentle birth, and reputation. Among these was René de Laudaniere, who afterwards was the commander of Port Caroline, and to whom we are indebted for an account of the expedition. Ribaut arrived on the coast of Florida, near St. Augustine, in the month of April, discovered the entrance of the river St. John's on May 1, and from that circumstance gave it the name of the River May. He planted a stone column on shore graven with the arms of France, and performed the ceremonies of taking formal possession of the country. Coasting to the North, he discovered the rivers along the coast of Georgia, and gave them, from some fancied similarity, the names of the principal rivers of France, the Saône, the Loire, &c. After passing the Savannah, called by him the Gironde, a storm arose, during which the pinnaces sought shelter in the harbour of Port Royal, where they were in a day or two joined by the larger vessels.

The French were struck with the extent and beauty of the harbour, "which, because of the fairness and largeness thereof, were named Port Royal, for the depth is such, namely, when the sea beginneth to flow, that the greatest ships of France—yea, the Argosies of Venice, may enter in there"—says Laudaniere. The precise date of Ribaut's arrival at Port Royal is not known, but it was probably about the 1st of June, 1562, as he arrived in France, on his return voyage on July 2. Several days were spent by Ribaut in exploring the rivers emptying into the bay, and in further examination of the coast. There was, at that time, a generally entertained theory that some connection by water could be discovered by which access might be attained to the Pacific, or at all events, into the interior of Mexico. The river Jordan was the name attributed to this fabulous river, and Ribaut, from the size and depth of the entrance of Port Royal, concluded that he had discovered the famous river or stream which connected with it.

A column of stone, engraved with the arms of France, was erected a few days after their arrival upon a small island within the harbour. A plate in "DeBry's Florida," represents the location of this column, but as the column itself has never been found, its precise position cannot now with entire certainty be ascertained. Ribaut, after considerable exploration of the country, determined to plant a colony there. The position selected by him for the erection of a fort was upon an island, upon the banks of a creek, and as the garrison was to consist of but twenty-six men, the fort was made only sixteen fathoms in length and thirteen in breadth. The exact location of this fort, which they named Charles Fort, has been the subject of considerable discussion. The researches of late years have now established it with tolerable certainty, but I have not space here to refer to them.

The new Charles Fort being sufficiently completed for occupation, Captain Albert, with a garrison of twenty-five men, provisioned, and supplied with ammunition, were placed within it, and Ribaut prepared to further explore the coast, prior to his return to France, but soon turning his prow homeward, he reached the shores of France on July 20, 1562. The little garrison he left to occupy the country (which in his parting address to them he called New France), laboured assiduously to strengthen their defences, and encountered no great difficulties, until they found their store of provisions running short, which forced them to seek help of their Indian neighbours. To this was added the misfortune of the destruction of their fort by fire. With the assistance of their Indian friends, this was reconstructed in the short space of twelve hours. The scarcity of provisions increased, and with the want of food, came harshness and tyranny in their leader, and discontent and mutiny with his followers, which resulted in the execution of one of his men by the captain, and in his own assassination afterwards. Captain Albert having been killed, they chose Nicolas Barré as their chief, and the promised succour from France never having reached them, they determined to build a small vessel and return to their native country. With great difficulty, they succeeded in constructing a small pinnace, and with a scanty store of provisions, embarked for France, where they eventually arrived, after suffering great hardships, being picked up by an English vessel, when they were on the eve of perishing from hunger and thirst.

Such is a brief outline of the planting of the Huguenot colony, at Port Royal, 300 years since. The entertaining pages of W. Gilmore Simms, in the "Lily and Totem," invest with romantic interest the sojourn of Captain Albert and his followers on the coast of Carolina, while the reader will find in the dignified and accurate work of Professor Rivers the interesting historical facts connected with this expedition—as, if inclined to antiquarian research, in the ponderous folios of Hakluyt and the quaintly illustrated work of De Bry.

G. R. F.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee,
Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
illustrations of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; F. RIMALLIO AND NEYREY,
or Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. DEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byrom's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIPPING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANLEY BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somerly bound, 5s.

POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition.)
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.

PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition?
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 3d.

THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. BEALE. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.

DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.

HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition.)
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.

JESUS! OUR ARK.
ESSAYS: CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, and MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. F. WILLIAMS.

London: William Freeman 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.
THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal SYSTEM OF ADVERTISING.
Such like time and energy to every Northern man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already created in every Northern city, and
only hide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 29, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.

Address: ADAMÉ DE W., care of Mr. Jargier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 220,
Recent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chaussée d'Antin in Paris).

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.
On Wednesday, the 30th, will be published, in
1 vol. 8vo.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: an His-
torical View of Democracy in America. By
CORNELIUS DE WITT. Translated, with the Author's
sanction, by R. S. H. CHURCH.
London: LONGMAN, GREEN, AND CO., 14, Lud-
gate-hill.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice- President.
D. Jamieson, President.
A. Miltenberger, Secretary.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohn.
Nuno Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street,
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 252,008 88
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHIE, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner of Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 609,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 806,420 38
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 15th June, 1862.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 29, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Conolly. J. N. Nevins.
John Pemberton. S. O. Nelson.
P. Maspero. C. H. Slocomb.
P. Pont. B. F. Voorheir.
C. Hoid. B. O. Vignand.
G. Miltenberger.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.
OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 531,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,639 16
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, 43 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PATTERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 6s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.
Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Parcel Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 329th section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, quarantines, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship, any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be so carried, he shall for every such offence be
liable to be fined not exceeding £200; and the master or
owner of any ship may refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index,
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XVIII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has heretofore
been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Bay
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to be
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havana. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for the
Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—August 28, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 19.] LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 4, 1862. [PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	289
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	291
Manchester Letter	291
TOBACCO MARKET	291
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Lists of Killed and Wounded	291
Private Letters	292
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	293
Paris	294
LEADERS—	
The Federal Position in the South	296
Recognition: Europe, England, and the English Government	296
Continental Money—Assignats and "Greenbacks"	297
Duration of the War	298
The Case of the Factory Operatives	299
Mr. Smith on England and Canada	300
REVIEW—	
President Jefferson Davis	301
THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS	302
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	
ADVERTISEMENTS	304

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

The Confederate Congress assembled at Richmond on the 18th inst.

According to the telegraphic summary, the message of President Jefferson Davis (which we give *in extenso* in another page) is mainly devoted to suggestions for improvements in the naval and military departments of the Southern Confederacy, and to a denunciation of the war policy pursued by the North.

The President then says,—“The military events have assured the friends of Constitutional liberty of our final triumph in the pending struggle against despotic usurpation.”

The President denounces the Federal generals for arming slaves, and General Butler's proclamation; and states that the Federal Government evaded answering the inquiry whether they sanctioned these acts by replying that the inquiry was insulting. “Retaliatory measures must be adopted against those who disgrace the profession of war by making it an occasion for the commission of monstrous crimes.” The exasperation caused by failure has aroused “the worst passions of the enemy.” Relative to finance, President Davis says that the accumulated debt is small. An increased issue of Treasury notes for the service of the country is recommended. “The very large increased force of the Federal Government may hereafter render it necessary,” he continues, “to extend the provisions of the Conscription Act to citizens of from thirty-five to forty-five years of age. The vigour and efficiency of the present Confederate force, and the skill and ability of its leaders inspire the belief that no further enrolment will be necessary, but foresight has caused Congress to grant power to call more troops into the field if necessary.”

Among the proceedings in the Confederate House of Representatives, on the first day of the session, were the following:—“A Bill was introduced, making Treasury notes a legal tender in payment of debts,

and it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. A resolution was passed, directing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of compelling the Commissariat Department to furnish the soldiers with more and better food. Bills were introduced to extend the application of the Conscription Act to all citizens under forty-five years of age. To provide that slaves taken in arms shall be delivered up to the authorities of the State in which captured, to be disposed of according to its laws, and the white officers either to be hung or delivered up to the State authorities. Also several Bills for retaliatory purposes, among which it is provided that any Federal officers who may have refused to treat Confederate soldiers as prisoners, or punished innocent private citizens, shall be put to death if captured; that an equal number of prisoners (officers preferred) shall suffer the fate inflicted on captured Confederate soldiers or citizens; that Federal armies, incongruously composed of white and black, shall not be held entitled to the privileges of war, or to be taken prisoners, and that of such as may be captured, the negroes shall be returned to their masters or publicly sold, and their commanders to be hung or shot as may be most convenient. The various measures were referred to the Military Committee. Bills were likewise offered providing for the raising of 250,000 additional men, and for an export duty on cotton and tobacco of 20 per cent., to aid in indemnifying the losses of citizens by the enemy.”

In following the late movements in Virginia, it is necessary to bear in mind the positions occupied by the Northern armies at the beginning of August. General McClellan had been driven into a trap, and had remained shut up since the seven days' battle, menaced on every side by the Confederates, and cut off from supplies of fresh provisions, indispensable in Virginia at this season of the year, not merely to prevent sickness but to save an army from annihilation. His transports were, in their passage up or down the James River, within range of the Confederate batteries, and every day the remnant of the Army of the Potomac was being thinned by pestilence. He could not be succoured; he could not advance. To remain where he was invited certain destruction. He had to choose between surrender and retreat. Meantime the Washington Government reported that the attack on Richmond was to be renewed, but no one believed the report, or failed to perceive the critical position of the army. On August 16, General McClellan commenced his retreat. He divided his forces into two parts—the smaller half embarked on transports and proceeded down the James River, and the other portion retreated by land to Williamsburg and to Yorktown. It must be inferred, from the brief Northern announcement, that the retreat had been effected without any loss; but, at all events, we must remember that at the latest dates the retreat had not been completed. It is not likely that more, if so much, as a fourth, of McClellan's army embarked in transports on the James River.

The transports passed down the river and proceeded, *via* Fortress Monroe, to the Potomac River,

which they ascended, and landed the troops at Acquia Creek, a place situated between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers.

It is worthy of remark, that though the North manifests exceeding gladness that McClellan has retreated, it is not boasted that the retreat is a great strategic movement; and we should not be surprised to learn that this moderation is induced by disasters incident to the retreat, which have been carefully concealed from the public. All letters from the camp are liable to Government inspection, newspaper correspondents have been sent home; newspapers are under strict censorship; and for a private citizen to speak of Federal disasters, is to run the risk of imprisonment. So, for a few days, the United States' Government can conceal bad news. It is amusing to hear that McClellan's army is being daily reinforced. Whither are the fresh troops sent—to Williamsburg or to Acquia Creek? And further, are we to believe that an army preparing to retreat was daily reinforced?

So much at present for the Army of the Potomac. Let us now turn our attention to what is called the Army of the Virginia Valley. It was originally intended to protect Washington, and lately to make a diversion in favour of McClellan. The Battle of Cedar Mountain disconcerted the Federal plans. General Pope's mendacious narrative of that affair comes too late to deceive. We have detailed Southern accounts of the number of prisoners taken, including forty officers in Pope's army; and the completeness of the Confederate victory is also apparent from the subsequent movement of the Federals. General Pope, at first reported that he was pursuing General Jackson; next, we are told the Confederate commander has effected a *retreat* across the Rapidan, and gone the Northerners knew not where, and that he could not be followed because the Rapidan was impassable; that is, immediately after the passage of the Confederates, there was a sudden, we ought to say miraculous, increase of the waters of the river! The simple truth is, General Pope could not, and did not, attempt to follow his victorious foe, and his reported pursuit was just as veracious as his reported capture of 10,000 men of General Beauregard's army. After the Battle of Cedar Mountain there is a break in the Northern narrative, and we next hear that General Pope has adopted the strategy of retreat, that he has crossed the Rappahannock, and effected a junction with a portion of McClellan's army, which has been landed at Acquia Creek.

At last the truth oozes out. General “Stonewall” Jackson has again been at Pope, *forced him to retreat*, captured a staff-officer (and how many men, and how much booty?), and General Pope's personal baggage, maps, official despatches, and most valuable papers relating to the campaign. When Pope came to Virginia he said he had “never seen in the West anything but the backs of his enemies.” Certainly he has now shown *his* back to the enemy. We expect the official despatches must be amusing reading. Possibly there is a draft despatch for the capture of General Jackson's army, or at least 10,000 prisoners.

Assuming that Pope has effected a junction with

a portion of McClellan's troops, it is certain that the united armies are acting on the defensive; for the Northern accounts state that from the opposite, that is the south bank of the Rappahannock, the Confederates have several times attacked the Federals, but that General Pope has been able to hold his ground, and it is said that "the Federals can hold their position till the arrival of reinforcements enables them to assume the offensive." What a position for an invading army! Since the division and retreat of General McClellan's army, the Confederates would be able to concentrate an immense force against the Federals in their new position. It is likely that General Pope is ordered to protect Washington, and that any intention to advance on Richmond is not pretended. The New York telegram of August 25, says,—"It is rumoured that when the whole Federal army is concentrated in Virginia, General Halleck will assume the command-in-chief." When will the Federal army be thus concentrated? It seems to us that the Federal situation is critical; their forces are divided, and the army on the north bank of the Rappahannock is not only menaced by the Confederate forces withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Richmond, and from the James River, but it is open to an attack from General Jackson. The condition and situation of the Federal forces in Virginia are not, in our view, of a character to make the North confident and cheerful.

In our last issue we considered the subject of Confederate reprisals, and we intimated an opinion that the firmness of President Davis would check the savage lawlessness of Federal commanders. We were right. General Pope has issued an order which is equivalent to the withdrawal of his license to plunder the peaceful inhabitants, and he threatens to punish acts of pillage and outrage: General Halleck has also issued an order that officers and men are to be accountable for all property taken from the enemy, and that officers or men taking private property without authority will be shot. The officers of Pope's army, who were taken by General Jackson, have, despite their earnest protest, that they knew nothing about the order for reprisals, been treated as criminals, and not as prisoners of war; and we have very little doubt that this will induce the Federal authorities to annul Pope's other savage orders, and will generally improve the conduct of the Federals. We know of no other curb for brutality than the fear of punishment; but, happily, that is very effective.

We stated in our last issue that the Confederates had taken Baton Rouge, and our statement was strictly accurate. There was a plan for a combined assault; that is, whilst General Breckinridge attacked the Federal army the Arkansas was to drive off the Federal fleet. The Confederate commander knew perfectly well that the Northern troops would run to the shelter of their gunboats, and he wished to cut off this retreat. If we can place the slightest reliance on Northern accounts of the affair, it seems that General Breckinridge was not successful at the first assault, and therefore General Butler, as soon as a rumour of it reached New Orleans, sent a despatch to the Washington Government announcing a complete Federal victory. Towards the evening the attack was renewed, and the Federals were forced from their entrenchments, driven through the city, and had to seek the shelter of their gunboats. They were present to afford the needed protection, because the Arkansas had met with an accident which prevented her co-operation. The Confederate troops retired from the pursuit as soon as the enemy was covered by the fire of his gunboats; but not until they had made a large number of prisoners. They remained in Baton Rouge during the night, captured a valuable booty, and destroyed about \$500,000 worth of Federal property. Next morning General Breckinridge took up a position on the Comite River.

From latest accounts, it appears that the Federals have returned to Baton Rouge, and are daily expecting another attack, and that they have prepared to destroy the town if they are obliged to evacuate it. If the system of destroying Southern towns is commenced, we trust President Davis will at once

Put a stop to it by destroying a few Northern towns. If an invader cannot hold a town, he has no right, according to the laws of civilized warfare, to destroy it.

There is little doubt about the total destruction of the Arkansas. It is thus explained:—

The Arkansas left Vicksburg to co-operate in the attack on Baton Rouge. After passing Bayou Sara her machinery became deranged or disabled. While engaged in repairing, a fleet of gunboats from below attacked her. Gallant resistance was made, but the vessel had to be abandoned and blown up. The officers and crew reached the shore in safety. Lieutenant Stevens, of South Carolina, commanded the Arkansas; Commodore Brown being detained at Vicksburg, not having recovered from his wounds.

Although her career was so short, the Arkansas will never be forgotten by the historian of naval warfare.

Commander Farragut is reported to have destroyed Donaldsville, near New Orleans, because guerillas had fired on his fleet from the banks of the river. Donaldsville was a small, defenceless place. It is natural that a Federal commander who cannot beat his enemy, and has, on the contrary, been beaten, should satiate his vengeance on women and children. If guerillas offend, why not punish them, and not the people of Donaldsville? For two very sufficient reasons. The guerillas are not to be caught, and the peaceable inhabitants of a defenceless town can be attacked without fear of their retaliation. Commander Farragut has at length done something with his fleet.

Amongst the private letters which we publish in another part of this impression will be found some from New Orleans, from which may be formed an adequate conception of the miseries of the place, and of the anxiety felt by the tyrant Butler for the safety of his command and person. A telegram states he will "not be superseded at New Orleans." Not superseded! Any but a Northern commander—perhaps most Northern commanders—would have resented after being censured as he has been. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, according to a semi-official despatch—

Has made a report to the Federal Government upon the points which he lately went to New Orleans to examine, and President Lincoln has approved his conclusions. He recommends the return to the Dutch Consul of the \$800,000 seized by General Butler, and the payment to the French Consul of \$716,000, and also that a large amount of sugar and other merchandise should be relinquished to British, Greek and other foreign merchants in New Orleans. Mr. Johnson declares that these seizures by General Butler cannot be justified by civil or military law.

Let it be remembered how General Butler bullied the Consuls about this transaction, and it seems incredible that he can consent to hold office after this official condemnation.

General Butler has ordered a forced contribution of \$330,000 from the bankers, cotton-brokers, and merchants of New Orleans, for the support of the poor. The assessments are made in proportion to the sums subscribed by the merchants for the defence of New Orleans against the Federal Government. Nearly 200 firms are assessed. The principle of this assessment is remarkable. It is *ex post facto* legislation in its worst form. Men are to be punished for deeds done against the Federal Government when the Federals were not in New Orleans. General Butler is cunning as well as brutal. By this doctrine the whole of the inhabitants of New Orleans are guilty of treason, and all the property is at his disposal. Indeed, the general confiscation has begun.

General Butler has ordered all persons in New Orleans to deliver up all private arms.

The French Consul has protested against the compelling of French subjects to deliver up their arms, as unmistakable symptoms of a tendency to revolt had shown themselves, and in such a case the protection of the Federal Government could not be effective against internal enemies, whose language became daily more unrestrained, and who are only kept partially in subjection by the conviction that their masters are armed.

General Butler replied that there was not just cause of complaint, and that all persons must deliver up their arms. He has likewise ordered that as the people are now unarmed all burglaries and robberies with violence, and all aggravated insults, would be punished with death. All slaves giving information of the Confederate army would be emancipated.

The latter paragraph shows that General Butler is fully aware of his inability to keep order and to

protect the inhabitants. Possibly a general insurrection would meet with Butler's approbation, and hence his disarming the population.

The Confiscation Act has been put in force in Memphis by the seizure of 300 houses. In consequence of the absence of the owners, Mr. Lincoln cannot have the gratification of putting in force that part of the act which consigns them to death.

The war news from Tennessee is important. The Confederates are said to have been repulsed in an attack on Edgefield, a town to the north of Nashville, and which may be considered a suburb of that city. To have made the assault shows the power of the Confederates. They have captured Clarks-ville, and were advancing on Fort Donelson, and it is reported they have attacked it. In East Tennessee there is continual skirmishing, a kind of warfare that is doubly harassing to an invader. The Federals claim a victory at Cumberland Gap. They were lately repulsed at that place with great slaughter; and it appears that since there has been a skirmish, in which three Federals were killed and fifteen wounded. We have later advices from Tennessee, and they state that no battle has been fought since the engagement in which the Federals were defeated. It is said, "On August 12, the Federal General Miller, with two regiments, left Nashville and surprised a portion of General Morgan's command." If so, it was a very small portion, for General Morgan's forces are not numerous, and when on active service he keeps them well together.

Kentucky has been entered on three sides by the Confederate forces. The whole country is turned into a camp. Governor Magoffin has resigned, finding his post utterly untenable. The Mayor of Henderson has joined the Confederate army. At Richmond, twenty-five miles South of Lexington, there is a body of 3000 Confederate cavalry. General Kirby Smith, in command of 15,000 infantry, an adequate number of cavalry, and with twenty-four pieces of artillery, has captured Somerset and London, the latter place being in the direct rear of the Federals. Under the circumstances, it was hardly necessary to inform us that "the Federal General Buell is cut off, and it is feared he is in a precarious position. Communication between Kentucky and Nashville is interrupted." The Kentuckians are now fighting the battle of independence with the utmost ardour. In this conjuncture the Federals were withdrawing some regiments from Indiana. Two have gone and seven more are promised. "They will go amply prepared in all but discipline for the conflict." To send forth well equipped and undisciplined troops is very much like making a present of warlike stores to the enemy. But if the regiments were the best troops in the United States, what use are they in such a State as Kentucky? And with a conspiracy numbering 15,000 persons to aid the Confederate cause, is it safe to denude Indiana of Federal forces?

From Missouri we learn, through Northern channels, that one or two guerilla bands have been repulsed or defeated. This may be true, but nothing, at all events, is said about the recapture of the towns taken by the Confederates. We have latterly noticed that the accounts of Confederate successes are usually preceded by guerilla bands being repulsed.

The Washington Government has created a new military department, composed of the States of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Kentucky, east of Tennessee River, including Cumberland Gap, to be called the Department of Ohio, under the command of General Wright. Before General Wright can command he will have to conquer.

In Arkansas the Confederates have been reinforced, and their ordnance has been increased. The following Northern item is an apology for a defeat:—

An engagement is reported to have taken place at Clarendon, Arkansas, between six regiments of Federal infantry, under General Hovey, and eight cavalry regiments, and part of an infantry brigade. The Federals are reported to have been victorious, capturing 700 prisoners. The loss was heavy on both sides.

The Federals are only "reported to have been victorious," whereby we know them to have been

defeated; and "the loss was heavy on both sides" means that the disaster was severe. But our readers do not require our assistance to translate Federal war news.

At Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, there has been a massacre by the Indians of 500 white persons.

There was an accident on the James River, one transport getting foul of another, and eighty sick soldiers were drowned. But when a whole army of Federals has perished in Virginia, the death of eighty sick soldiers by drowning seems a trifling incident.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay has made two speeches, one at Washington and the other at Pittsburg, and as they both violently denounced England, it is hardly necessary to add that they were received with enthusiasm. In Washington he said:—

England is the most unfriendly nation upon the earth. Her conduct on the Slavery question was hellishly damnable hypocrisy. She was looking for America's downfall, but France protected America. He would not desist speaking against England. When England threatened the national existence, Napoleon was the firm and fixed friend of America. Therefore, let America appeal to France not to stand by and let the American Republic be destroyed by England. Russia was a strong ally of America. He was surprised and struck with admiration at the condition of the Russian people; for England had so misrepresented them. The Russian Royal family is the most lively, intelligent, and virtuous family that ever occupied a throne.

This is the return England gets for neutrality, a neutrality that is, in fact, friendship to the United States and hostility to the Confederate States. The reference to the private life of the Royal family of Russia is an indelicate impertinence, intended, no doubt, to show the gaping audience that Mr. Cassius M. Clay is familiar with courts.

Mr. Lincoln has addressed a deputation of coloured men in a speech that has given great offence to the Abolitionists. He said:—

You and we are a different race. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. There is an unwillingness on the part of our people, harsh as it may be, for you free coloured people to remain with us. When you cease to be slaves you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. You are cut off from many of the advantages which the other race enjoy. The aspiration of man is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent not a single man of your race is made the equal of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you. I do not propose to discuss this, but to present it as a fact with which we have to deal. I cannot alter it if I would. I do not know how much attachment you may have toward our race. It does not strike me that you have the greatest reason to love them, but still you are attached to them at all events.

The chairman of the delegation briefly replied that they would hold a consultation, and in a short time give an answer. The President said, "Take your full time. No hurry at all." The delegation then withdrew.

The coloured race hardly needed to be officially informed of Northern hatred, for they knew that by experience. The "no hurry at all" was rather sarcastic, though perhaps unintentionally so.

The bounties have been raised, and the enlistments are said to go forward more rapidly. In some cases the bounty amounts to \$500. Drafting was to commence on September 1.

On the 22nd August,

General Cocoran entered New York amid public demonstrations of welcome surpassing those extended to the Prince of Wales. The demonstration was planned with the view of encouraging enlistments among the Irish.

We question if the Irish are to be caught by such a bait, since they have been able to refuse large bounties.

This General Cocoran was captured by a lad sixteen years of age, belonging to the 4th Alabama Regiment.

Gold at New York is 15½ per cent. premium, and advancing.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 3rd, 1862.

We have had so repeatedly of late to describe wild and excited markets, that the subject has almost become stale, and the advances have been so rapid and continuous, that the mind is scarcely able to grasp them in all their bearings. We can only repeat that the week under review has not yielded to any of its predecessors in violent excitement and great appreciation of values.

Our last report left Middling Orleans with 25½ to 26, and fair Dhollerah 17d., with an immense speculative business doing. On Thursday there was no abatement; the sales reached 24,000 bales, at ½d. advance. On Friday the demand was less active; sales 12,000 bales, but firm, ½d. to ¾d. dearer. The week's returns showed a smaller delivery to the trade than was expected, viz., 14,000 bales, on which account the stock remained at a higher figure than was looked for—62,000 bales.

On Saturday the Arabia's news was to hand, and proved intensely warlike in tone. The North was getting its first instalment of 300,000 men without very much difficulty, and the determination of the people to carry on the war to the subjugation of the South was apparently growing in strength. In addition to this stimulus, our market was powerfully affected by the prevailing feeling in Manchester. The excitement there was even greater than here, and an immense business was done on Friday, which brought spinners freely into our market on Saturday. The consequence was, that we had one of the most excited days yet witnessed, with a business of 15,000 bales; American cotton advanced 1d. to 1½d., and Surats ¾d. to 1d.

On Monday, the eagerness to buy was just as great, and a further rise of about equal amount took place; but on Tuesday, some hesitation began to be shown. A marked pause occurred in the forenoon, and operators anxiously waited for the response from Manchester. The report from there was to the effect that the market was wild with excitement, at 3d. advance on yarns since Friday, and 2s. 6d. per piece in goods; and this gave renewed confidence to buyers. A fair business was done in the afternoon, making the sales 8000 bales, and putting Middling Orleans to the long-talked-of figure of 2s. 6d. per lb. To-day, however, a decided change in the tone has occurred. A fair speculative inquiry showed itself in the morning; but as sellers met it freely, buyers began to lose confidence, and stopped operations; and in consequence some little weakness in prices has been evinced. American cotton in a few cases can be bought at ¾d. to 1d. below the extreme points reached, and Surats ¾d. per lb. The sales are estimated at 5000 bales, and the quotation for middling Orleans may be given roughly at 29d. to 30d. In Surats the greatest rise for the week has been in Broach and Saugurind, which are increasingly required to take the place of American. These qualities have been sold as high as 24d. and 27d. The quotation for Fair may be put at 22d. for Broach, 19d. for Dhollerah, 19½d. for Omrawuttee, and 18d. for Comipat.

In cotton to arrive, the turn-over, as usual, has been enormous; and the nominal value for to-day is 20d. for May Broach, 18½d. for Dhollerah and Omrawuttee, and about ¾d. less per month as the time of shipment is more distant.

Our market is now so purely at the mercy of unreasoning and blind speculation, that it is impossible to form any safe calculation of its future movements. The immense gulf of unemployed money at Manchester and here, applies an increasing stimulus to its lagging energies, and no sooner is one set of operators tired of the game than another is ready to take their place. Still it is perfectly plain that our market, at those extravagant prices, is exceedingly liable to squalls, and it would not be surprising if it was suddenly upset by a gust from some quarter that is little expected.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 2nd, 1862.

The excitement which has prevailed in our yarn and cloth market during the past week, is such as was never witnessed here before. Speculators having come forward and taken nearly everything that was offered for sale, price being scarcely a consideration, especially as regards India shirtings and jaconets.

On Wednesday there was a brisk demand for export yarns, and an advance of from ¾d. to 1d. per lb. was obtained upon the prices of Tuesday. India shirtings realised 3d. per piece advance upon the prices of the day before.

On Thursday the demand was very active for India shirtings, when 1s. per piece advance was easily obtained. The total amounts of sales of this fabric being very great. No 14s warps spun from Surats, fetched 2s. per lb. or 5d. per lb. advance upon Tuesday's quotations, and to show the anomalous state of our market, we have only to mention that if these No. 14s warps had been converted into T cloths, they would only sell to-day at 22d. per lb. Madapolans have sold to-day at 23d. per lb., and if the material had been yarn instead of cloth it would be worth 2s. per lb., and again, if the yarn had been in the raw cotton state it would be worth 2s. 3d. per lb.

On Friday we had another excited market, shirtings advanced another 1s. per piece, and jaconets could not be obtained on a basis of 6s. per piece for 14 by 14, 20 yards, 7s. being the price demanded; Printers sold at the rate of 2s. 1d. per lb. for 9/8 17 by 17.

Home trade yarns were from 2d. to 3d. per lb. over Tuesday's quotations for all numbers up to No. 40s, and from 60s upwards, an advance of from 3d. to 4d. per lb. was obtained. No. 30s water twist realised 2s. 6½d. per lb., but we heard of one large lot, of 20s water spun from American cotton having been cleared off at 2s. per lb., a comparatively low figure owing to this number having been rather neglected.

On Saturday there was more enquiry for cloth, especially for Indian qualities, but as 17s. to 18s. were asked for good nikes of 8½ lb. very little actual business transpired.

On Monday the demand for cloth continued, and large quantities of 8½ lbs. shirtings were sold at 17s. 6d. per piece, another 1s. advanced. 9/8 16 by 16 printers 8½ lb. sold for 19s per piece, whilst 17 by 17 ditto 10 lbs. were held for 23s. to 24s. per piece. No. 20s water spun from American cotton, had 2s. 3d. per lb. offered for it and was refused.

To-day speculators have brought largely of both cloth and yarns, but more especially the former, consisting of shirtings, jaconets and printers. India shirtings have been sold at another advance of from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per piece for 8½ lb. of the best makes, in all about 4s. 6d. per piece above the price of this day week. 9/8 printers realised an improvement of 2s. to 2s. 6d. per piece on the rates of yesterday; T cloths have improved proportionately, long cloths being rather neglected, quotations are only nominal. Madapolans are much enquired for to-day, but as they are very hard to find, we have heard of no sales in them. Domestics remain at about 22d. per lb. It must be borne in mind that all the large purchases of cloth made during this week will have to be brought on this market again for resale, as the business has consisted entirely of sales from one speculator to another.

Holders of export yarns have not been enabled to obtain the advance asked to-day, so that we have to report very little actual business in them.

Home trade yarns are again higher in price, 32s. twist cops; best spinings are worth 2s. 6d. per lb.; 40s. ditto, 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d. per lb.; 60s. ditto have been sold at 3s. 1d. per lb.; but

most spinners are holding for 3s. 4d. per lb., all finer grades being in proportion.

The following are to-day's quotations for some of our principal fabrics:—9/8 printer's, 16 by 16, 9 lbs., 22s. to 22s. 6d. per piece; 17 by 17 ditto, 10 lbs., 24s. 6d. per piece; 18 by 18 ditto, 10 lb. 8 ozs., 26s. per piece; 72 reed ditto, 22 picks, 30s. per piece; 25-inch ditto, 16 by 16, 8 lbs., 19s. per piece; 27-inch ditto, 17 by 17, 8 lbs. 4 ozs., 20s. per piece; 7 lbs. T. cloth, 14 by 14, 14s. per piece; Mexican T cloth about 2s. 4d. per lb.; 6 lb. shirtings, 12 by 10, 14s. to 14s. 6d. per piece; 7 lbs. ditto, 14 by 13, 16s. to 16s. 6d. per piece; 8½ lbs. ditto, 16 by 16, 19s. was taken by some, and refused by others.

TOBACCO.

The sales of American tobacco for the month of August were 1761 hog-heads in London, and 1235 in Liverpool. There is scarcely any stock of Virginia, and the small quantity on hand being held for extreme prices, buyers were thrown chiefly on Western leaf and Marylands, and such small proportion of Western strips as is absolutely essential to their trade. The gradual hardening of the market brought low tobacco and every kind of substitute more into play, and the taking of Marylands by the Irish for their fillers, is strong evidence of the scarcity of all short cheap tobacco for this purpose.

The returns of duty paid for the seven months ending July 31, show a further falling off in the consumption of stemmed, but a total increase upon the same period last year. The figures are as follows:—

Duty-paid tobacco for the United Kingdom during seven months, ending July 31,—

	1861.	1862.
Stemmed	11,024,207 lbs.	9,157,129 lbs.
Unstemmed	8,944,238	11,113,424
	19,968,445	20,270,553

The excess in leaf more than making up the falling off in the use of strips.

The tendency of the market is upward, and the advices to hand to-day, per City of Baltimore, promising a Confederate tax on tobacco by an export duty of 20 per cent., has imparted an additional stimulus.

STOCKS, SEPTEMBER 1, IN HOGSHEADS AND TIERCES.

	Virginia.		Western.			
	Strips.	Leaf.	Strips.	Leaf.	Marylands.	Total.
London	508	521	5287	7635	6218	20,169
Liverpool ..	781	325	6310	4041	4213	15,670

Of negro-head and Cavendish the quantity is 2329 packages in London, 1112 in Liverpool, and the stock is held for higher prices. The last Australian accounts quote a considerable advance in manufactured tobacco, and merchants are disposed to await the arrival of another mail, when a scale may be established in proportion to the Australian prices.

QUOTATIONS.

Virginia leaf	10d.	to 13d.	per lb.
Do. strips	17d.	" 20d.	"
Western leaf—			
Common to medium export..	5½d.	" 9d.	"
Good and fine	9½d.	" 12d.	"
Western strips	12d.	" 16d.	"
Marylands	5½d.	" 9d.	"
Negro-head and Cavendish....	Nominal.		

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN ALABAMA REGIMENTS.

The Mobile Register has the following lists:—

Company E ("Hamp. Smith Rifles," of Mobile), 8th Alabama Regiment, in the battle of 27th June, at Gaines's Farm, north-east of this city. Killed: 1st Sergeant Robert G. De Haven. Wounded: Capt. C. Blackwood, stunned and knocked down by the explosion of a shell near him, then severely injured by our troops running over him in the charge; Lieut. Eugene Brooks, stunned and disabled for several hours by explosion of a shell near him, now recovered; Privates Edward Moore, painful in shoulder; James Mammell, in arm and shoulder; Robert Strickland, in leg; Jacob Stanton, in leg, slight; James McMeckan, right breast, dangerous; M. Fitzgerald, right shoulder; James Dimond, right shoulder; Edward Skehan, in leg, slight; James Bracken, in foot, severe; Patrick Cannavan, left foot and right thigh.

All on our right acted with desperate courage, charging the enemy's immense force and driving them from covering of woods and breastworks of logs, protected by a wide ditch; then from their earthworks. The enemy had sixteen pieces artillery, two divisions infantry, and four companies cavalry defending the position, which was stormed and carried by Fickett's, Pryor's, and (our) Wilcox's brigades. The enemy were in three lines of battle first, in wooded ravine—line formed behind breastwork of logs, with wide ditch and a fence in front; second, line of battle in open field, 150 yards in rear of first, and on ascent of hill; third line of cavalry, infantry, and ten pieces of artillery on top of hill. We charged for near half-a-mile through open fields; down a hill to ravine (under fire of their three lines); across fence and ditch and breastworks of logs, and (there 1 was stunned and trampled on) through woods, up hill; then, about 7 o'clock, p.m. General Jackson's division opened on enemy's flank and rear (our extreme left), and their retreating forces fled to the swamp. Our troops were under the most continuous and severe fire of artillery and infantry that has occurred in this war, from 4 o'clock p.m. to 7 o'clock p.m. Our brigade fought Porter's division of United States' Regulars, and we never wavered, never faltered, pressed steadily forward, through the fire of a division of infantry and sixteen pieces of artillery, using shell, canister, and grape at "point blank" range.

The following is a list of Officers Killed and Wounded in 8th Alabama Regiment:—

Killed: Capt. Thos. Phelan, Company A, stunned and died in a few hours, by explosion of shell near him—no scar, no wound; Lieut. Maynard and Loyal, Company B; Lieut. Jansen, Company G (German Fusiliers, of Mobile); Lieut. Lane, Company F. Wounded: Lieut. R. Heard (Company A) in leg; Capt. G. W. Hamon (Company B), in groin, dangerously; Lieut. McKew (Company C), in hand and leg; Stephens' Guards, of Mobile—Capt. C. Blackwood (Company E), stunned by explosion of shell and severely bruised—re-

covering slowly; Lieutenant Eugene Brooks (Company E), stunned by explosion of shell—recovered nearly entirely; Captain Emrich (Company G), in right shoulder, severely; Capt. Livingstone (Company H), in leg, slightly.

Company H (Independent Scouts of Mobile)—Wounded: Lieut. Scott, in leg; Lieut. Rice, in arm.

Company I (Emerald Guards of Mobile)—Wounded: Lieut. McGraw, in neck, severely.

Company K—Wounded: Lieut. Bennett, in thigh, dangerous.

In the fight at Frazier's Farm, south-east of Richmond, on Monday, 1st instant, my company was commanded by Lieut. A. H. Raveisies. In that severe fight the loss was, so far as I have learned, as follows:—

Killed: 2nd Sergeant Isaac Van Meter. Wounded: 5th Sergeant Wm. A. Ryan, in leg; Privates Robert Adams, in mouth; Wm. W. M. White, in leg, slightly.

Company A—Killed: Lieut. McGlocklin.

Company C—German Fusiliers of Mobile. Wounded: Lieut. Roler, dangerously.

Company L—Emerald Guards of Mobile. Wounded: Lieut. Nugent, severely.

Capt. W. F. Cleveland and Lieut. A. H. Raveisies, of Mobile, are unhurt and safe.

On Friday evening, 27th, our regiment went into the fight about 440 rank and file, and next evening could muster only 180 rank and file. On Monday evening our regiment went in with 180, and came out with not over ninety men. When the deeds, and daring, and fearlessness, and determined charges of the 8th Alabama Regiment in these two charges, unsupported by artillery, or their fighting at "Williamsburg" and "Seven Pines," are eclipsed, then let the daring braves who accomplished the deed wear the medal for superior bravery. The 4th, 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Alabama, all did well—unsurpassed. The 11th Alabama, at dark, came up in good style, and did well.

McClellan's army is routed, and a large portion of it surrendered. We have two Yankee Major-Generals—McCall, second in command to McClellan, and Reynolds; and have and are capturing Brigadier-Generals, Colonels, and Captains, "all you can't rest." The would-be Napoleon is not even Archduke Charles. We are almost certain to catch him.

The 8th Alabama Regiment was organized June 10, 1861, and numbered 1012 men. To-day, from skirmishes, battles, &c., we cannot muster over 100 men able for duty. We have done our duty to our State. Your obedient servant,

CRAWFORD BLACKWOOD,

Captain Company E, 8th Alabama Regiment.

To Hon. John Forsyth.

The following is a List of Casualties in the Sumter Rifles, in the 5th Alabama Battalion:—

Killed:—Lieut. D. H. Husted, head; Sergeant J. H. Boyle, head; Sergeant Wren, head; Sergeant E. Houston, head; Corporal Branch, head; Corporal F. Camber; Privates F. Ford, Steele, J. M. Hodges, J. Bonecastle, R. E. Harwood, bowels; R. H. Moore, bowels; J. J. Whitaker, bowels; J. Tompkins, W. Murphy.

Wounded: Capt. Vemede Grant, foot; J. R. Bradshaw, thigh; T. Bradshaw, arm broke; J. Y. Frost, spent ball; N. Little, side; B. B. Little, side; N. Hill, neck; G. W. Holloway, scalped; B. D. Nance, slight; J. Ormond, spent ball; J. Patton, breast; E. T. Ramsey, right arm; S. B. Spight, scalped; W. W. Drummond, thigh; Gilbert, in head; T. Barnes, bowels; A. Geiger, foot; M. L. Holland, jaw; A. A. Greer, back and lungs; G. N. Boyd, stomach; W. S. Hale, mouth; E. E. Hayden, slight; Carpenter, three fingers off left hand; Dunning, Clary, shoulder; Ferguson, thigh.

Missing:—Fargo, James Thompson, M. O'Connor.

The following are the Casualties in Company G, German Fusiliers, (8th Alabama Regiment) in the battle near Richmond, on June 27, 1862:—

Killed: Lieut. A. Jansen, Privates A. Schultz, J. H. Stumm Thomas Keefe, Ben. Collins, John Baskman.—Total 6 Wounded: Captain John P. Emrich (Acting Major), neck; Sergeant C. F. Wacker, arm and side; Sergeant Wm. Brown, head; Privates F. Muller, foot; H. Scharf, side; A. Kramse, shoulder; P. Remers, knee; Jos. Gratz, finger; Frank Striag-fellow, shoulder, severely; John H. Deely, head, mortally.

In the battle on Monday (June 30) the loss in the same company was as follows:—

Killed: Sergeant F. Steidl, Corporal P. Keeper, Privates H. Hackmeir, Fred. Schmidt. Wounded: Lieut. A. Kohler, severely; Sergeant George Schwartz, leg; Private John Schmidt.

We glean the following items from the *Mobile Register*:—

August 10.

A special despatch to the *Tribune*, from Grenada, says the *Memphis Bulletin* of the 7th, states that the Confederates have inaugurated guerilla warfare in Arkansas on an extensive scale, and mentions several brilliant exploits. On Sunday they attacked two Yankee regiments, dispersing them completely, capturing sixty waggons of provisions and over 300 stolen negroes. Twenty-seven of the latter escaped the same day. They bagged another party from Jacksonport, killing seventeen and capturing twenty waggons of provisions. Ninety men were attacked near Helena, and were nearly annihilated, only two escaping.

A serious rebellion is expected among the Mormons, which, it is feared, will result in war with the Federal Government.

August 9.

A special despatch to the *Tribune* of this city, dated Grenada, to-day, says:—The *St. Louis Republican*, of the 4th, says that the "rebel guerillas have taken complete possession of Missouri, and are daily growing into a vast army. Nearly 30,000 of them have crossed the Missouri river under Porter and Joe Thompson, clearing out the Home Guards and militia as they progress. They are raising numberless recruits for the Southern army. Six hundred have turned up at Bird's Point, threatening Cairo, where there is but a small garrison, "Governor" Gamble finds it impossible, under the circumstances, to get the militia to respond to his call, and has issued another appeal to them.

THE BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN.

The following accounts are taken from the Richmond papers:—

(From the *Examiner*.)

At the Meadow Bridges, five miles north of Richmond, between the hours of 4 and 6 p.m., on Saturday, a heavy and continuous cannonade was heard in the direction of Orange

Court House. We have since learned from a trustworthy source that about the time indicated an engagement between the advanced forces of Pope and General Jackson was fought, resulting in a decided victory for us, at a point on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, near Orange Court House.

We have as yet been unable to learn the particulars.

P.S.—Since the above was written, we have received the glorious news of a complete victory over Pope's forces, in which we have taken as prisoners one of his Brigadier-Generals and twenty-nine commissioned officers, all of whom arrived at Gordonsville last night, handcuffed.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

The ball was opened on Saturday morning, at Mitchell's station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, by a spirited engagement between a small portion of Jackson's army and a similar force of the enemy, which resulted in the utter rout of the latter, with severe loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the prisoners were Brigadier-General Prince and some twenty-nine minor commissioned officers; the privates captured number some 330. The particulars of the engagement have not transpired. Intelligence from Gordonsville, on yesterday, informs us that fighting had commenced in earnest about that point, at an early hour, and that Jackson was making the attack, advancing upon the enemy from three different bases. The arrangements for the conflict were considered admirable, and inspiring us with entire confidence as to the success of the Confederate arms. The name of Jackson is already wreathed with undying laurels; and we wait with impatient anticipation of again uniting in the popular exultation which his deeds heretofore have always produced.

(From the *Richmond Dispatch*.)

The prelude to the battle of Saturday evening occurred on Friday, in Culpepper county, beyond the Rapidan River, in a skirmish between the advance of our army and a larger force of the enemy. The latter retreated with some loss in killed and wounded, and twenty-one prisoners fell into our hands, including three commissioned officers, who arrived here, by way of Lynchburg, on Sunday night. The pursuit was continued for some distance, and the Yankee forces made a stand at South-west Mountain, near Mitchell's station, about six miles beyond the Rapidan. Slight skirmishing was kept up on Saturday morning, and in the afternoon of that day, about 4 o'clock, an attack was made upon the enemy by a portion of the division of General Ewell, and a brigade under General C. S. Winder. Over 300 prisoners were captured in this engagement, including thirty commissioned officers.

One of the latter admits that a Federal division was cut to pieces while endeavoring to surround the Stonewall brigade, and the general belief is that the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is at least four times greater than ours. It was while bravely leading on the men under his command that General Winder was shot through the breast, and almost instantly killed. At one moment the fate of his brigade seemed in doubt, when his supports came up, and the enemy was driven back under an impetuous onset. On Saturday night the division of General A. P. Hill was engaged, and the whole Federal force retreated, the pursuit being kept up for a distance of some five miles. Heavy and rapid firing was heard after midnight, and the supposition is that a battle took place immediately on the Rapidan River, near the line of Fauquier county.

The prisoners were sent back to Gordonsville, whence they were transferred by railroad to Richmond, guarded by a detachment of the 1st Maryland Regiment, under Captain W. Goldsborough.

According to the statements of prisoners, the force under General Pope amounts to 40,000 men.

General C. S. Winder was a nephew of General John H. Winder, the commander of the Department of Henrico, and was probably the youngest Brigadier in the Confederate army.

BRIGADIER GENERAL PRINCE.

This officer, who was captured by our forces in the fight at South-west Mountain, on Saturday last, is an officer of the old United States' army. In the Mexican war he acted as Adjutant-General of the brigade commanded by General Sterling Price, whose confidence and esteem he possessed. When the present war broke out, Prince was a captain of dragoons at Fort Leavenworth, and afterwards became commandant of that post. In his intercourse with the people of Missouri and Kansas, he is represented to have acted with gentlemanly courtesy, and had the respect of those who opposed the policy of his Government. Such was his leniency towards the Confederates in Missouri that he incurred the suspicion and ill-will of such tyrants as Sigel, Lane, &c. These facts we obtain from an officer connected with General Prince's staff during his celebrated Missouri campaign.

ARRIVAL OF PRISONERS FROM POPE'S ARMY.

The central train that arrived at 4 o'clock yesterday morning, brought to this city 303 of Pope's Hessians, captured on Saturday, near South-west Mountain, by the advance forces of General Jackson's army. Accompanying the above were Brigadier-General H. Prince, a Yankee general, and twenty-seven commissioned officers, who, together with the men, were lodged in the Libby Prison.—Prince, for a few hours, was lodged at the Exchange Hotel. The recent proclamation declared Pope and his commissioned satellites to be without the usages of warfare, and not entitled to the privileges of ordinary prisoners of war. Orders were issued to place all of the captured officers in close confinement. At the Libby Prison they were put with the deserters and other persons to whom infamy attaches. An examination was made into the condition of the county jail, with a view to their incarceration there, but the structure was deemed unsafe. They have not been permitted to associate with the Federal officers, and appear very downcast at the prospect before them. We append a list of the officers captured at South-west Mountain, as follows:—

Capt. G. B. Halstead, Adjutant-General Augur's division; 2nd Lieut. Vealor Moses, 109th Pennsylvania; Colonel George D. Chapman, 5th Connecticut; 1st Lieut. S. J. Widvey, 3rd Wisconsin; Captain W. D. Wilkins, Assistant-Adjutant General, Williams' division; Capt. H. S. Russell, 11, 2nd Massachusetts; Capt. J. H. Vanderman, K, 66th Ohio; 2nd Lieut. Wm. Alister, 11, 28th New York; 2nd Lieut. J. Long, 11, 28th New York; 1st Lieut. J. D. Belsoloxley, D, 10th Maine; 1st Lieut. H. N. Greatrake, B, 46th Pennsylvania; 1st Lieut. M. P. Whitney, E, 5th Connecticut; Capt. P. Griffith, A, 46th Pennsylvania; 2nd Lieut. Chas. Sydnor, D, 8th U. S. Infantry; 1st Lieutenant H. C. Egbert, G, 12th U. S. Infantry; 2nd Lieut. J. D. Woods, B, 28th New York; 1st Lieut. A. A. Chinery, E, 5th Connecticut; 1st Lieut. T. R. Gorman, H, 46th Pennsylvania; 2nd Lieut. A. W. Selfridge, H, 46th Pennsylvania; 2nd Lieut. Otis Fisher, B, 8th U. S. Infantry; 2nd Lieut. Wm. M. Green, A, 102nd New York; 2nd Lieut. A. Walker, I, 3rd Maryland; Capt. R. A. Bowen, D, 28th New York; Major E. W. Canke, 28th New York; 1st Lieut. Wm. H. Kenyon, C, 28th New York; 2nd Lieut. J. D.

Ames, K, 28th New York; 2nd Lieut. Charles Doyle, D, 5th Connecticut.

POPE'S CAPTURED OFFICERS.

We understand that the officers of Pope's command, lately taken prisoners by "Stonewall" Jackson, professed never to have heard of President Davis' late proclamation with reference to the commissioned brigades of that army, and declared that they had supposed they were engaged in civilized warfare! They burn down our houses, destroy our property, insult our women, arm the contrabands against us, hang and shoot our patriotic guerillas, throw whole communities of peaceful citizens into jail to be gibbeted in case our guerillas kill any more of their bands of cut-throats and robbers, and consider all this a civilized mode of warfare. It is only when the same kind of civilization is applied to themselves that they discover their mistake. The truth is, we have borne these horrible outrages so long and so quietly that our moderation and forbearance have been attributed to fear, and to an inward conviction that we are wrongdoers and deserve all the punishment we are receiving at Yankee hands. They will now discover their mistake. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life, will be henceforth meted out to these robbers and murderers with the most scrupulous accuracy. It is true that 10,000 lives of such depraved wretches could not atone for the life of one pure, high-minded patriot; but as each of them values his existence as highly as honest men, the wholesome lesson of retribution will not be without its influence. All the atrocities and horrors that may characterize the war hereafter rest upon the heads of the invaders, who have inaugurated the system of hanging prisoners, and who have manifested in their whole conduct of the war a degree of inhumanity and barbarity which has shocked the moral sense of the world.

We trust most devoutly that old "Stonewall" may succeed in capturing the arch-fiend and savage, Pope himself. If he were not as fleet in foot as black in heart, we might anticipate a luxury, compared with which the capture of a thousand other Yankee Generals would be dull and insipid. Pope and Butler! If these two precious miscreants could only fall into Southern hands!

The officers who arrived from Gordonsville, twenty-seven in number, and who were captured by General Jackson on Saturday, will not be considered prisoners of war so long as the recent offensive and uncivilized order of General Pope remains unrevoked. They have all, General Prince included, been placed in the Libby Prison, and will in a few days be separately confined, to be tried, and finally punished as felons, should the Government of the North persist in claiming the right to murder and pillage.

(From the *Examiner*.)

From the best information we have been able to obtain, the battle on Saturday occurred in Culpepper county, at a point on the Orange and Alexandria Railway, six miles beyond the Rapidan river. The forces engaged were a portion, on our side, of Ewell's division, and on the part of the enemy three or more brigades, amounting to between 8000 and 10,000 men. The slaughter of the Yankees is said to have been frightful—out of all proportion to the number taken prisoners. An entire regiment, whilst charging one of our batteries, was ambuscaded and literally annihilated.

General Beauregard, who has been suffering from diptheria, is now convalescent.

THE RICHMOND MARKET.

(From the *Richmond Examiner*, August 2.)

We have more than once taken occasion to allude to the exorbitant prices demanded for the necessities of life in our markets, particularly the products of the soil. A gentleman who has devoted a number of years to the cultivation of these articles, furnishes us with the following startling facts as to what the products of one acre of ground are worth at the ruling rates:—"Green corn, \$1 per dozen, \$50 per barrel, allowing 600 ears to the barrel (eight barrels to the acre is considered a good crop, hence one acre of roasting ears in our market would be worth \$400); onions, 10 cents a-piece, \$15,000 per acre, allowing them to be planted in rows three by six inches, besides a large margin for walks; beets about the same; cabbage, \$1 per head, \$5,000 per acre, planted three feet apart; Irish potatoes, \$8 to \$16 per bushel—100 bushels to the acre would be worth \$800 to \$1,600 per acre; tomatoes \$1 per dozen, allowing 100 to the hill, the hills nearly three feet apart, \$40,000 per acre. At four cents per hill, one acre in tomatoes would produce \$200 worth." These are really startling figures, and without making the calculation to determine their accuracy, we submit them to the public. At ordinary prices, from \$200 to \$300 worth of vegetables is considered a good yield per acre. Cotton planting, the most profitable species of land cultivation, does not average more than \$100 to \$200 per acre.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following extracts are from a letter written by a Southern officer of high rank to his wife. Speaking of the battle before Richmond, he says:—

We captured about \$2,000,000 worth of stores and ammunition. Only think of McClellan saying he had lost one tent and one wagon. We have taken 70 guns, 100 waggons, 1200 horses, and 70,000 arms; as for tents and other things, they are too numerous to mention. You would have laughed to see the Yankees up to their necks in mud, and our dragoons hauling them out by their ears.

Ewell is with Jackson and with his glorious Maryland regiment. Are you not proud of that regiment? Just think of the little flag we brought on, and which is the only one they carry, being pierced with bullets—bloody, ragged, and almost unrecognizable, but all the more glorious—with the buck tail fastened to the staff by order of General Ewell, in commemoration of their glorious victory, and their magnificent bearing in the fight they had with the Buck Tail Regiment. Our regiment was always in the place of honour—in the rear, if retreating; in the front, if advancing. Sometimes at night it would be in the rear after a long march on a retreat; and the next morning it would be marched through the army to the front, the soldiers saying, as they passed, "Something is up—Maryland is in the front again; go on, boys, we'll be after you soon."

In another place the letter says :—

Davis is perfectly delighted with the results of the battle, and the conduct of our men. Ah! how glorious, beyond the power of words to express, they have proved themselves. I have wept over accounts of heroism, individual and general, given by eye-witnesses and participants. Indeed, the simplest and most unschooled men give the most touching recitals; and the mothers and fathers and sisters are worthy of the heroes whom they represent and emulate in their patriotic devotion. You would scarcely credit your own senses could you see their sublime endurance. I have been in the midst of mothers and sisters at a time when they knew that their dearest earthly treasures were exposed to the fearful fire whose flash illumined the city, and whose roar seemed to shake its foundations; and, beyond the evidence of pale faces and a little nervous excitement lest each ambulance freighted with the dead and dying rolling by should stop at their door, there was none of their intense suffering visible. It is inexpressibly touching to see the heartfelt gratitude when some husband, brother, or son is brought home not mortally wounded. One mother said, when she heard that her only son had fallen mortally wounded, "God's will be done! He is merciful in sparing his brother (her step son) who would have left a wife and children." Some one said, "What a pity he went against the doctor's advice." This noble mother replied, "Do not say that; I should rather it should be so, than that he should not have done what he felt to be his duty."

The following extracts are from a letter written by a gentleman in a high position in Mobile, to a friend in London :—

MOBILE, July 10.

The British war steamer *Racer* is expected to call off Mobile Point to-morrow, to communicate with Her British Majesty's Consul. I embrace the opportunity to write home. Our cause is doing nobly; but oh, God! at what a sacrifice of our best blood. The 3rd Alabama has covered itself with glory in fully a dozen battles, and could only muster 100 men after the last fight.

All well with us. Mobile not yet attacked. It is bristling all round with entrenchments and batteries. We never mean to surrender it.

General Bragg is just about to march, with 60,000 men (the Corinth army), towards the Tennessee River. He is after conquest and glory. He has *carte blanche* to strike where he will, and is baring to do something. I have the highest faith in his military abilities.

We have given the Yankees a terrible drubbing at Richmond. I suppose they will gird up their loins and come again.

Our markets are bare. Every importable commodity at enormous prices; claret, liqueurs, and Havana cigars beyond reach. But we do not care, and will smoke pipes and will eat worms rather than "humble-pie" to the detestable Northern despotism.

Vicksburg still defies the Federal navies of the sea and upper river. The Yankees cannot occupy the Mississippi for trading purposes. Bragg, Van Dorn, Breckinridge (who has developed great military talent), Price, and Hardu (the last has proved the bravest of the brave) will give the enemy great trouble in the West. Hindman is in Arkansas, making successful head against the Federal General Curtis. East Tennessee and the Cumberland Gap are guarded by Kirby Smith. In a military point of view we are doing well everywhere. "Stonewall" Jackson immortalized himself in the Shenandoah Valley, before he came and fell upon McClellan's right flank at Chickahominy.

The following is a copy of a letter from a lady in New Orleans to a friend in Liverpool :—

New Orleans, August 9.

I cannot venture to send the enclosed letter from Mrs. Ange to you, without another envelope. Several of my letters have come with a twine string run through them to fasten them inside of wearing apparel, and yours have evidently reached me in the same way. The letter will not, I hope, be out of date, as I presume you can hear but little from your friends. I have messages, but few letters. My last from sister (Mrs. Nott) of July 21, gave intimation of changes which have since occurred. General Bragg has had his army sifted and examined by surgeons, as he wished to take no man from Tripolo "who could not walk thirty miles a day." His division of the army passed through Mobile on Saturday the 2nd —, from all I can learn, to attack Buell's army at Chattanooga, then to advance on Nashville and Kentucky. Mr. II— is aid to General Bragg. My three sons under him as major, lieutenant, and private. My two brothers, brothers-in-law, my sister's son (almost an only son), Dr. Nott's valuable life and health daily exposed. Such a picture will show you what I suffer, shut up here, without the privilege of writing or hearing from them; yet thousands of women in the Confederacy are suffering as much, and have as much at stake. What wonder that every woman is engaged in the cause with every feeling of her heart, every energy of her intellect, every effort of her soul and strength. If you could form an idea of an entire population without labour, lawyers, merchants, and mechanics, you could then form some idea of the distress, destitution, and suffering in our unhappy city. The societies in aid of the poor have been closed. Volunteers' wives cannot be paid their monthly stipend; except that so far the free market, which feeds 1800 families, has been kept open. The Yankees have

opened a depot for the distribution of food, but the first question asked is, "Have you taken the oath of allegiance?" Under such circumstances you will not wonder that many of that class have done so. Poor things! who can blame them?—they must feed their children. General Butler himself said to a foreigner (in reply to the question "What advance had he made"), "Advance! with such obstinate people as these—not a step. Not a respectable name has yet been signed." Mr. Reverdy Johnson was sent out to settle some of General Butler's moneyed oppressions. It suffices to say, he reversed every decision of the General's. He said, "It was very depressing to see the state of things here. There was no Union sentiments—no chance for a reunion." What a pity other minds, with equal influence and character like his, cannot be awakened to *this truth*. The gulf widens every day—there can be no peace, but in entire separation; you will know how much the women of New Orleans have the right to be bitter. If there were a man willing to submit to Yankee rule, he would not have the courage to go home and say so to his wife or sister.

Yes, the women have taken a firm stand, and hold it firmly. Not only the army, who have behaved outrageously, but the navy, who have done nothing offensive, are completely cut off from any mark or look of recognition. The accounts of Baton Rouge go out by this steamer, but our side is yet to be heard. Breckinridge is not wounded; has taken 2000 prisoners; was in Baton Rouge eighteen hours, long enough to load his waggons with their ammunition and provisions, and retired to prevent the gunboats from shelling the town, in which were our Confederate women and children. Why, if the town was theirs, did they bring steam-boats of their wounded down here, some of whom died on their way down.

I am kept here with my three daughters, General Butler having refused to let me leave.

When General Butler came, my cousin, Captain H—, who fought so nobly in the McClellan, at the forts, was in my house, wounded. Since his death I have tried in vain to get away.

The following extracts are from a letter written by a lady citizen of New Orleans :—

New Orleans, August 4.

Every one is afraid of our bank notes; and, in my opinion, the banks are as good as broke. Gold 35 per cent. premium. Silver 28 per cent. sterling; none of any consequence to be had. Canal Bank demanding for their own notes 37½ per cent. premium. Other bank notes, value sterling, are to be had, at 45 per cent. premium. Everything in the shape of provisions the same. Seymour English, of the *Bulletin*, has been sent to the forts. I cannot write fully. Weather very hot, 95 in the shade. Our latest dates from the North are July 9. No mails later than the 8th, though several steamers have arrived. I wish I could send you newspapers.

The following is from a citizen of Mobile to a friend in London :—

MOBILE, July 4.

Our city is quiet, as we all have made up our minds never to surrender if every brick is blown down. Beauregard thinks it is well fortified—it makes not much difference; there will be no more surrendering of places after the trial of our sister city, New Orleans. We feel that our city had better be destroyed than fall into the hands of a Butler. Not half of his brutality is known even now, only to those who live there, who are suffering from his cruelties. The men are in the army; so, if he cannot catch the men, he will punish the women and children; but his day has not come yet. Do you, for a moment think we will let him keep New Orleans? Wait till we whip them from our border States. Butler is busy—but he will have more to do. The Northern papers we get have so little truth in them that they give little pleasure in reading; such unfounded statements I never read! We laugh at their accounts of the battles; all our glorious victories they claim, no matter how fast they ran. Charleston will never surrender; Vicksburg will not, it will be stormed down sooner; and all our planters burn up their cotton as soon as the Yankees come near; they won't let them have sugar, molasses, or cotton. If they get a little sugar or cotton, they make a great ado about it; but by the time their gunboats are in sight, the cotton is flaming at a perfect bonfire rate. What do they do with the poor negroes? Look at that truthful account in Norfolk, look at Port Royal! Steal them, ship them off for sale, taking them from their families. Many escape and get back to their owners as soon as they can. We, the Southern Confederacy, have no more idea of giving up than we have of going to Europe in a balloon. None, none. Certainly everything is very high, but we will drink parched corn for ten years longer; we gave up our coffee and tea without a murmur; sugar is high, for our people destroy it to prevent the Yankees from getting any; molasses, too. But we have meal, meat, and flour now. If it were not that our noble young men were being sacrificed, our trouble would not be so bad. R— left for Chattanooga to-day, to be on General Leadbetter's staff.

A NORTHERN VIEW OF THE FEDERAL POSITION.

The following is an extract from a letter of a German officer, late in the Northern Army :—

New York, August 3.

On account of the bad times, I have allowed myself to be again persuaded to undertake the temporary post of recruiting officer for the army, but intend shortly to quit my position altogether, and, with wife and children, to emigrate to Canada.

Matters are now worse than had in the North, above all here in New York, where poverty and discontent have reached a point at which riots and a revolution may be daily expected. Last week, in transporting a few hundred recruits to the Potomac Army, I had an opportunity of visiting many of the camps. The soldiers, one and all, were shocking in appearance. Ragged, dirty, dead-beat, mostly totally discouraged, they were quite destitute, having lost in their flight baggage, tents, and cooking utensils—and yet they were driven to dig entrenchments, cut down wood, and do picket duty; for the enemy was still in their immediate front.

Shortly before I left, it was rumoured that the enemy was retiring, and at last the poor fellows were allowed to rest after the fatigues of the lost battles and the retreat, and to look after the requirements of their empty stomachs.

Everywhere the most extravagant prices, and the times at Yorktown, when we paid \$1 per lb. for bad cheese, were outdone. Notwithstanding the greatest exertions, the commissariat was unable, for the first week, to supply more than the barest necessities, and the poor soldiers, having lost their kettles, were quite unable to prepare their food. Every one cooks as best he can, in anything he can lay his hands on, even with mere bits of broken pots. The health of the army is of course, under such circumstances, lamentable, particularly as the heat is stifling, and they have no good water. The regiments lying near the shore of the James River are the best off in this respect, for though the water is brackish it is still very much better than that which is drunk by the division in advance. The district in which the army is lying is hilly, traversed by belts of wood and swamps. The ground is for the most part stiff clay and marl, covered with a crust of black mould, 18 inches. The want of water induces the soldiers to dig their own wells, but they are unable to dig deep enough to penetrate the marl, and consequently, all the water is impregnated with particles of clay and marl in solution, proved by the white blue colour it exhibits.

All these causes, to which must be added the results of the great fatigue and hardships encountered, and the miserable treatment of the sick, have produced a state of health, or rather the want of it, in the army which it is heartrending to look at. Many a wife's husband, many a mother's son, lies under the thousands of little hillocks, which have almost obliterated the green grass for a time. The American generals are either rogues or traitors to their country, or if not, the greatest blockheads that ever walked in uniform. The call of Halleck to Washington will infuse neither confidence nor hope into the army, for if McClellan be called an entrenchment-digger, Halleck is the gravedigger, for he has not distinguished himself in anything else—and such a fellow they make commander-in-chief!

Foreign Correspondence.

NEW YORK, Aug. 23.

Again we have news of thrilling importance, involving no less than the retreat, in the most rapid manner, of the whole of Pope's army towards Aquia Creek, thereby abandoning the whole region of Culpepper and the Rapidan! Thus far the news is only known in a garbled and unsatisfactory form, for the reason that the Administration, true to its detestable instincts, withholds the real facts of the case—indeed, all facts—for up to this (Saturday) morning it has not allowed a line respecting the retreat to be published, although it took place four days ago!

What we know in substance, through a couple of correspondents, is as follows :—On the 18th, while at Cedar Mountain, Pope received a pretty strong intimation, by the driving in of his pickets, that the enemy was upon him—that their force numbered 150,000—that they intended to flank and cut up his army, and then move straight on to Maryland and Washington. They had already crossed the Rapidan by fording at three different points, and Pope, not daring to offer fight, ordered the whole army at midnight to march without delay for Culpepper. The orders were at once obeyed; but Pope anxious to save his own neck, did not wait to accompany the army, but mounted his horse and rode briskly to Culpepper, which place he reached in two hours. His army, half frantic from the suddenness of the order—the rumoured nearness of the rebels—and the flight of their "valiant" General, commenced their line of march as best they could, and succeeded in reaching Culpepper about daybreak, the enemy being hard upon them, there was no time to be lost, and Pope ordered the march to be resumed, which order was obeyed; while the march was proceeding, and when near Warrenton, it is reported that the rebels overtook a part of the Union Army, and defeated it with severe loss, including a number of heavy guns. It was in this engagement, it is said, that Colonel Coulter, of the 11th Pennsylvania was killed. The advance of the Union Army continued its march, and when last heard from was some fifteen miles distant from its starting point, and nearing Aquia Creek, with the view, doubtless of endeavouring to effect a junction with McClellan. During his flight, which, as I have stated, was most rapid,

Pope was compelled to leave his sick and wounded, with a vast amount of stores and baggage on the road, all of which fell into the hands of the Confederates.

Where the latter army now is, we know not. It occupied Culpepper on Wednesday, but since then it has probably pushed forward, and it may be, as ere this, given the whole combined Federal army battle. The Confederates are understood to be under command of Generals Jackson, Lee, Ewell, Longstreet, and (it is reported) Magruder. There will be terrible fighting when the two armies meet either of the steamers sailing to-day, should they be intercepted off Cape Race, may carry out intelligence of the result.

Another most important item is the evacuation of Fort Donelson by the Federals. No particular reason is assigned for the evacuation, though I rather suspect the rumour that the Confederates intended marching upon the fort had something to do with the retreat. The Federals console themselves for the loss of the fort, by saying that "the position is no longer of value;" but this is something that the Confederates will test by-and-bye. The capture of this fort last February must be still fresh in your memory; it fell into the hands of the Federals after a fight of three days, a loss of nearly 5000 men on both sides, and the capture of over 12,000 Confederates as prisoners. The victory, with all the laurels won by the Federals, was dearly bought; and now they have abandoned the fort altogether.

From Kentucky we hear that Somerset and Monticello have been taken by the Confederates, while Clarksville, in Tennessee, and Neostro and Carthage, in south-western Missouri, are also in their possession. So we go, victory upon victory, perching upon the banners of the South, while throughout the North the despondency is perfectly fearful.

If the Washington rumours are true, Butler's race in New Orleans is about run. Many of his acts while there have been denounced by the Hon. Reverely Johnson, one of the oldest lawyers in the country, as wholly unjustifiable, and the Government will be compelled not only to make restitution, but to apologize for his infamous conduct. The report of his recall I have no doubt is correct, as the whole city would be ruined were he to remain there three months longer. The recent advices from France are not favourably received by the Government, as it fears that sooner or later, and perhaps at an early day, the Confederacy will be recognized, and the moral weight, at least, of France be thrown in its support. The remark of the Emperor to Mr. Sidel, that "England was the only barrier in the way," if correct, shows at once that Napoleon is fully ready to take the South by the hand, and that the hesitancy of England is all that keeps him back. This is actually believed here, and hence the anxiety of the Government upon the subject, which is represented as so great that it has determined to send Mr. Weed again to England and France for the purpose of keeping an eye upon the movements of the Confederate Commissioners, and thwarting their plans if possible. As to Messrs. Adams and Dayton, the recognized ministers of the United States at England and France, they are regarded as no match at all against Messrs. Sidel and Mason, while Dayton is particularly useless, as he does not speak French at all. The Administration, therefore, feels that a more able man is required to handle the rebel Commissioners, and hence the despatch of Weed as a special Ambassador. Why it does not recall both Adams and Dayton, and appoint more competent ministers in their places, is more than I can say, unless it be that it has not more suitable men at its command.

But, in my way of thinking, neither Weed's efforts, nor the efforts of any other Northern Representative, will be able to strike down the inevitable result, for that the Confederacy will ere long be recognized by not only France, but England and all the other Powers of Europe, *is as certain as that those Powers exist.*

Has England or France, either one, ever contemplated, in all its fearful responsibility, the hour *when there shall not be a single bale of American cotton in their manufactories, or the leading cities of Liverpool and Havre.* Is it possible now to conceive the awful crisis that will then be felt? So long as a man has a shilling in his pocket, he perhaps does not imagine that he shall ever starve, and so, too, while there remains a few thousand bales of American cotton in England and France, the dreadful thought of a cotton famine will not receive that attention which will be demanded when the day of exhaustion and famine really looms up in all its ghastly proportions.

That hour will be the test of action on the part of England and France, for neither Government will be able to resist the tremendous pressure that will then be felt. With every mill closed—with millions thrown out of employ, with stagnation here, and starvation there—and a commercial crisis, such as was never before felt

existing, while the whole could be relieved by the raising of the blockade, and the liberation of the two and a-half million bales of cotton now on the plantations. We shall soon see what Government is able to stem the flood.

Lord Palmerston has declared that not "*at present*,"—does he see any reason to change the position of neutrality? but this does not argue that he may not both see and have a reason some day, and that day will be when the cotton famine is leading its maddening desolation through all the once thriving districts of the nation.

Has the South deceived either England or France, or any other power? Has she given way one iota in her fixed and stern resolve at the commencement of the war? Has she loosed her hold from her crops of cotton, tobacco, rice, and naval stores? Does she not still hold them as with a vice, from the grasp of her invader, and would be, destroyer?

Do you think she will ever yield!

Let the noble—the self-sacrificing—the patriotic past answer.

"They behold no object save the right,
And look on death as beautiful."

No! the South has not deceived you, but the North has. Before the first sword was drawn, Seward declared at an Astor House banquet that "there would be no war, and that the present excitement would blow over in sixty days." When the flag was hauled down from Sumter, and 75,000 men were ordered out by the North, Seward extended his sixty to ninety days, and since then he has been repeating his ninety days whenever asked with respect to the termination of the war. In all this Europe was deceived.

It was also deceived in the promise of cotton. By January 1, 1862, one million bales of the previous year's crop were to be landed in Liverpool and Havre; but were they? Let the famishing operatives of Europe answer!

Again were you deceived by the announcement that the ports would be opened, and that cotton would come to market; has it come, or does it look like coming? No! a crown, a pound, laid in the lap of the needy, but martyr-like planter, does not bring it from its secure resting place, though a soft whisper of peace would hurry it all to the seaboard at one quarter the sum now offered. With peace the world will have cotton, without it it must exist the best it can. In all this, I repeat, the South has not deceived you, but the North has. It remains, therefore, for Europe to weigh the two in the balance, and make her decision accordingly.

Gold rules firmer under the Federal defeats, and classes at 16½ premium; stocks are flat, exchange is held at 28 for A 1. On Wednesday the Government ran out of funds, and was forced to obtain a loan for 3,000,000 dollars, on 7.30 notes, in Wall-street, at about 104½.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 19.

The premium on gold and, consequently, that on exchange on London, has advanced. The upward movement will continue, and the rise will be rapid as soon as the importers realize on their stocks of merchandize. The foreign bankers have not yet reduced their balances; to do so would entail a heavy loss, as the money they owe to Europe was drawn for at a much lower rate of exchange than is now current. The investments of this class of persons are in stocks and promissory notes, as well as Government securities, as collateral, which pay them greater interest than they are charged in their accounts current, which are kept in sterling figures. As a general thing, they are a very heavy, stupid set of men, and have been much flattered in this country; before all is over they are likely to pay for their vanity and ignorance. It is strange that persons who have the control of so much money should not have been better informed as to the past, be capable of realizing the present, and have intellect sufficient to look into the future. New York has been a turnpike road over which the productions of the South and the surplus funds of Europe have passed, and these foreign bankers are merely the tollgate keepers. No war has ever taken place in a commercial country without bringing disaster and ruin upon the leading moneyed classes; for a time they seem to be benefited by the vast Governmental expenditure, but the end is always the same. There has been some neglect in the education of the financial monarchs of Wall-street, or they would not be willing listeners to the voice of the charmer, Mr. Chase. The collapse is imminent, and will be very sudden in its character when it does come. The new cloud of Treasury issues has not yet been "lowered upon our heads." What a shower there will be when it descends! And yet very few persons have prepared an ark of safety to meet this deluge. It is not easy to see who the fortunate Noah will be.

The speech of Mr. Lincoln to the committee of

coloured gentlemen" was a got-up affair, written by Mr. Seward, in order to retain the Border States. It is, however, the only truthful expression that "Old Abe" has made; he knows very well that the Caucasian and African races cannot live on terms of equality; that Sambo is not "a man and a brother." The inhabitants of London, in 1787, were also aware of this fact when they cleared all the negroes out of their city. The Abolitionists are very much offended at the remarks of the President.

Volunteering is somewhat on the increase, but not to the extent stated by the newspapers. There will be a row on September 1, when drafting goes into operation; on that day the Federal tax-collector appears. Neither the drafts of Mr. Stanton or Mr. Chase are likely to be honoured. The Confederates have been very successful in the West, and if they have a fair run of luck in Virginia within the next week they are not unlikely so to undermine the national edifice that it will tumble to pieces, and "great will be the fall thereof."

PARIS, September 2.

(From an occasional Correspondent.)

Although the French press has been very much occupied with the movements of Garibaldi, and discussions as to the policy of the Emperor, and who represents it; yet the American question has not been lost sight of. On the contrary, it must have been perceptible to all readers of the Parisian press, that the question has recently assumed a new interest and importance in the eyes of its conductors, and is beginning to be understood in its full proportions, as effecting the destinies of both the white and the black races on both continents.

Until within the last few weeks, the mad-dog cry of "Slavery," had been sufficient to choke off all the time advocates of the South in the French press, or alarm them into apologies. But recently a bolder tone has been adopted, in consequence of the possession of more accurate knowledge of the real state of affairs, North and South. Mr. Lincoln rode the "Hobby horse," very successfully while the animal was kept in the stable; but since he has put him out to show his paces, and kicked and spurred him so unmercifully, the animal has thrown him off into the mud.

To drop metaphor, the conviction is beginning to dawn upon the French mind, as it has long since on the English, that the talk at the North about the negro has been sheer hypocrisy, as all their acts show enmity and repugnance to that unfortunate race—unfortunate, because made the footballs of a pseudo-philanthropy.

For the first time several of the leading journals, and especially the semi-official ones, have denounced and exposed this hypocrisy, and have silenced the silly slander which was raised by journals in the interest of the North—the Orleans Princes, or the Red Republicans.

The recent publication of M. de Leon's brochure, "*La Verite sur les Etats Confederes*," has given fresh points to slave discussions, for in that pamphlet the ground is first taken boldly that the South has nothing to apologise for in her "peculiar institution"; that she is the best friend of the African race; that the question of slavery really is not at the bottom of this quarrel; and, finally, that the negro sympathises with his Southern friend, and hates and distrusts the Yankee, as he has right good reason to do.

The French press have taken up and re-echoed these—to them, novel ideas—and the portrait of "Jefferson Davis, first President of the Confederate States," which forms the frontispiece of the publication, has won golden opinions for the South. No man can look upon that countenance, as contrasted with Abraham Lincoln, without feeling that the cause of North and South is aptly typified by its representatives.

Such things as these go a great way towards the formation of public opinion in countries where the utterances of the press are not entirely free, and where each journal speaks under some special "inspiration."

The South owes much to the writers who have laboured so diligently in the press of France and England to dissipate the clouds of falsehood which have been wafted across the Atlantic by our unscrupulous "brethren" of the North. They have borne the heat and burden of the day. At least, they should have their labours acknowledged when that work is done.

At some future time I may give you some notices of their corps, and the work they have accomplished, and are now diligently performing.

The French press now stands divided into two classes—those who, like the *Opinion Nationale*, the *Siecle*, and the *Journal des Debats*, are violently hostile to the South, and cling to the fallen fortunes of the North with a fidelity worthy of a better cause—who relash all the

state and cold calumnies, abandoned even by the North itself; and those, which like the *Constitutionnel*, the *Pays*, and the *Patrie*, and the new journal *La France*, now boldly proclaim the cause of the South to be that of justice and right, and its success now sure and speedy.

The provincial press now commences, also, to take up the question, as seriously affecting the industry of France and the comforts of her people; and within the last few weeks the journals of Lyons, Lille, Bordeaux, and other depôts of manufacturing industry, have contained very strong articles in favour of the South.

Strong as the Emperor is in his own iron will, and the prestige of his name and popularity, so serious a step as recognition would not be taken by him without the expressed wish of his people. Hence the expressions of sympathy for the South, and appeals for its recognition as an independent State to open commercial relations with France, strengthen the resolve of the Emperor, not to allow the dead weight of England to impede his action in the cause of humanity and international law much longer.

It is well known here, that the Emperor has recently declared most distinctly and publicly to English gentlemen and members of Parliament, that he had been restrained from recognition of the Confederate States for months past by the determined opposition of Lords Palmerston and Russell, and their repeated refusals to co-operate with him in that measure. Now that the Garibaldian knot has been cut through by the sword of Victor Emmanuel, and the storm raised by that great conspirator is sighing itself to rest, Napoleon III. is again master of the situation, and when the fleet and army sent to Mexico have given him a *piéd à terre* on the other continent, he will be still more so.

If, then, the issue of the great battle now waging in Virginia, or perhaps already concluded, be fortunate for us, and Providence does not design to chasten us yet a little more before our final triumph, the day is not far distant when Europe, headed by its great leader, will acknowledge formally the birth of a new State in the Southern Confederacy.

PARIS, September 3.

The excitement produced by Garibaldi's rash expedition has subsided. He proclaimed to the world that he would shortly enter Rome, or die under its walls. He has not entered Rome, and he is alive, although slightly wounded. The Italian Government have shown at last that they were in earnest in their will to put down one of the most unjustifiable attempts at civil war ever attempted. It is said that Garibaldi has asked to go to America, probably with the idea of enjoying the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of taxes, and freedom of all sorts, which Messrs. Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, and Chase have bestowed so lavishly on the United States, and of lending them a hand in their effort to subjugate half of the inhabitants of ex-Union by means of compelling the other half to fight against its will.

But the capture of Garibaldi and his followers (all mere boys), has not put an end to the controversy on Italian affairs, and it is difficult to form an opinion on its solution. The discussion between the *Constitutionnel*, (M. de Persigny's organ) and *La France* has broken out afresh. This morning, the last-named paper had the following printed conspicuously at the top of its first column:—

Next Friday, we will publish a letter addressed to the chief editor of *La France*, upon THE ABANDONMENT OF ROME, by M. the Viscount de La Guéronnière, Senator.

The *Constitutionnel* seems to ask for the evacuation of Rome by the French army, for the end of the political sovereignty of the Pope, and for Rome becoming the capital of Italy. M. de La Guéronnière will certainly advocate a different policy. Adverting to its promised answer to the *Constitutionnel*'s arguments, *La France* says, "From that time, it will be no more possible to entertain any doubts upon respective opinions, and both positions shall be openly and fully defined. It will be known then that upon this question, the most serious that ever existed, there are two different lines of policy amongst the men who are equally devoted to the Emperor's Government."

The news from Mexico is very meagre. The *Patrie* has published an account of General Scott's campaign in Mexico, from the pen of M. de Bazancourt. The old warrior is sadly affected by regret and remorse, if I can believe reports from some of his former friends. He sees plainly now the absurdity and the wickedness of the course followed by the Washington Government, and is an earnest advocate of peace.

Little Montenegro has come out second best in its fight against the Turks. They are about patching up a treaty, which, of course, is to be very soon violated by both parties, and we shall witness a new round.

The condition of Poland is rather cloudy at present. You know that two successive attempts have recently been made on the life of Marquis Wielopolski, besides the one against the Grand Duke himself. The guilty parties have just been sentenced and executed; and we hear from Warsaw:—

An inquiry is open on the attempt at poisoning from which the Marquis Wielopolski had a narrow escape. The authorities are in hopes of discovering the perpetrators, as the poisonous substance which was used is of such a nature that only very few people could procure or employ it.

It seems that the poison was contained in a letter, written in a very small hand, so as to oblige the Marquis to bring it close to his eyes, and the poison was powerful enough to make him very ill, from merely having breathed it for an instant. There appears to be a permanent conspiracy in Warsaw for taking the life of all high officials.

In Paris there is a general migration of all persons whose means and position in life enables them to leave town for a while. You know that September is the great month of holidays in France. Then "*La chane est ouverte*"—all the modern Nimrods have taken the field. What a noise! What an excitement! What a display of genuine hunting outfits, of bright clean double-barrelled guns, of pretended thorough-bred curs, of vast and ingenious game-bags, many of which are very likely to be filled up at some distant game-seller's shop! A true hunter is really an agreeable companion to his wife and friends—going out before daybreak, coming back very late, starving and harassed, covered with dust and mud; generally blaming his bad luck, angry with himself and ill-tempered towards everybody; totally unfit for anything but scolding, eating, and sleeping. Sometimes he has had better luck. If you ever met him, then it would be cruel to bring back to your memory the endless stories which you had to endure. If you never were under the painful trial, beware of it, by all means.

But what shall I say of the city man, who leaves his shop or his office to go and hopelessly walk miles and miles, with no other object than to endeavour to murder a poor bird who never offended him? They forget the great precept—Since you cannot create, be loth of destroying. If these men were offered a good salary, and much less trouble, to devote themselves to some useful purpose, they would say "No" at once. But as soon as there is a chance of killing, here they are. Why?—killing dangerous animals is right, and, when attended with peril, it is a noble sport. Again, to kill those that are required for our food is quite natural, although we leave the work generally to the butcher, or to our cooks. But killing for the pleasure of killing has always awakened in my mind a sensation of disgust.

Speaking of animals, there has been a man who, for more than two years, gave to the Parisian public the exciting spectacle of his mastering, with no other power than his steady courage and cool bravery, lions, panthers, and Bengal tigers. Charles le Dompteur, pale, but with quiet determination, often said, before opening the tiger's cage, "I am going in, but I don't know at all whether I shall walk out." Charles was tall, and endowed with herculean strength; but a disease of the heart, probably the result of his terrible profession, terminated fatally with him a few days ago. He was one of the kindest, frankest, most excellent-hearted men that could be found.

Another actor, whose name stood very high at the time of *romantisme échevelé*, has also left the stage of life. His fame was contemporary to the great epoch when melodrama was all the rage; and he had the honour of personifying Alexandre Dumas' Anthony. An eyeglass, a poetical head of hair, a dark expression of the eyes, a satanic, general bearing, straw coloured gloves, a black coat buttoned up to the chin, a long and slender figure, rather bent forward, the face very pale—and the whole affair a living picture of fatality—such was the admired prototype in Paris twenty-five years ago. It is all over now: and some of the fast Anthonys of that time have undergone such transformation as being now great capitalists in the Credit Mobilier.

During the months of May, June, and July, the shipments of dry goods, wines, &c., to New York, from Havre, and Bordeaux, were large; they were made in order to reach there before the high tariff went into operation; but the parties interested have not yet received any remittances, their consignees writing to them that it was impossible to make sales for cash to cover the cost, and that they knew not who to trust. This looks very bad for the North. The wheat crop throughout France, Savoy, and Nice, is, as I hinted some time ago, 10 per cent. above the average, and we shall probably be able to greatly help England.

THE RETALIATORY ORDER.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*, August 4.)

It appears the orders from the War Department in Washington, and of General Pope and his subaltern Steinwehr, received of our Government that immediate attention which was due to proceedings so heinous and so broad in their application. Nothing which has occurred in the practical conduct of the war has more deeply offended and aroused the indignation and resentment of our people, than the outrages which it is the object of the order from our War Department to redress.

The promptness and the resolution with which the case has been met by our excellent President, will be hailed by our people as another proof of the vigilance and fidelity with which he watches over their rights and dignity.

The subject was one which demanded a careful consideration under the lights of wisdom and the promptings of courage. It is very easy to cry out in favour of raising "the black flag;" but those who really desire it are very inconsiderate. War is terrible enough at best, and it especially does not become a people looking to the high stand for honour, and chivalry, and refinement, which we aspire to take among the nations, to add to its horrors. President Davis, therefore, expresses a very proper and sincere regret at being forced to take cognizance of conduct on the part of the enemy so utterly opposed to the dictates of humanity and to the rules of civilized war, as to demand the sternest treatment. Nothing was left, however, but to desert our fellow-citizens—the old man and the infant, the matron and the maid—and leave them exposed to all the atrocities of a plundering and murdering soldiery, licensed and even comradoed to plunder and murder under the published orders of their chief, or else to repress such barbarities by the intimidation and sting of retaliation. The discharge of this painful and solemn duty the President has not shunned. The people will sustain, nay, even applaud it; for there was no alternative but ignominy and ruin. The civilized world will justify it as absolutely forced upon us, and will fasten the blame upon our atrocious enemies, to whom it entirely belongs. The consequences of this step we are yet to see.

We trust it will bring the madmen at Washington to their senses, and that they will henceforth restrain their malice within the conventional bounds. If, however, the result should be otherwise—if, instead of redress, they should respond by new outrages—it is easy to see that quickly the rules of war will all be laid aside, and extermination become the watchword of the strife. Deploable as this would be, yet we shrink not from it if forced upon us. We will meet the foul foe on any and on all terms, resolved in no event to submit, but to wage the war till conquered peace shall crown our independence, and sanction our complete and eternal separation.

Let our people and our soldiery prepare themselves for the new order of things, and for whatever may follow. The terrors of war may increase upon us; but they will increase upon our foes in still greater degree. Our soldiers, who may soon confront the lines of Pope in battle, are, many of them, the husbands, the sons, the brothers of the gentle wives, the feeble parents, and the tender sisters, who now groan under Pope's intolerable oppression. Need any one guess how *these* will fight when fighting for the rescue? We imagine it hardly needed authority from the War Department to consider Pope as forfeit if he should be met by one of them! Nay, their sympathizing comrades from other sections and other States would have shared their vengeance to the full, and assisted gladly in the righteous retribution.

It will be seen that, for the present, the President has withdrawn the protection due to prisoners of war only from those who voluntarily share in Pope's enormities. The private soldier is bound by his enlistment. The commissioned officer may resign if he hates his work; by retaining his straps he becomes a party to the wickedness, and justly forfeits all claim to clemency.

We take the occasion to say that the President is also demanding redress for the outrages of the enemy in other quarters. Government (although captious critics seem not to understand it) has to act with dignity, and with certainty as to facts. To obtain these facts sometimes occasions what seems to be delay; but the people may rest in full confidence that whatever is proper to be done will be attended to by our Government with all the dispatch consistent with the nature of the duty. We have authority for saying that communications were sent to the Lincoln Government some weeks since, respecting the execution of Mumford at New Orleans, and other outrages committed by the Yankee generals; but no reply has yet been received. Another demand has recently been made in regard to them and the additional atrocities perpetrated by the Lincoln officials in different parts of the Confederate States. A short time has been given to the Federal authorities within which to reply, before orders will be issued for the execution of the measures necessary for the repression of these outrages also.

The following is an extract from a well-authenticated letter, dated Baltimore, July 31:—

The Federal atrocities in Virginia far outstrip all tales of fiction. Rape, arson, and theft seem to be the constant attendants of an army professing to fight for the Union. A recital of the horrible murders that mark its bloody track, one could suppose, would appeal the doomed of Hades.

I will cite one case which happened to a distant relative of ours last week:—Mrs. Fitzhugh, of Ravensworth, the mother of the late Captain Andrew Fitzhugh, of the navy—a lady of distinguished position, and one singularly embodying the virtues and graces of her sex, was brutally murdered in front of her house. Ravensworth, the family seat of the Fitzhughs, you know, is one of the oldest estates in Virginia; it has been in the family since the reign of Charles II., from whom it was received as a grant, and has ever been noted as a place where a profuse hospitality was dispensed by as gentle and refined a people as live.

The old lady, who was over eighty years of age, infirm and blind, leaning on the arm of her maid, was taking a little exercise in front of her mansion, when the girl suddenly cried out, "Mistress, there come the Yankees;" and in her terror ran towards the house close by, when Mrs. Fitzhugh called out to her, "Don't leave me alone with these vile Yankees;" when one of them approached, and with the butt of his gun killed her. Shortly after, her two daughters, who had been on a visit to a neighbour, returned. One of them was seized and carried to Washington a prisoner; the other, who was so appalled at seeing her mother weltering in her blood, became speechless. This one they left, with the remark, "You can bury the old hag." Is it a wonder the people cry out, "The heathen have come into thine inheritance, O Lord! Thy holy temple have they defiled; the dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air, and the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the field."

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1862.

The Federal Position in the South.

A LENGTHENED comment on the present aspect of the war in America would be superfluous. Late events are too significant to be misunderstood, and Northern ingenuity is vainly exerted to conceal the disastrous failure of the Northern invasion. To those, indeed, who have not watched the course of events, or to those who have placed any faith in the boastings and promises of the Federals, the present position of the armies of the United States, must appear all but miraculous. Where is the great army of the Potomac, that went forth to conquer, that was so surely to be in Richmond before the 4th of July? It no longer exists. The remnant of it that remained after the seven days' battle, since then terribly depleted by pestilence, has retreated from the Peninsula. A portion of it has been landed at Aquia Creek, and at the last advices the rest was waiting at Yorktown for transports to convey it to the same place. On the present occasion a retreat is not designated a grand strategic movement, but the people of New York openly rejoice at the escape of McClellan's army from a position in which it could not attack, and in which it was being daily wasted by sickness. The extent of the sufferings of that army, from the time it was established on the banks of the James River until it retreated, will never be fully known, but what is known cannot be adequately described by the most graphic pen. It is probable that McClellan would be able to effect a junction with Pope, although at the time we write we have no information that it is accomplished.

General Pope, from whom so much was expected, has done nothing but imitate General McClellan's strategy of retreat. The Battle of Cedar Mountain disorganized his plans and crippled his strength. After that affair, which he claimed as a victory, he reported that he was pursuing General Jackson, and then that pursuit was checked by the sudden rise of the Rapidan River. For what followed we are not, fortunately, altogether indebted to Northern accounts. We learn that the enemy, whom he pretended to pursue, unexpectedly renewed the attack, and with so much success that General Pope was obliged to retreat in haste, to leave behind him a large portion of his artillery and of his camp equipage, and that he even had to abandon his personal baggage, and that he was so hard pressed that he had not the brief leisure to secure his official despatches, maps, and valuable papers relating to the campaign. In a word, General Pope did not retreat, but rather, fled. He crossed the Rappahannock, and has joined the army of McClellan, or a portion of it on the north bank of that river. On the south bank are the Confederates in great force, and with powerful artillery no doubt, but not with fifteen miles of established batteries, as the Northern telegram reports. General Pope hopes to be able to hold his ground until he is reinforced; but he will have to wait some time for reinforcements. New levies are not made ready and equipped for the field in a few days. The Federals, threatened in their front by the Confederate troops lately occupied on the James River and elsewhere, and in their flank or rear by General Jackson, are obviously in a critical

situation. They do not threaten Richmond, but rather seek to protect Washington. If they remain where they are a battle is imminent, but it is not unlikely that they may decline the contest, and retire on Washington. If so, or if they are defeated, the Confederate forces will be free to act in other quarters. We will not speculate on events which before this may have been decided.

Our attention has to some extent been rivetted on Virginia, but the state of affairs in other States is equally important. For example, Mr. Lincoln, in estimating the available resources of the United States, has calculated upon raising 150,000 men from Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland; but these States are Southern, and are now declaring themselves; so that they will aid the South, and not the North; and not only does Mr. Lincoln lose these men, but he must raise additional forces in the Northern States to cope with them. Another important element is the Secession sympathy in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Missouri has risen, and many towns and important points are in the hands of the Confederates, and the Confederate army organized in Texas is already making its way through Arkansas to aid the Missonrians in driving out the invader. Kentucky is described by the Federals as swarming with guerilla bands; the leading citizens, both by word and deed, are confessing their allegiance to the Confederate States. Confederate forces have entered at three points; the Federal communication with Tennessee is cut off. Somerset has lately been captured, and other important possessions occupied. The Governor has resigned. In this emergency some regiments have been sent from Indiana, which, we are told, are fully equipped, and only lack discipline.

We have said that the Federal situation in Virginia is critical, and the observation may be applied with even greater justice to the situation of General Buell. Considering how the Federal army of the West has been reduced by sickness and by battle, and how little it has been reinforced, it cannot number more than 100,000 men. Unlike the army in Virginia, it is not only pressed, but surrounded. General Bragg has a large force under his command at Chattanooga, General Kirby Smith has a considerable force in East Tennessee, a large body of Confederate cavalry are in the Federal rear, and altogether not less than 150,000 Confederate troops menace General Buell. No wonder the North is anxious about the Western army.

Such is the aspect of affairs; and we are told New York is more cheerful. Judging from this, we may assume that further Confederate successes will produce boisterous hilarity.

Recognition: Europe, England, and the English Government.

SOME weeks ago the representatives of the Confederate States in London and Paris addressed to the Governments of England and France a demand for recognition. Lord Russell returned a distinct refusal. M. Thouvenel has not yet given an official reply, but it is understood that the purport of his formal answer will be that France declines to act in the matter apart from England. There can be no doubt that in returning such a reply the Emperor displays not only a high value for the English alliance, but a moderation and good sense the more honourable that they are not very easy to the ruler of a high-spirited, and somewhat wilful people. France is accustomed to take her own way, and is never willing to be controlled or guided by the policy of any foreign Power. The French people are especially jealous of any influence exercised over their Government, or any check imposed upon its action, by the necessity of deference to the wishes of England. They would have been glad to see the Confederacy recognized, and none the less if the recognition had been given by the Emperor in disregard of English remonstrances. They are not, perhaps, altogether pleased at the preponderant weight which rumour assigns to the opinion of the

English Government in directing the joint policy of the two Powers towards the American belligerents. They would hardly be sorry to see that joint policy exchanged for separate and decisive action on the part of France. But the Emperor has adhered firmly and, as we think, wisely to the determination originally adopted on both sides of the Channel, and the Governments of France and England have acted throughout in concert; England, as the country most interested, probably deciding when any difference of opinion occurred, the course to be taken by both in common. With France and England combined, even Mr. Seward would not dare to quarrel, and a formal expression of their joint judgment, conveyed by such an act as the recognition of the Confederate Government, would have a powerful and wholesome influence on the opinion of the Northern people, and the conduct of the Federal Cabinet. We are not, therefore, surprised that France determined to await the consent of England. But it is not easy to understand why our Government should resist recognition. France wishes to accord it; Russia is ready to follow the lead of France. It is only the strenuous opposition of the British Cabinet which prevents it. Were that opposition once withdrawn, the formal acknowledgment of their independence by the chief Powers of Europe would instantly put the Confederate States on a level with their assailants and with all other Powers before the world. It is the Government of England alone which causes to be withheld from a people of English race and strong English sympathies the privilege to which they have established their right at the sword's point, in conflict with our most inveterate enemies. Why should this be?

The English people would eagerly welcome the acknowledgment of the Confederate States. The growth of knowledge as to the nature and origin of the quarrel, the conduct of the Federal Government, the reign of terror established in the "loyal" States, the savage brutality displayed by the invading armies towards unoffending citizens and helpless women and children, the stupid falsehoods and contemptible braggadocio of Mr. Seward and his colleagues, the wanton insults heaped upon Great Britain, have alienated the sympathies of all but a few very un-English fanatics from the Federal cause. The dignity and good sense of the Confederate Government, the splendid exploits of the Southern armies, the heroism and patience of the Southern people, have won for the South the cordial admiration and good-will of ninety-nine in every hundred Englishmen. It is generally felt that in such a matter the action of the Government must not be hindered or hastened by Parliamentary compulsion or popular agitation; and therefore the House of Commons refused to insist on immediate recognition, and the people have forbore to press it. But the tone of public opinion on the subject is too decided to be mistaken by so clear-sighted a statesman as Lord Palmerston, and it is strange that he should have so long opposed himself to the popular wish; the more strange, inasmuch as he must be perfectly aware that the interests and the feelings of England are on this point coincident. Diplomatically, we should have every reason to dread and deprecate the restoration of the Union, if that were a possible contingency. An exaggerated notion of its power, derived chiefly from its vast territorial extent, an extravagant contempt for the rights and the strength of foreign nations, and a restless aggressive temper, natural to most Americans and to all Democracies, made the Federal Government a nuisance to all the world, and especially to England. The Northern lust of territory brought them into constant collision with us; the Southern monopoly of cotton encouraged them to presume on our extreme unwillingness to quarrel with them. It is not our interest that this combination of Northern will and Southern ability to injure us should ever be renewed. It is our interest that there should exist on the Southern frontier of the United States a Power bound to us by ties of nationality and of commerce, antagonistic to them in consequence of wrongs and injuries never to be forgotten, willing

and able to support us in putting down their aggressions, and curbing their insolent pretensions. Placed between Canada and the Confederacy, we may be at last relieved from the incessant annoyance we have hitherto sustained at their hands, and from the constant fear that some outrage, more intolerable than usual, would render war inevitable. Commercially, it is our interest to be on friendly terms with the South. We are dependent on Southern agriculture for the material of our staple manufacture; we shall find in Southern consumption the best market for our productions that the world affords. We can do without the trade of the North, if the North be foolish enough to attempt to maintain its preposterous tariffs. The South is necessary to us; a temporary interruption of our trade with it has wrought almost as much mischief and misery as the Irish Famine. In every respect, then, the recognition of the Confederacy is the interest of England.

But further, it is the duty of England. Numerous precedents and conclusive dicta have established the right to recognition of any Government which has satisfactorily proved its ability to maintain order at home and defend itself against aggression from without. Who denies that the Government of the Confederate States fulfils this requirement? From the Southern people it receives as implicit an obedience as France renders to Napoleon III., or England to the Government of the Queen. It is as perfectly organized a Government, as regular in its operation, as well established in its authority, as strong in the loyalty of the country, as any in the world. Against the Federal armies it has held its own; it has defeated them in several pitched battles; it has decidedly worsted them in two campaigns. All rational men in all countries are agreed that its overthrow by the invaders is an utter impossibility. Why, then, is that acknowledgment refused to it which was accorded to Italy while as yet her unity was incomplete—to Belgium when Holland was actually on the point of reducing her to obedience? Is it not the fact that justice is withheld from the Confederate States merely by the personal prejudices or Parliamentary entanglements of the Ministerial leaders, in despite of the immemorial usage, the obvious policy, and the urgent interests of Great Britain?

The war, interrupting commerce, suspending the cotton manufacture, interfering with the freedom of the seas, has been throughout an almost intolerable nuisance to commercial nations; it is fast becoming a scandal to civilized humanity. At New Orleans, General Butler insults, in the foulest manner, the whole female population of a great city, and murders in cold blood a citizen probably innocent, certainly not shown to be guilty even of the trumpery offence of which he was accused. In Alabama, General Mitchell sanctions abominations which make men's blood run cold with horror. In Tennessee, a Governor, intruded on the State by military violence, rivals the atrocities of Haynan. In Mississippi, and in the Carolinas, vain attempts are made to excite the slaves to wholesale murder, incendiarism, and pillage. Here, a Federal army is ordered to subsist by plunder, and devastates the whole country for miles along its track; there, a Federal general being surprised and killed, the Federal soldiery avenge themselves by murdering a score of persons living within a few miles of the place, as well as several wholly unconcerned inhabitants of a neighbouring city. Here, a citizen of Missouri is deliberately assassinated by the mercenaries of the Union on his own threshold and in presence of his wife; there, an aged lady has her head wantonly smashed to pieces by the clubbed muskets of a marauding soldiery. President Davis is driven at last to threaten reprisals. To suppress horrors much less revolting—horrors, too, provoked by the cruelty and treachery of the insurgent people—we interfered between the Sultan and his subjects, and not merely recognized, but assisted to establish, the Revolutionary Government of Greece. Yet now we are found perseveringly resisting that acknowledgment of the assailed country by the European Powers which is absolutely necessary if we would either discountenance the prosecution of the war or mitigate its barbarity.

The recognition of the South by Europe would bring the conduct of the war under the jurisdiction of European opinion—a tribunal for whose decisions Americans entertain a respect, in their own despite, manifested by their intense sensitiveness to European censure and their extravagant eagerness for European praise. So long as they pretend to deal with rebels, and with rebels officially treated as such by European diplomacy, they will affect to consider themselves entitled to carry on the process of punishing rebellion after their own fashion. When Europe shall have formally pronounced that they are waging war against a member of the general family of nations, they can no longer disregard the condemnation with which Europe visits their mode of carrying on that war. They will be compelled, by very shame, to fight like Europeans, and not like savages; to respect women, to abstain from wholesale pillage, to give up the pleasant pastime of murdering unarmed men. More than this—the recognition of the South will tend greatly to accelerate the termination of the war. At present Europe encourages the perseverance of the North by declining to treat the independence of the Confederate States as a *fait accompli*; and it can hardly be expected that the Federal Government should play the part of Sir John Cope, and blazen to the world the first formal tidings of its own defeat, and of the dissolution of the Union. England was not the first Power to acknowledge the United States; Spain was the last to recognize either the Netherlands or her revolted colonies in America. No dispossessed Government was ever found to admit its own overthrow until the outside world had first adjudicated upon the facts, and recognized the *de facto* independence of the dispossessors. Not until France and England have given the right hand of fellowship to the new State will the right hand now raised against it quit the hilt of the sword. Not until Europe has formally declared that she knows the cause of the North to be hopeless will the Northern minority venture to avow their own conviction of its hopelessness. To refuse recognition is, therefore, to delay peace. Further, it is to render the offer of mediation impossible. No Government will think of accepting mediation between itself and rebels; no powerful nation will admit mediation in a civil war, as the admission would involve a guarantee by the mediator of the terms of peace, carrying with it a right of subsequent interference fatal to the national independence. It is only when the rebels have become, and are acknowledged to be, a foreign Power, that foreign Powers will be allowed to interpose their good offices. It is only when the parties to a civil war are acknowledged by foreigners to be two distinct nations that they can well invite the interference of foreigners to settle the terms of separation. Not until the Confederate States are recognized by England and France will the North dream of acknowledging their independence on any terms; not till then will a tender of arbitration, as to the conditions of separation be admissible, or have the least chance of acceptance. But when recognition has once been accorded, we are not of those who believe that the North will long persist in the war; much less that it will violently resent this practical expression of disbelief in its vaunts of expected victory. Mr. Seward may write an insolent despatch; the Northern papers may indulge in harmless bluster; demagogues may make indignant speeches—but neither the Government nor the people have the least idea of quarrelling with the great Powers of Western Europe. The heavy discouragement given to the dominant faction, the support afforded to the moderate party, by such a determination on the part of England and France, would probably place substantial power in the hands of the latter, and bring about the speedy abandonment of the war. At least, it would render efficacious and practicable the offer of European mediation, which seems to afford the surest hope of peace. And it is truly marvellous that England, with an interest in the restoration of tranquillity, and in the independence of the Confederate States, far greater than that of any other Power—England, with two millions of her people

doomed to want and misery by the war—should be made by her Government the one obstacle to recognition; the one European abettor of Northern obstinacy, aggression, and revenge.

Continental Money, Assignats, and "Green-backs."

From the time of the Revolutionary War to the period of Secession the financial affairs of all the American States had been conducted by the people of the North. The moneys borrowed by the Colonial Congress, and by the United States' Government, or foreign agency, for the respective States, under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, were negotiated at or through Philadelphia, until the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States in the year 1836, when New York became the fiscal depot for the whole country. The same course was pursued with State, Municipal, Railway, and other Southern bonds and stocks; and even the cotton, tobacco, and rice crops were moved forward, in a great measure, by the medium of agencies of Northern bankers at Southern ports. The people of the South made no complaint about the Northerners having charge of their financial matters; they thought it was natural that such should be the case, when the latter had the advantage of an European connection, and they well knew that there could be but a single financial centre in a league of States that were as one country to all foreign nations. Their grievances were confined principally to the imposition of protective tariffs and the meddling with their domestic concerns. The Southerners were the first people of modern times to promulgate theoretically, and adopt practically, unrestricted free trade; they have always been students of Political Economy, and although in their quiet, agricultural, patriarchal mode of life they trusted the management of their financial concerns to others, they have, since setting up for themselves under the style of the Confederate States of America, exhibited a degree of sagacity on the subject worthy of a nation of Rothschilds or Barings. Under the most trying circumstances, shut out from the world, and thrown entirely upon their own resources, their Treasury Department has been managed with skill, economy, and prudence. Unlike their late allies of the North, they have made no effort to negotiate a loan in this country, and for each emission of their paper they have provided for both principal and interest by taxation. In short, they have acted in every respect with that foresight and judgment which warrants the conclusion that their indebtedness will be promptly met upon its maturity.

The Federal Government, on the other hand, has behaved in a reckless manner in respect to its monetary concerns; while the South has followed in the footsteps of England, the North has repeated the blunders made by the colonies, and subsequently imitated by France. A reference to them at the present time may not be out of place.

Shortly after the delegates from the thirteen separate colonial charter or patent Governments met at Philadelphia to engage in a common cause to resist the enforcement of the Stamp Act of Great Britain, they found themselves involved in war—first, by the skirmish at Lexington, on April 19, 1775, followed by the Battle of Bunker's Hill, on June 17 of that year. They formed a Congress, and one of their first acts was an authorization for the issue of \$2,000,000 of paper money, which was increased within twelve months to \$20,000,000; and although the ardour of the people for independence was very great, the currency began to depreciate from that time; the decline in its value was, as will be shown, owing to the excess in quantity beyond what could be used by the community for the ordinary purposes of exchange. This cause affected its value only, but had no bearing upon its credit. When it depreciated and fell 75 per cent., large sales were made; many of the acknowledged Tories were tempted to purchase it, and locked it up in their chests, as a matter of speculation. The necessities of the

war involved further issues; \$200,000,000 were afloat in 1779, and \$30 in paper money were freely given in exchange for one silver dollar. At that period Congress intervened and made the "Continental Currency" a legal tender; but doing so accomplished nothing. It simply made it the interest of every man who had debts or taxes to pay to depreciate the money; and it moreover excited the disgust and opposition of all persons who had been injured by it. Congress then passed laws regulating the price of goods, which, from the instability of the paper currency, were unjust and incapable of execution, and hence specie or barter was introduced to supply its place, and by thus diminishing the number of people among whom it circulated it sunk further in value. On March 17, 1780, the amount had increased so much, and the premium on the precious metals risen so high, that Congress resolved to call the emissions of 1777 and 1778 out of circulation, at forty for one or only two and a-half per cent.; this at once impaired the credit of all their issues; for further supplies they had to pay exorbitant prices, and the amount of these Continental "green-backs" reached \$500,000,000 by May 7, 1781. So worthless had this currency become at that date, that a large body of the inhabitants of Philadelphia paraded the streets with paper dollars in their hats by way of cockades, displaying colours, with a dog tarred, and instead of the usual ornament of feathers, his back was covered with Continental money. This demonstration of disaffection, immediately under the eyes of the rulers of the revolted provinces, in solemn session at the State House assembled, was directly followed by the jailer, who refused accepting the bills in purchase of a glass of rum, and afterwards by the traders of the city, who shut up their shops, declining to sell any more goods but for gold or silver. It was declared also by the popular voice, that if the opposition to Great Britain was not in future carried on by solid money instead of paper bills, all further resistance to the mother country were in vain, and must be given up. A letter dated August 19, 1780, thus alludes to the state of financial affairs:—

Ten thousand pounds Pennsylvania currency was worth £6000 sterling; £10,000 Continental money is worth £100. The difference makes a loss of £5900 sterling, being as sixty to one. This was the exchange at Philadelphia in June last, and, as they had not then heard of Gates' defeat, it must be now lower. Actions commenced for considerable sums by creditors have been obliged to be withdrawn, or a non-suit suffered; a lawyer of eminence not opening his mouth in a trial of consequence under a fee of £1000, though the legal fee is about forty; and the debt, if recovered, being paid in Continental money, dollar for dollar, worth now but a penny, the difference between a penny and 4s. 6d. sterling, is lost to the receiver. The Congress having called in the former emissions, \$40 for one, and giving that one in paper, cuts off every hope of its redemption. The freight of a hoghead of tobacco is £300, or one hoghead for the carriage of another. Instead of the creditor pursuing the debtor with an arrest, the debtor pursues the creditor with a tender of Continental money, and forces the bond out of his hand. Hence it appears what the best fortunes are reduced to; an unpleasant reflection it must be; for time, which lightens all other losses, aggravates the loss of fortune. Every day we feel it more, because we stand more in want of the conveniences we have been used to. On the other hand, new fortunes are made on the ruin of old ones. War, which keeps the spirits in motion, has diffused a taste for gaiety and dissipation. The French resident minister at Philadelphia, gives a rout twice a week to the ladies of that city, amongst whom French hairdressers, milliners, and dancers are all the *ton*. The Virginia jig has given place to the Cotillion and *Minuet de la Cour*. Congress has fallen into general contempt, for its want of credit and power; the army is absolute, and has declared it will not submit to a peace made by Congress: the people grumble, but are obliged to surrender one piece of furniture after another to pay their State taxes.

Although the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," had then been signed by all the States, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were desirous of "seceding" from the Union. In Connecticut the minds of the people were so directed in that way, that if any patriot had stood forth, and appealed to those who wished to preserve their charter, and enjoy immediate peace, he would have been instantly joined by a vast majority of the colony, in a resolution to withdraw from Congress and oppose what they alleged to be the "pernicious laws by which they so often had been cheated of their property."

The disgust and impatience of the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were so great that they moved for instructions to the delegates in Congress to make overtures for peace with the mother country.

From that time the expenses of the war were paid principally by the individual States, who contracted an indebtedness of \$21,000,000, Franklin and Laurens having succeeded in borrowing several millions of dollars in France and Prussia. These amounts were assumed by the United States' Government in 1790, and settled for by Treasury Bonds, but the "Continental Notes" have never been paid. Notwithstanding the irredeemable paper system broke down in America in 1781, it was adopted by France in 1789, in the issue of assignats, which were to be paid from the proceeds of the sales of property belonging to the clergy and those persons that had emigrated in consequence of the Revolution; this currency also kept at near par for a year. The original amount was 1,200,000,000 francs, but it was increased so much that it fell to 90 per cent., then to 60 per cent., and in 1795 it was only worth 18 per cent. On February 1, 1796, twenty francs in silver purchased at the Bourse 5330 francs in assignats. The whole country, except a few speculators, was involved in ruin and national bankruptcy ensued.

Mr. Chase's financial schemes are so similar to those just instanced, that it is surprising the people of the North do not foresee the result. Like the Continental money and assignats, his "green-backs" kept at par for many months, but since the depreciation has begun, it has been rapid, and with the augmentation in amount must continue to decline. The Confederates have acted on the opposite policy, they have only, until the present moment, made their issues a legal tender for debts due to the Government, and they are convertible into 8 per cent. stock, to pay the principal and interest of which a tax of a half per cent. has been levied on all property.

The excuse that may be offered for the colonists and the French for their bad management of money concerns, is the fact of their having been in a state of political revolution; the same apology may be presented for Mr. Chase, as no intelligent person can doubt but what the North is in a *quasi* insurrectionary state, Lincoln has violated the Constitution repeatedly; he has trampled upon the very framework of the Government over and over again, and has become as undeniably a tyrant as was Robespierre. He and his followers are "rebels" and traitors, and the picture of their doings would not be complete without their money affairs being arranged on a basis of treachery. Mr. Carlyle says, "Great is bankruptcy; the great bottomless gulf into which all falsehoods, public and private, do sink, disappearing; whither, from the first origin of them, they were all doomed. For Nature is true, and not a lie. No lie you can speak or act, but it will come, after longer or shorter circulation, like a bill drawn on Nature's reality, and be presented there for payment—with the answer, *no effects*. Pity only that it often had so long a circulation, that the original forger were so seldom he who bore the final smart of it! Lies, and the burden of evil they bring, are passed on—shifted from back to back, and from rank to rank, who, with spade and mattock, with sore heart and empty wallet, daily come in *contact* with reality, and can pass the cheat no further."

There has been no "rebellion" in the South. Secession was accomplished by legal means. Her internal affairs have been conducted as formerly, except the detention of the surplus produce; and the withdrawal of sovereign States can in no manner be properly called a revolution. As England has often been, the South is now involved in an expensive war, but she has made ample arrangements to pay its cost of \$800,000 per day; as in the case of England also, her whole indebtedness is due to her own people. The commercial balances owing to Europe by the bankers and merchants of the Northern States, indirectly furnish the Federal Government with funds in the way of temporary loans upon its securities (?). The South has neither sought nor required facilities from abroad;

he has, at ordinary valuations, \$350,000,000 worth of cotton, tobacco, rice, and naval stores awaiting shipment, and when the flood-gates of peace are once opened, the waters of commerce will rapidly flow, washing away the distress in the manufacturing districts of Europe, and restoring the paralyzed trade of the world to its usual vigour and life.

The Duration of the War.

THE termination of the war in America is an event all wise men desire, but no one who values his reputation for sound judgment will predict the date of the return of peace. To the anxious and general inquiry, "How long will the war last?" no definite reply is possible; but we may, with advantage, estimate the probable duration of the war by considering the causes that are likely to end it. These are five in number—the conquest of the South; the exhaustion of the North; the disruption of the United States; foreign intervention; or by the North becoming so convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle as to withdraw from it. Let us briefly glance at these contingencies *in seriatim*, and by doing so we may be able to see upon what events, and upon what policy, and upon whose responsibility, under Heaven, the issue of peace or war depends.

In addressing a European public it would be a waste of time to dilate on the impossibility of the subjugation of the Confederate States, for no person on this side of the Atlantic, not even excepting the prejudiced and heated partisans of the North, believe in it. A fortnight since, in an article entitled "The Strength of the Belligerents," we showed the respective forces were, under the circumstances, so evenly balanced as to make the Northern boast of being able to crush the South a palpable absurdity; but without going into any such calculation, the popular instinct and the common sense of Europe has perceived and determined that if the Southerners are resolved to be independent their independence cannot be conquered by the United States. Supposing that the North had the numerical superiority it boasts of—suppose its population to be homogeneous and united—suppose it to be equal in military prowess to its enemy—the conquest of the South would still be impossible. The immense area of the Confederate States renders it vulnerable to an invader, but at the same time it secures it from conquest. In the first War of Independence England found it easy to invade and take towns in a large and thinly populated country, but England could not subjugate the three million colonists, though that number included a powerful minority in favour of the old country. What, then, is the prospect of the United States conquering the Confederate States, where there are eight millions of a thoroughly united and superior race? As for the idea of exterminating the Southerners it is sufficient to remark that as the South, not only by reason of her superior strategy, but because she is fighting at home, loses far fewer men than the invader, the savage consummation so greatly desired by the mob of New York and the clergy of New England can only be attained by the simultaneous extermination of the Northerners. But we know that the North is not united; we know that it has to repress anarchy at home; we know that its citizens are fleeing from the conscription; and that in the North a portion of the able-bodied men are obliged to attend to agriculture, whilst in the South the whole of the white population is available for military purposes, because the slaves are sufficient for the farming. We know, in short, that the South, being united, is invincible; and therefore, though the war should last for twenty years, it will not be terminated by her subjugation.

The exhaustion of the North would, of course, involve the termination of hostilities, but we may learn from history how long a war may be waged, without producing utter prostration. Ere this nations have fought years after they have been pauperized, and until the entire strength of their populations have fallen in battle, or succumbed to the

fell diseases indigenous to camps. It is far more probable that the disruption of the United States, the separation of the West from the North, will be the cause of the war ending; but this, we submit, is an eventuality which may be long postponed, though it cannot be ultimately averted. The overthrow of the present Government of the United States might put a period to hostilities, but experience teaches us to expect that the reign of terror will endure for some time, and that the acknowledgment of the independence of the South may, if the war is continued until the North is irretrievably ruined, be the signal for civil war in the North. The conquest of the South, we repeat, is impossible. The exhaustion of the North will be preceded by many campaigns, and the coming disruption of the United States, though very apparent and even menacing, may be long deferred.

We need not consider the subject of foreign intervention, for though it would be perfectly justifiable, and would save Europe from incalculable suffering—though it would be an act of sound policy as well as of humanity, and though it would serve the Federal States as well as the Confederate States—there does not seem any prospect of its taking place; indeed, the South does not seek for intervention; she only seeks for recognition and a *de facto* neutrality. She thinks that whilst she is excluded from the markets and arsenals of Europe, the United States ought not to have free access to them. She asks that “those who seek equity should do equity;” that the United States should not be allowed to so use and pervert international law as to involve the actual complicity of other nations in the attempt to trample on the independence of the South. We will not discuss the right of the South to anticipate the intervention she no longer expects; we only insist upon her right to absolute neutrality. Intervention may not be adjourned *sine die*; but both in North and South it is thought to be so, and, we must add, that the assumption appears to us very reasonable.

The last eventuality we have to consider is, whether the war will terminate by the North discovering the hopelessness of the contest. Hitherto every expectation of the United States has been disappointed. The war that was to have been ended in thirty or ninety days has lasted two campaigns, and is, so far as the progress of the invader is concerned, only at its commencement. The “rebellion” was to have been crushed by 75,000 men, yet 700,000 men have failed—completely failed—to accomplish the object. It was boasted the North would be victorious on every field, but the Northern armies have been terribly cut up and thoroughly beaten. It was supposed there was a large Union party in the South, but there has not been found a vestige of Union feeling; and instead thereof a bitter hatred of the North. The Northern fleets were sure to be unexceptionably victorious; and they have been signally repulsed and defeated. Many persons in the North, believing the solemn slanders of the New England clergy, thought the slaves would be an incubus on the South; but the slaves have proved themselves faithful, and have immensely strengthened the South by labouring at home whilst their masters are engaged in fighting the enemy. Some of the expenses of the war were to be paid by the seizure of cotton and other products; but all convertible property has been destroyed at the approach of the invader. Commerce was to flourish amidst the din of war; but the country is in the throes of general insolvency. Still the North perseveres. If the South can be conquered the rich possession will restore credit; the South being independent, it follows that the main source of Northern prosperity is dried up. And why should the North despair? Does not Europe, by refusing to recognize the independence of the South, declare that the Confederate States have not yet achieved independence? Recognition would do more than defeat to convince the North that its object is unattainable; whilst non-recognition encourages further efforts. Until the South is recognized by Europe, the North will not, we may almost add *cannot*, give up the contest. When will the South be recognized?

It depends upon England, at least for the present; and in view of this the Northern agents are whispering a well-worn argument to prevent English recognition. They suggest England has an interest in the continuance of the war; that the weaker the United States becomes the firmer is our hold on Canada, but we maintain that a weak neighbour is always troublesome, and that a strong Southern Confederacy would be a better bulwark than the weakness of the North. It is suggested that the continuance of the war will benefit India by enabling her to produce cotton for Europe. No one practically acquainted with the question believes that India can supply the European markets so as to compensate for the loss of the American supply; and consequently our cotton manufacture must be lessened until the war is over. India can only increase her growth of cotton by the stimulus of advanced prices, and dearness will diminish the consumption of cotton fabrics. Besides, the war will at last be over, and then India will have once more to compete with American prices, and will find the competition impossible, as it was in the past. But the Indian supply is altogether a delusion, and until we get American cotton our principal industry will be crippled, and our artisans will suffer from the dire curse of enforced idleness. Our prosperity demands that the commerce of America should be restored by the return of peace. The continuation of the war is fraught with disaster to England; and, at present, the continuance of the war depends upon the veto of the English Government.

The Case of the Factory Operatives.

THE misery of Lancashire grows more intense and hopeless as the days pass on. With cotton at present prices, no manufacturer can make a profit, and few can work at all but at a loss which scarcely any are able, and none are willing, to afford. Here and there a spinner of the finest goods, in whose cost of production cotton is but a minor item, and labour the chief expense, finds himself able to work on, although his raw material costs him four times as much as it is wont to cost. But the vast majority of manufacturers, whose yarn or cloth is in ordinary seasons but a little dearer than the material of which it is made, find the narrow margin out of which they had to defray wages, wear and tear of machinery, and interest of capital, absolutely gone; so absolutely gone that they could better afford to pay their hands for doing nothing than to buy cotton, and give them work to do. And, therefore, from week to week the supply of employment grows less and less, and more and more operatives are deprived of the scanty subsistence they can earn as half-timers, and reduced to utter penury and, at least, to the verge of starvation. The wretchedness of the sufferers is increased by the concentration of the trade. Nearly the whole cotton trade of England is confined to a limited district; by far the greater portion is collected in special localities—in towns and large villages which have grown up around and are wholly dependent on a number of large factories. In the whole district there is no other important trade—no occupation capable of absorbing any perceptible fraction of the mass of operatives out of work. In the special localities, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the whole population lives on the factories; that there is scarcely a man, woman, or child to whom cotton is not bread, or to whom the closure of the factories does not mean the deprivation of all means of livelihood. The statistics of desolation, therefore, appalling as they are, are by no means surprising. In Blackburn there are above 30,000 souls without other subsistence than they may receive from public or private charity, out of a population of 60,000. In Preston, 13,000 persons have received parochial relief. In Bromley, out of 10,000 hands, 5000 are idle, and the rest but half employed. In Stockport, out of 18,000 hands, 7000 are without work, and 8500 on short time. In Oldham—with a population of 72,000—5000 hands are unemployed (*i. e.*, about

16,000 mouths are without food), and 10,000 are working three days a week, earning just a bare subsistence for the 32,000 souls dependent on their labour. In Manchester, which is exceptionally fortunate, out of less than 50,000 hands 12,000 are unemployed, and 13,000 working short time. In short, throughout the cotton districts, more than one-third of the people are eating the bitter bread of charity, or the stony crust of pauperism, or have no bread to eat; another third, or more, are just earning enough to keep “the wolf from the door;” without a farthing to replace the clothes that are worn out, or to provide fuel or warm clothing for the coming winter. The remainder anxiously await the day, which must come ere long, when they, too, must sink into the same abyss of misery.

How have the unemployed contrived to live, to escape actual death by hunger?—for we know that but a small proportion of their number have accepted the parish dole. We fear that some have actually perished of want. For the rest, there were but few of them who were at the beginning of the Cotton Famine absolutely without resources. Most of them had credit with the shopkeeper, which they were wont to use in seasons of pressure, and on this they lived until it was exhausted—until the shopkeeper had no longer the means, however good his will, to trust them. Then very many of them had savings; and the savings-banks can tell a tale of misery and mischief to those whose imagination is able to read the terrible truth in the dry record of arithmetical facts. Deposits have ceased to come in; withdrawals have been large and rapid. The poor man who had saved for years a small provision to secure comfort and independence to his old age, or to help his children forward in life, or to purchase the freehold of a home that he might call his own—a common and honourable object of ambition—has been compelled to spend his savings in order to keep himself and his children from beggary or the workhouse. And thus thousands have been thrown back in life, and seen the work of years undone in a few weeks; undone, never to be repaired, very probably never to be resumed. The co-operative movement had made great progress among them. There were scores of commercial and manufacturing societies, instituted and managed by working men, which had stimulated saving and facilitated thrift in working-class homes; which had created and employed a vast amount of capital belonging to working folk: societies in which the old feud between labour and capital was appeased by a new force of industrial organization, and in which a means had been found to dispense with the enormous cost of retail trade, to get rid of adulteration, and to supply the operative with well-made clothing and wholesome food, not only on better terms than had been allowed by the vendors of “shoddy” cloth and sophisticated tea, but on such conditions that the difference between the wholesale and retail price was received, in the form of a quarterly dividend, by the purchaser. We cannot here give an account of the co-operative movement; it is enough to say that it promised more than any sober man had before dared to hope from any social reform, and that the Cotton Famine threatens it with ruin. From those societies which allow the withdrawal of capital, more than they can afford to spare has been withdrawn. Shares in those which allow no such withdrawal have been sold at a fourth of their natural value to those who could afford to pay the calls which this season of pressure rendered inevitable. The prosperity of the operative class is not merely interrupted—it is, we fear, annihilated. Already Lancashire has been thrown back ten years, and has to begin almost from the beginning the work of self-elevation, which but lately seemed to have been carried successfully beyond all its worst difficulties. And with what spirit will that work be recommenced, after the terrible experience which has set at nought the efforts of prudence and mocked the lessons of economy, which has reduced the most industrious and self-denying men, in the space of a few weeks, to the level of their idlest and most thriftless comrades?

When savings and investments of every sort were

gone, the operatives have been driven to the cruel necessity of selling their clothing and furniture to buy their children food. This has happened to a far greater extent than is generally supposed, especially in those localities where the suspension of trade began nearly a twelvemonth ago. We read of men and women who for months have not slept in a bed; who have sold everything in their house, every article of clothing except what they actually wore, to get bread without applying for private charity or parochial relief. And at last even this resource fails them; and they sit between bare walls, on the bare floor, and strive not to hear their children cry for the food they cannot earn and will not beg. It was time that aid should reach them, that charity should seek them out. We read of families who had not tasted food from Friday to Tuesday, and we cannot bear to let our imagination dwell on the suffering which those words reveal. We trust that the very efficient organization of the Relief Committees will make such cases of extreme and neglected misery impossible for the future; but that they have occurred suffices to show to what condition the lawless passions of a foreign Democracy have reduced the most laborious and lately most prosperous class of English artisans. It is not easy to read the accounts which are daily published of the misery of hundreds of thousands of deserving men and innocent women and children, and yet to think and write as it behoves us to do of the guilty authors of so much wretchedness.

The English public is thoroughly awake to its duty towards these victims of American ambition and British neutrality. The Government declines, on account of any interest, however important, to depart from the deliberately chosen course of national policy; the nation feels, and justly feels, that no single class should be left to bear unaided the suffering which that policy involves. If we will not fight for Lancashire, we must feed her. And great efforts are being made to do this; the more so that the British public generously understands and sympathizes with the very natural, if not very logical, distinction drawn by the sufferers between voluntary charity and legal relief. They are ready as a class to receive from the nation that aid which as individuals they are ever ready to render to one another. The operative who in sickness or misfortune has been helped by a neighbour or an employer is obliged, but not degraded; if he had been forced to accept the alms of the parish it would have been long before he could have looked employer or neighbour in the face again. As individuals in ordinary times, as a class in this season of unparalleled disaster, they shrink from pauperism with a wholesome and intense abhorrence; and hundreds of them mean, and will do, what they say when advised to apply to the parish—"We will die of hunger first." And this is especially the case with those whom industry, skill, or good conduct has raised into a somewhat higher grade than that of the ordinary operative. The overlookers, who answer to foremen of departments in other manufactures, and whose position is, as it were, intermediate between that of the manager and that of the hands, protest vehemently against the degradation which seems to threaten them. Their self-respect, their influence, their authority, would be gone for ever, if the artisans under their supervision could remind them of having once worked as fellow-paupers in the stone-yard or on the high road. They have made manful and determined efforts to save themselves and one another; but their resources are now exhausted, and it is time that the Relief Committees should take their case in hand. The resolution of these bodies to devote their means chiefly and immediately to the relief of those who have not applied to the parish has been censured in some quarters. To us it appears both wise, just, and kind. It is wise to arrest as far as possible, the conversion of the Lancashire operatives, even for a season, into paupers. It is just to attend first to the wants of those who have no other means of subsistence, and who have shown the most stubborn reluctance to accept subsistence on condition of degradation. And it is kind to spare to as many as possible the moral wretchedness

which is endured by the respectable working-man who, no matter under what grievous necessity, has once betaken himself to the parish pay-table. Next to the starvation of the operatives, their pauperization is the evil to be most strenuously deprecated, and to be prevented by every possible exertion and sacrifice. Not only would it inflict untold pain and shame upon them, but by humbling their honest pride, breaking down their self-respect, and lowering the moral tone of their order, it would be a calamity to the country at large.

We differ, therefore, with those who seem inclined to sneer at the abhorrence of parochial relief evinced by men who are willing to accept of voluntary assistance. We believe that this feeling is legitimate, and should be encouraged; and we are, further, disposed to take part with the operatives in their very moderately and respectfully expressed complaints against the treatment of those who have been compelled to apply for aid from the poor-rate. They protest against being classed and made to work with "ordinary" or habitual paupers. It is neither just nor generous to say that they are paupers, and need not be squeamish about their company. They are paupers, as the schoolboy who robs an orchard for fun is a thief; and to herd them with the brutalized, degraded, worthless creatures who form the usual population of the workhouse, is as cruel and iniquitous as to condemn the amateur apple-stealer to the company of a gang of convicts. It is wantonly cruel, when they complain of labour on high-roads, or in stone-yards, or in levelling, and ask that work more suitable to their health and habits may be found for them, to taunt them with idleness, and tell them that beggars must not be choosers. Their habits of indoor work, their scanty clothing, their want of muscular vigour, unfit them for hard out-door labour, which, during the winter, will be certainly fatal to many among them; and stone-breaking destroys that delicacy of touch, which is essential to certain portions of their work, and thereby damages their future power of earning a livelihood at their own trade. Nor do we blame, though we do not altogether justify, the man who refused to sweep the streets at the bidding of the guardians, and being thereupon dismissed without relief, went home and died of want. He refused the work, not because it was hard, but because it was degrading. To men of sensitive pride, suffering from undeserved calamity, every indulgence should be shown; and if it be necessary to do what seems harsh in dealing with them, the necessity should be fairly and frankly explained. Their position is a very painful one, and it should be the endeavour of all who have to do with them, to avoid wounding feelings which are naturally sore, or exacting compliances which, justly or not, are conceived to be inconsistent with that dignity and independence which they have not forfeited by any default of their own. Poor-law officials, hardened and roughened by constant collision with vagabonds and idlers, are hardly the men to deal with such a class; and the less the Poor Law has to do with the distressed operatives of Lancashire, the better for the Poor Law, for the people, and for the credit of the country.

Mr. Smith on England and Canada.

BETWEEN the end of the Parliamentary session and St. Partridge is always a dull time for newspaper readers; but it is the busy season of the penny-a-liner. His reports are not mercilessly pared down to a mere skeleton of the facts. The paragraphist also flourishes. A great gooseberry, a shower of frogs, or suggestive scandals about distinguished personages are very acceptable. It would be a considerable boon if Sir Cresswell Cresswell would, during that period, sit from day to day to hear selected divorce cases; cases, we mean, in which the reporter remarks that the details are unfit for publication, and yet publishes them by innuendo. During that brief space the provincial newspapers contain long letters from

young gentlemen who are disgusted with the folly of our statesmen, and who are ready with plans for paying off the national debt, making everybody rich and happy, and for putting an end to international discord. It is the interval between the acts, when any supernumerary who happens to appear before the curtain is sure to attract attention, and even applause from some of the audience, though his mission is merely to sweep the stage. So far as his notoriety is concerned, Mr. Goldwin Smith shewed sound discretion in publishing a letter of five columns in the *Daily News* on Friday last; but why he should have written this letter, which is a second edition of his letter on colonization, can only be explained by a love of seeing his name at the foot of a column of type. This may be a weakness, but it is pardonable compared to the amusing egotism that induces the Oxford professor to compare himself to Adam Smith. Besides the similarity in name, we are unable to discover any resemblance between Adam Smith, the political economist, and Mr. Goldwin Smith, the Oxford professor.

The learned gentleman says, "I am no more against colonies than I am against the Solar System." We should not have felt any alarm for the Solar System if he had been against it; and it is quite as likely that he can change the order of the planets, as that he can influence colonization. Mr. Smith tells us that "if Canada were made an independent nation, she would still be a colony of England;" and in proof of this, he informs the benighted world that "our God will be her God." This stupendous discovery is followed by an announcement that until after the visit of the Prince of Wales to America, Queen Victoria reigned over the United States. The war of 1812, the boundary disputes, the repeated threats of war, are myths. The United States has all along been loyal to the crown of England, and the Presidents of the United States have been shadows, mere representatives of the English monarch. Mr. Smith will somewhat surprise his New York clients.

The gist of Mr. Smith's argument is, that England ought to forthwith turn Canada adrift. Canada may not wish to cut the connection; but we have taught her to love it, and ought to turn her out of the empire. We have to keep 18,000 soldiers in Canada, and a fleet on the American station, and all this expense might be saved if we got rid of Canada. But we will not repeat Mr. Smith's stale arguments, which have been so often refuted. All the world knows that colonies are directly or indirectly a source of wealth to the mother country. The suggestion that we do more business with the United States now than we did before they were independent has no bearing on the question. We do more business with France, China, India, and the world at large, than we did in the last century. Will Mr. Smith point out an arrangement of the Government of Canada that is inimical to commerce? Do not the Canadians levy their own taxes, spend their own taxes, and regulate their own commerce? Did Mr. Smith ever happen to meet with the trade returns of our Australian colonies? They show that connection with England does not prevent the rapid development of commerce.

Mr. Smith hates everything English, even our own colonies, which he calls parasites. There is a sneer for the Emperor of the French, because he is our ally. We are "trembling for our own shores;" our emigrants "flee from the workhouse;" there is class-patronage in England—in Canada a class corrupted by "baronetries and the hope of subsidies." We are pauperized, we are fearfully criminal, we are suffering from feudalism; our Church is fighting for liberty. We are reminded of George IV. The House of Peers, the aristocracy, the State Church is condemned, and a host of abuse is lavished that has been uttered with much greater force by Mr. Bright. But if Mr. Smith hates England, he loves the United States—not the Confederate States, but the good, orderly, happy, generous Northern States. Love may not be blinder than hate, but in Mr. Smith's case it is more palpably absurd. The decline of England has been predicted and prophesied for a quarter of a century; but

it is rather novel to hear that "hitherto, in the sunshine of commercial prosperity, we have been going merrily down hill, under the guidance of light-hearted politicians, who have scattered money with aristocratic generosity and amidst general glee." We were under the impression that commerce was the foundation of our national greatness, and that prosperity and decadence were never contemporary. What the gentleman—who is good enough not to oppose the Solar System—means, is, we presume, that in our prosperity we have become radically corrupt; we have lost all power of contending against reverses; that our loyalty, our love of order, so wonderfully manifest in Lancashire, our freedom of speech, and our personal liberty are delusions; the Church and State are tottering and must soon be overthrown. The man seems strong and healthy, yet the doctor shakes his head and pretends to perceive seeds of disease. This may be pretentious quackery; but what shall we say of the doctor who sees his patient in the agony of a life and death convulsion—sees him crushed down and bleeding in every pore, and declares that the sufferer is in an curable state of robust and promising health? Mr. Smith does this; for he cannot plead ignorance of the real state of affairs on the other side of the Atlantic. If his newspaper reading is confined to the *New York Herald* and the *Daily News*, he cannot but perceive that just now the United States is not the happiest spot on earth, and that the Republican principle he so loudly vaunts has been tried and found imperfect. Possibly Mr. Smith is perpetrating a solemn joke, and certainly only fools can think he is serious and wise.

The late United States is divided in two, and, sooner or later, will be divided into at least three nations; yet Mr. Smith espouses the Monroe doctrine; observing that we are always on the brink of a war with the United States, because by retaining possession of Canada "we stand in the path of her advancing greatness." We are at a loss to see how this happens. Canada may leave England, but Canada will never join her fortunes to the United States. Antipathy between the two peoples has been rapidly developed, and to antipathy has lately been added disgust. New nations do not generally enter into political union with nations whose political institutions have proved a failure.

The following passage is too suggestive to be summarized:—

As to emigration, for one emigrant that goes to our American dependencies seven go, in common times, to the land of independence and of unbounded enterprise and hope, in the United States. Even of those who go to Canada, many afterwards straggle across the frontier.

We happen to be in uncommon times, when people are doing their utmost to leave the United States and go to Canada. Mr. Smith says slavery "is the deep cause of all the ruin and misery now before our eyes." We can tell him—and if he thinks proper to study the statistics of America he can verify our assertion—that it was the wealth poured into the lap of the North by the Southern States that induced the large emigration to the United States; and if he were not stone blind by prejudice he would see that the North did not enter on the contest to fight against slavery, but to retain a hold on Southern wealth.

At the risk of wearying our readers, we will direct their attention to the following passages from Mr. Smith's letter. Their inopportune, at the present juncture, makes them exceedingly comic:—

In the New World monarchy has a root, and it has a use. It binds the unfranchised, ignorant, and indigent masses of the people by a tie of personal loyalty to the Constitution. In the New World monarchy has no root; and it has no use where the masses of the people are enfranchised and bound to the Constitution by property and intelligence. * * * Why should they [the people of England] desire to plant among the communities of the New World a hostile outpost of feudalism and privilege, the source of division, jealousy, and war? What reason have they to fear the sight of great commonwealths based on free reverence for equal laws, and prospering without lords or dependents? Why should they look with jealous malignity on the mighty development of the Anglo-Saxon race, emancipated from Norman bonds, over a continent which its energy and patience have made its own? * * * Old England has failed to shake off feudalism; but the founders of New

England left it behind and planted a realm beyond its sway. The knell of privilege struck when they, at the foundation of their State, bound themselves in a voluntary covenant to "render due obedience to just and equal laws framed for the general good."

The New York mob, the multitude who are endeavouring to fly from the United States, are, of course, bound by property to the Constitution. In the United States there is no division, anarchy and war. A gagged press, the suspension of personal liberty, an enforced paper currency, a harsh conscription, are a few of the institutions which the English ought not to envy; and Mr. Smith may be assured they are not envied. Strange as it may appear to Mr. Smith, the English people have such taste as to prefer the rule of Queen Victoria to the rule of Mr. Lincoln, and the influence of the English aristocracy to the domination of mob-leaders. It is a very prevalent impression that England is rather more free and independent than the United States, and that the only free Republican Government in North America is that of the Confederate States. But Mr. Smith looks through a glass that makes black appear white and white black; and so he gloats over the wickedness and despotism of England, and glorifies the blessedness and liberty of the United States.

Reviews.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON DAVIS.*

SOCIETY, like man, is a complex machine. All the parts are useful to, and are benefited by, the aggregate, and an injury done to one member is an injury done to the whole body or fraternity. The corruption and ruin of a nation with which we have no direct intercourse, has an indirect influence upon our prosperity, because it affects those nations which are associated with us politically and commercially. But with society, as with the human body, some diseases are local, and the ill effects are only partial, whilst others are organic and general. Thus it is with respect to America. She was a main artery of trade, and so the stoppage of her trade is every one's concern. Not England only, but Europe is interested in the contest, and watches it with absorbing attention. Newspapers, magazines, reviews, teem with articles on America, yet the subject is far from being exhausted, and is decidedly popular. One reason of this is the ignorance that prevailed with respect to the Southern States. Beyond knowing that they produced cotton, tobacco, and rice, we knew nothing of them, and, in default of information, the calumnies of the North were credited. It was said and believed that the Southerners were an enervated race; and to the surprise of the civilized world, it was discovered that the clergy and public men of New England had perjured themselves grossly and persistently, and that the Southerners are a race worthy their high descent, and have displayed a wonderful energy in repelling the invaders of their country. To them is due the rapid growth and prosperity of the Union. The truth is now being appreciated and understood. Our public writers are embracing every opportunity of dissipating prejudice and error. We rarely meet with a magazine that has not some reference to the war in America, and which does not, in nineteen cases out of twenty, vindicate the South from some of the absurd charges brought by Northern fanaticism and covetousness.

The current number of *Blackwood* contains a brief but admirably written memoir of the President of the Confederate States; and the outline of his career show great men are providentially prepared for great emergencies; and that the people of the South, in selecting their first President, displayed appreciative judgment. Mr. Jefferson Davis was born in 1808, in Kentucky, in which State his father, who had served in the Revolutionary War, settled after the American War. He was educated at home until his fifteenth year, when he entered the university at Lexington. He was not destined to remain long at this seat of learning, and in 1824 was removed to the United States' Military Academy at West Point. He passed through his military course with merit and *éclat*, and in 1828 was brevetted second-lieutenant of the regular army, and he served upon the northern frontier until 1833. At the termination of the Black Hawk War, he was transferred to the western frontier, and joined the first expedition against the Comanches and Pawnees. In 1835 he married a daughter of General Taylor, late President of the United

States; but his wife died a few months after their marriage. Peace being established, Mr. Davis resigned his commission, and in the year 1836 retired to his estate in Mississippi, which adjoined the estates of his brother Joseph, twenty years his senior, and a gentleman of considerable attainments. Here he remained in seclusion for eight years, devoting himself to the studies which laid the foundation of his statesmanship and his masterly oratory. In 1844 he made his *début* in political life as candidate for election in the State of Mississippi, previous to the Presidential election in which Mr. Clay represented the Whigs, and Mr. Polk the Democratic party. Mr. Davis was chosen as Democratic elector; and his great reputation induced his fellow-citizens to choose him as their representative in Congress in 1845. After devoting a few months to studying the forms of Congress, he delivered his maiden speech in that assembly, and when it was over, Mr. John Quincy Adams, who was opposed to him in politics, remarked to his friends, "Mr. Davis is a remarkable man, a very remarkable man, gentlemen; he will make his mark, mind me!"

At the end of a year his civil career was interrupted:—

In May 1846, the United States declared war against Mexico, and the citizen-soldiers of the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, which had been raised to reinforce General Taylor, unanimously chose Mr. Davis as their colonel. Although this distinction was unsolicited by him, and was conferred upon him when he was a thousand miles away from the regiment, he promptly conformed to the desire of his military admirers, and, resigning his seat in Congress, joined his comrades, then at New Orleans, on their way to the seat of war. The army was formed into two main divisions—one immediately under General Taylor, which operated along the Texas frontier; and the other in the South, under General Scott, which finally took possession of the capital. Colonel Davis was ordered to join the northern division, and had not long been there before, at the Battle of Monterey, on the 16th of September, 1846, he completely justified the choice his regiment had made in electing him.

The Battle of Buena Vista was fought on the 22nd and 23rd of February, 1847, and was claimed by both sides as a victory. The obstinacy of the combatants is beyond doubt; the Mexicans losing nearly 4000 men, and boasting, at the same time, that the trophies of war were theirs. Colonel Davis was thus mentioned in the Commander-in-Chief's despatch:—"The Mississippi Riflemen, under Colonel Davis, were highly conspicuous for their gallantry and steadiness, and sustained throughout the engagement the reputation of veteran troops. Brought into action against an enormously superior force, they maintained themselves for a long time unsupported, and with heavy loss, and held an important post in the field until reinforced. Colonel Davis, although severely wounded, remained in the saddle until the close of the action. His distinguished coolness and gallantry at the head of his regiment on this day entitle him to the particular notice of the Government."

The President conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general, which, however, he declined on the ground that "the President has not the power of giving rank to officers of State troops." After a month's retirement the Governor of Mississippi appointed him to a vacancy that had occurred in the United States' Senate during the recess, and when the State Legislature assembled he was unanimously elected for the term of six years. He at once took up a position as defender of the constitutional rights of the South, and when Mr. Calhoun died in 1850 became the leader of the States' Rights party. He resigned in 1851 to stand for Governor of Mississippi, when he was beaten by a small majority; but this was not due to his want of influence, but to the lateness of his canvass. In 1852 he induced his State to cast her vote for General Pierce, and therefore against General Scott, for President. Mr. President Pierce invited Colonel Davis to become War Minister, and the invitation was accepted.

The second-lieutenant of 1829 was now the Secretary of War of 1853, having been in the meantime Representative and Senator in Congress. He brought therefore to his office high qualifications, both of a civil and military character. His early education, his experience in the field, both in subordinate positions and in command, made him thoroughly acquainted with all those matters of detail which affect the well-being of the soldier; while the active part which he had taken, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, on military affairs, familiarized him with the proper requirements and administration of the War Office. At the time of Mr. Davis's appointment, the department over which he was called upon to preside required a firm, vigorous, and clear understanding. Acting, as he invariably did, from honest convictions, he may have incurred the anathemas of the grumblers and drones of the army, in whom he endeavoured to arouse a spirit of activity and zeal, but no voice was ever heard to assail him on the ground of self-interest or of private advantage.

The commissariat of the department during his administration was entirely remodelled, and steps were taken to supply the smallest posts with regularity, which were often situated in isolated spots scattered over this vast continent, sometimes a thousand miles away from a railroad or navigable stream. During the second year of his administration he increased the regular army by four regiments. He improved the light infantry and rifle system of tactics, and favoured the manufacture of rifled muskets and pistols, and caused extensive expeditions to be made in the western part of the continent for scientific, military, and railroad purposes.

Before the close of the Presidential term he was again elected by the Legislature of Mississippi to represent that State in the United States' Senate upon his leaving the War Department. "At mid-day, therefore, on March

* *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for September.

4, 1857, he stepped from that department into the Senate Chamber.

What a change had there taken place since he left his seat six years before! His great political adversaries were gone. The impassioned eloquence of Clay had been hushed for ever. The solemn accent and logical argument of Webster were never more to be heard upon earth. Little demagogues, with little names, had, in the interval, found their way into the Senate. This deplorable retrogression afforded to an observing patriot melancholy evidence that the Government of the Union was degenerating; that, in fact, it had entered the first phase of practical decadence. Dogmas, conflicting directly with the provisions of the Constitution, had been employed to make would-be grave senators out of fourth and fifth rate taproom politicians. Hopeless as might seem the effort, discouraging as were all the signs of the times, Senator Davis went to work with his usual resolution and energy, to endeavour to secure a new lease for constitutional union, and to preserve, in this manner, for the benefit of after generations, the commonwealth of the American Republic. The Federal system, while administered in the sense in which it had its origin—viz., one of the sovereign States operating for the honour and interest of all, and all operating for the honour and interest of each (as was the case under the Presidencies of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe)—had not an enemy in the South, and Senator Davis was one of its most faithful supporters.

All his efforts were in vain. His frankness and earnestness are conspicuous in his last great speech in the Senate, from which we quote the following extract:—

We do not desire these things. We seek not the injury of any one. We seek not to disturb your prosperity. We, at least to a certain extent, have looked to our agricultural labour as that to which we prefer to adhere. We have seen, in the diversity of the occupations of the States, the bond of the Union. We have rejoiced in your prosperity. We have sent you our staples, and purchased your manufactured articles. We have used your ships for the purpose of transport and navigation. We have gloried in the extension of American commerce everywhere; have felt proud as yourselves in every achievement you made in art; on every sea that you carried your flag, in regions to which it had hitherto not been borne; and, if we must leave you, we can leave you still with the goodwill which would prefer that your prosperity should continue. If we must part, I say, we can put our relations upon that basis which will give you the advantage of a favoured trade with us, and still make the intercourse mutually beneficial to each other. If you will not, then it is an issue from which we will not shrink; for between oppression and freedom, between the maintenance of right and submission to power, we will invoke the God of Battles, and meet our fate, whatever it may be.

Mr. Jefferson Davis was surely a full-fledged man, and by his career fitted for the high office to which he was chosen. He was not only highly endowed, but his mind was highly cultivated, and his powerful judgment had been ripened by experience. He had learnt in the field the active duties of a soldier; and in the War Department he had been practised in the administration of an army. He was greatly distinguished as a Senator, and had been unremitting in his attention to his civil duties. Providence had given him periods for study, as well as opportunities for active exertion. The new Confederacy needed a soldier and a statesman, and Mr. Jefferson Davis is both the one and the other. Nor has he disappointed the expectations of his friends or the fears of his enemies:—

Cut off altogether from free communication with Europe, the South has, from the commencement of the war, been obliged to sustain a most unequal contest; but the master mind which has directed the Confederate Government during this period of trial has met and overcome difficulties which at first seemed insuperable.

And to this let us add that, from the first to last, Mr. Jefferson Davis has never allowed invasion and war to be an excuse for tyranny, but has strictly respected the liberty of the people of the Confederate States, and has manifested a profound reverence for the law and Constitution. Indeed, never before under such circumstances was a free Constitution and free laws kept so inviolable.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

PRESIDENT DAVIS'S MESSAGE.

Congress met on the 16th of August. The following is the text of President Davis's message:—

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

It is again our fortune to meet for devising measures necessary to the public welfare whilst our country is involved in a desolating war. The sufferings endured by some portions of the people excite the deepest solicitude of the Government; and the sympathy thus evoked has been heightened by the patriotic devotion with which these sufferings have been borne. The gallantry and good conduct of our troops—always claiming the gratitude of the country—have been further illustrated on hard fought fields, marked by exhibitions of individual prowess which can find but few parallels in ancient or modern history. Our army has not faltered in any of the various trials to which it has been subjected, and the great body of the people have continued to manifest a zeal and unanimity which not only cheer the battle-stained soldier, but gives assurance to the friends of constitutional liberty of our final triumph in the pending struggle against despotic usurpation.

The vast army which threatened the capital of the Confederacy has been defeated and driven from the lines of investment, and the enemy, repeatedly foiled in his efforts for its capture, is now seeking to raise new armies on a scale such as modern history does not record, to effect that subjugation of the South so often proclaimed as on the eve of accomplishment.

The perfidy which disregarded rights secured by compact, the madness which trampled on obligations made sacred by every consideration of honour, have been intensified by the malignity engendered by defeat. These passions have changed the character of the hostilities waged by our enemies, who are becoming daily less regardful of the usages of civilized war and the dictates of humanity. Rapine and wanton destruction of private property, war upon non-combatants, murder of captives, bloody threats to avenge the death of an invading soldiery by the slaughter of unarmed citizens, orders of banishment against peaceful farmers engaged in the cultivation of the soil, are some of the means used by our ruthless invaders to enforce the submission of a free people to a foreign sway. Confiscation bills of a character so atrocious as to insure, if executed, the utter ruin of the entire population of these States, are passed by their Congress, and approved by their Executive. The moneyed obligations of the Confederate Government are forged by citizens of the United States, and publicly advertised for sale in their cities, with a notoriety that sufficiently attests the knowledge of their Government; and its complicity in the crime is further evinced by the fact that the soldiers of the invading armies are found supplied with large quantities of these forged notes as a means of despoiling the country people, by fraud, out of such portions of their property as armed violence may fail to reach. Two, at least, of the generals of the United States are engaged, unchecked by their Government, in exciting servile insurrection, and in arming and training slaves for warfare against their masters, citizens of the Confederacy. Another has been found of instincts so brutal as to invite the violence of his soldiery against the women of a captured city.

Yet the rebuke of civilized man has failed to evoke from the authorities of the United States one mark of disapprobation of his acts, nor is there any reason to suppose that the conduct of Benjamin F. Butler has failed to secure from his Government the sanction and applause with which it is known to have been greeted by public meetings and portions of the press of the United States. To inquiries made of the Commander-in-Chief of the United States, whether the atrocious conduct of some of their military commandants met the sanction of that Government, answer has been evaded on the pretext that the inquiry was insulting; and no method remains for the suppression of these enormities but such retributive justice as it may be found possible to execute.

Retaliation in kind for many of them is impracticable; for I have had occasion to remark in a former message that under no excess of provocation could our noble-hearted defenders be driven to wreak vengeance on unarmed men, on women, or on children. But stern and exemplary punishment can and must be meted out to the murderers and felons who, disgracing the profession of arms, seek to make of public war the occasion for the commission of the most monstrous crimes.

Deeply as we regret the character of the contest into which we are about to be forced, we must accept it as an alternative which recent manifestations gives us little hope can be avoided.

The exasperation of failure has aroused the worst passions of our enemies; a large portion of their people, even of their clergymen, now engage in urging an excited populace to the extreme of ferocity, and nothing remains but to vindicate our rights and to maintain our existence by employing against our foe every energy and every resource at our disposal.

I append, for your information, a copy of the papers exhibiting the action of the Government up to the present time for the repression of the outrages committed on our people. Other measures now in progress will be submitted hereafter.

In inviting your attention to the legislation which the necessities of our condition require, those connected with the prosecution of the war command almost undivided attention.

The acts passed at your last session, intended to secure the public defence by general enrolment, and to render uniform the rules governing troops in the service, have led to some unexpected criticism that is much to be regretted.

The efficiency of the law has been thus somewhat impaired, though it is not believed that in any of the States the popular mind has withheld its sanction from either the necessity or propriety of your legislation. It is only by harmonious as well as zealous action that a Government as new as ours, ushered into existence on the very

eve of a great war, and unprovided with the material necessary for conducting hostilities on so vast a scale, can fulfil its duties. Upon you, who are fully informed of the acts and purposes of the Government, and thoroughly imbued with the feelings and sentiments of the people, must reliance be placed to secure this great object. You can best devise the means for establishing that entire co-operation of the State and Confederate Governments which is essential to the well-being of both at all times, but which is now indispensable to their very existence.

And if any legislation should seem to you appropriate for adjusting differences of opinion, it will be my pleasure as well as duty to co-operate in any measure that may be devised for reconciling a just care for the public defence with a proper deference for the most scrupulous susceptibilities of the State authorities.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury will exhibit in detail the operations of that department. It will be seen with satisfaction that the credit of the Government securities remains unimpaired, and that this credit is fully justified by the comparatively small amount of accumulated debt, notwithstanding the magnitude of our military operations. The legislation of the last session provided for the purchase of supplies with the bonds of the Government; but the preference of the people for Treasury notes has been so marked that the Legislature is recommended to authorize an increase in the issue of Treasury notes, which the public service seems to require. No grave inconvenience need be apprehended from the increased issue, as the provisions of the law by which these notes are convertible into 8 per cent. bonds form an efficient and permanent safe-guard against any serious depreciation of the currency. Your attention is also invited to the means proposed by the Secretary for facilitating the preparation of those notes, and for guarding them against forgery. It is due to our people to state that no manufacture of counterfeit notes exists within our limits, and that they are all imported from the Northern States.

The report of the Secretary of War, which is submitted, contains numerous suggestions for the legislation deemed desirable in order to add to the efficiency of the service. I invite your favourable consideration, especially to those recommendations which are intended to secure the proper execution of the conscript law, and the consolidation of companies, battalions, and regiments, when so reduced in strength as to impair that uniformity of organization which is necessary in the army, while an undue burthen is imposed on the Treasury. The necessity for some legislation for controlling military transportation on the railroads, and improving their present defective condition, forces itself upon the attention of the Government, and I trust that you will be able to devise satisfactory measures for attaining this purpose. The legislation on the subject of general officers involves the service in some difficulties, which are pointed out by the Secretary, and for which the remedy suggested by him seems appropriate. In connection with this subject, I am of opinion that prudence dictates some provision for the increase of the army in the event of emergencies not now anticipated. The very large increase of forces recently called into the field by the President of the United States may render it necessary hereafter to extend the provisions of the conscript law so as to embrace persons between the ages of 35 and 45 years. The vigour and efficiency of our present forces, their condition, and the skill and ability which distinguish their leaders, inspire the belief that no further enrolment will be necessary, but a wise foresight requires that if a necessity should be suddenly developed during the recess of Congress requiring increased forces for our defence, means should exist for calling such forces into the field, without awaiting the reassembling of the legislative department of the Government.

In the election and appointment of officers for the provisional army it was to be anticipated that mistakes would be made, and incompetent officers of all grades introduced into the service. In the absence of experience, and with no reliable guide for selection, executive appointments as well as elections have been sometimes unfortunate.

The good of the service, the interests of our country, require that some means be devised for withdrawing the commissions of officers who are incompetent for the duties required by the position, and I trust that you will find means for relieving the army of such officers by some mode more prompt and less wounding to their sensibility than the judgment of a court-martial.

Within a recent period we have effected the object so long desired of an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, which is now being executed by delivery at the points agreed upon, and which will, it is hoped, speedily restore our brave and unfortunate countrymen to their

places in the ranks of the army, from which by the fortune of war they have for a time been separated. The details of this arrangement will be communicated to you in a special report when further progress has been made in its execution.

Of other particulars concerning the operations of the War Department you will be informed by the Secretary in his report and the accompanying documents.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy embraces a statement of the operations and present condition of this branch of the public service, both afloat and ashore; the construction and equipment of armed vessels at home and abroad, the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance stores, the establishment of workshops, and the development of our resources of coal and of iron. Some legislation seems essential for securing crews for vessels. The difficulties now experienced on this point are fully stated in the Secretary's report, and I invite your attention to providing a remedy.

The report of the Postmaster-General discloses the embarrassments which resulted in the postal service, from the occupation by the enemy of the Mississippi river, and portions of the territory of the different States. The measures taken by the department for relieving these embarrassments, as far as practicable, are detailed in the report. It is a subject of congratulation that, during the ten months which ended on March 31 last, the expenses of the department were largely decreased, whilst its revenue was augmented as compared with a corresponding period ending on June 30, 1860, when the postal service for these States was conducted under the authority delegated to the United States. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to determine whether the measures heretofore devised by Congress will accomplish the end of bringing the expenditures of the department within the limit of its own resources by March, 1 next, as required by the Constitution.

I am happy to inform you that, in spite both of blaudishments and threats, used in profusion by the agents of the Government of the United States, the Indian nations within the Confederacy have remained firm in their loyalty and steadfast in the observance of their treaty engagements with this Government. Nor has their fidelity been shaken by the fact that, owing to the vacancies in some of the offices of agents and superintendents, delay has occurred in the payments of the annuities and allowances to which they are entitled. I would advise some provision authorizing payments to be made by other officers, in the absence of those especially charged by law with this duty.

We have never-ceasing cause to be grateful for the favour with which God has protected our infant Confederacy. And it becomes us reverently to return our thanks, and humbly to ask of His bounteousness that wisdom which is needful for the performance of the high trusts with which we are charged.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Richmond, August 15, 1862.

THE FIGHTING FORCE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

(From the *Richmond Whig*.)

A writer in the *Mobile Register* furnishes data from which a tolerably correct idea may be obtained of the fighting force of the Confederate States. His figures are derived from the United States census tables of 1840 and '50, and upon the assumption that the ratio of increase from 1850 to 1860 is as great as that from 1840 to 1860.

The census tables show that in 1850 the Slave States (14) had a white male population between the ages of fifteen and fifty as follows, in round numbers:—

Maryland.....	100,000	Louisiana.....	90,000
Virginia.....	210,000	Texas.....	40,000
North Carolina..	125,000	Arkansas.....	40,000
South Carolina..	65,000	Tennessee.....	170,000
Georgia.....	120,000	Kentucky.....	180,000
Florida.....	10,000	Missouri.....	150,000
Alabama.....	100,000		
Mississippi.....	70,000		1,470,000

If these States increased as rapidly between 1850 and 1860 as they did between 1840 and 1850, they have a white male population between the ages of fifteen and fifty as follows:—

Maryland.....	130,000	Louisiana.....	145,000
Virginia.....	250,000	Texas.....	80,000
North Carolina..	145,000	Arkansas.....	70,000
South Carolina..	70,000	Tennessee.....	200,000
Georgia.....	150,000	Kentucky.....	230,000
Florida.....	20,000	Missouri.....	280,000
Alabama.....	130,000		
Mississippi.....	130,000		2,030,000

Assuming the census tables to be correct, we now have, in the fourteen Southern States, upwards of two millions of white males, between the ages of fifteen and fifty, and it is idle to talk about conquering them. They are not shopkeepers, tailors, factory men, button makers, &c., turned loose upon the world, and forced to enlist from want; but they are used to handling the shot-gun and the rifle from the age of twelve.

Grant, however, that this estimate is extravagant. Let us suppose that the ages of eighteen and forty should govern as the limit. Still this would not reduce us to despair; for by no rule of calculation could our fighting forces be reduced to one million of men.

This force can be kept in the field as long as the North may assail us, and it will not interfere with our producing or agricultural population. When the present crops are gathered, the South will not again feel any want of food for man or horse. Insurrection among her black population, upon which the North counted so largely, does not exist; our slaves can be safely trusted to the management of the boys under eighteen and the old men, and abundant crops be thus secured while our fighting men are in the field.

Not so with the North. Whenever she puts anything like her military strength in the field she weakens her power to feed her people; and though her white population in 1860 was 19,000,000, against 8,700,000 whites of the South, and though she ought, therefore, to be able to send out two soldiers where we can send one, yet we question much if she can send out her one million as readily as the South can.

The prolongation of this struggle will develop more of the resources of the South than of the North.

THE AFFAIR AT MALVERN HILL.

An officer who participated in the affair at Malvern Hill has furnished us with the following particulars in reference to the occupancy of that point by the enemy, and its subsequent recovery by our forces under the command of General Longstreet.

On Tuesday morning, the 8th Georgia Regiment, Captain Lawson commanding, was moved up from New Market Heights, to relieve the 17th, then on picket duty on Malvern Hill. On the march they were met by several couriers, stating that the enemy were in large force advancing upon the Hill, and in its immediate vicinity. The reports of artillery gave evidence that a brisk engagement was going on.

When the 8th Georgia reached the base of the hill, the announcement was made by several couriers to Captain Lawson that the ammunition of our pieces was exhausted, and that the artillery at the post and the 17th were surrounded. Captain Lawson immediately dispatched a courier to the commandant of the 17th, that he had formed his regiment in line of battle at the base of the hill, and would protect their retreat, and to come off at all hazards. With artillery playing upon one flank and a cavalry charge upon the other, they left the hill, and succeeded in making good their retreat, bringing off all their pieces, and only losing one caisson, that was torn to pieces in the fight.—Some eight or nine of the 17th had previously been captured while picketing.

Three members of the artillery were killed and two wounded. Between seventy and eighty of the enemy are supposed to have been killed. About one mile from the base of the hill the 8th Georgia was overtaken by the cavalry and artillery of the enemy. So soon as it was discovered, the regiment was drawn up in line of battle, which checked the advance of the foe. The regiment then moved back into a corn field, and under cover of the corn and intervening hills, the retreat was effected with the loss of one man of the regiment, who was captured.

The regiment continued to fall back till it came within a short distance of New Market Heights. About 3 o'clock the same regiment received orders to advance again through a hick wood on the left of the river road, with a view to feel the enemy. They advanced about two miles, when their skirmishers were fired upon by the enemy, simultaneously with a charge of the enemy's cavalry upon our cavalry. Our cavalry fell back, but the regiment continued to respond to the fire of the enemy for some ten minutes, when the firing ceased. Falling back, the cavalry and infantry took position at an eligible position, about 400 yards in rear of the woods. The enemy made no further demonstration on that day, having full possession of the hill.

On Wednesday morning, at daylight, the corps of General Longstreet was moved forward, and encamped that night within half-a-mile of the hill, the day having been spent in reconnoitering. On Thursday, about 12 o'clock, the corps advanced and took possession of the hill without firing a gun, the enemy having evacuated the night before, about 12 o'clock. The number of the enemy is estimated at from 15,000 to 30,000. Several prisoners were taken, among them two sentinels, who were on the top of the house on the summit of the hill. Considerable supplies of coffee, meat, crackers, &c., were left by the enemy, indicating that they had evacuated under evident alarm.

THE PALMETTO ARTILLERY.

(From the *Charleston Courier*.)

One of the most splendid commands now in the service of the Confederate States, and one about which there has been the least said, is the battalion, now more properly a regiment of Light Artillery, commanded by Edward B. White, lately promoted Lieutenant-Colonel. This command embraces eight companies, in the aggregate numbering over 1100 men, mostly from the patriotic districts of Greenville, Newberry, Anderson, Darlington, Lexington, Colleton, and Richland. Among the earliest to respond to the first call for volunteers for the war, it may be considered as possessing the elements of that high and patriotic impulse which exalts its material beyond the ordinary standard of volunteers more recently enlisted. I claim in ranks men of the first class in their respective districts—farmers, mechanics, planters, and professional men of the highest and most respectable standing; and hence its discipline and hygiene is unusually proficient and gratifying. Its captains represent a class of men remarkable, and some of them were distinguished in their respected avocations or pursuits, and are themselves just examples of the kind of men they have the honour to command. The following is a list of the Staff and Company Officers of this battalion:—

Edward B. White, Lieutenant-Colonel; Octavius A. White, Surgeon; Lieutenant William B. McKee, Acting Adjutant; Captain M. R. Marshall, Quartermaster; Lieutenant J. Randolph Mordecai, Acting Commissary.

Company A.—W. H. Campbell, Captain; E. W. Earle, Senior First Lieutenant; J. F. Furman, Junior First Lieutenant; E. H. Graham, Senior Second Lieutenant; S. S. Kirby, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company B.—John Waties, Captain; R. B. Waddell, Senior First Lieutenant; B. G. Rowland, Junior First Lieutenant; J. W. Self, Senior Second Lieutenant; Thomas Waties, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company C.—J. F. Calpeper, Captain; J. L. Dove, Senior First Lieutenant; J. L. Moses, Junior First Lieutenant; H. J. Ham, Senior Second Lieutenant; Perry Moses, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company D.—C. E. Kaupaux, Captain; H. Ferguson, Senior First Lieutenant; T. J. Sistrunk, Junior First Lieutenant; J. R. Horsey, Senior Second Lieutenant.

Company E.—J. D. Johnson, Captain; C. Y. Lee, Senior First Lieutenant; A. F. Calpeper, Junior First Lieutenant; W. D. Scarborough, Senior Second Lieutenant; R. M. Anderson, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company F.—F. C. Schulz, Captain; Aug. Fludd, Senior First Lieutenant; T. G. White, Junior First Lieutenant; W. R. Fludd, Senior Second Lieutenant; W. B. McKee, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company G.—W. L. De Pass, Captain; D. M. Rodgers, Senior First Lieutenant; A. A. Gilbert, Junior First Lieutenant; S. M. Richardson, Senior Second Lieutenant; J. R. Mordecai, Junior Second Lieutenant.

Company H.—F. H. Holtzclaw, Captain; J. R. Bowden, Senior First Lieutenant; W. C. Humphreys, Junior First Lieutenant; L. B. Nichol, Senior Second Lieutenant; D. L. Westmoreland, Junior Second Lieutenant.

The following exciting call to arms has been extensively circulated in the State of Connecticut, United States. It is indicative of the state of feeling among the people:—

Invalid Brigade.

Pour in Patriotic "Sons of Connecticut," and fill up the Ranks.

Glory, Hallelujah! Your country calls. Let'er call. Get your certificate, and join the glorious Brigade of General Debility. The first regiment of this brigade will consist of the following companies:—Company A, Sapheds and Minors; Company B, Undertakers' Zouaves; Company C, Crutch Company (in ambulances); Company D, Only Sons' Company; Company E, Peace Guards, in private carriages; Company F, Substitute Corps; Company G, Disabled Patriots; Company H, Forty-six-year olders "pet lambs;" Company I, Invited Guests (foreigners); Company K, Canadian Voltigeurs. There will be a "grand inspection" of the Corps on Saturday; every "ill that flesh is heir to" is expected to be in the ranks. The Undertakers' Zouaves will form the right of the line. A few more men wanted for this company. None but able-bodied men need apply. Each man will be armed with a pine coffin and a "certificate!" Bounty Land.—A farm 6ft. x 1, will be given to each recruit.—*The Morning Herald*.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL VAN DORN.

Vicksburg, July 16.

To the troops defending Vicksburg:—

Your conduct thus far, under the circumstances which surround you, has won the admiration of your countrymen. Cool and self-possessed under the concentrated fire of more than forty vessels of war and mortar boats, you have given assurances that the city entrusted to your care will not be given up to the blustering demands of cannon, nor the noisy threatenings of bombshells. Such exhibitions of fury seem but to arouse you, and to animate the tedium of camp life. You await a more formidable demonstration. Impotent in his rage, the enemy is striving to turn the current of the Mississippi from your batteries. He will fail. When he is master of the great river that flows at your feet, and which has become the eternal custodian of your names and glory, every wave that ripples by its shore will crimson with your blood, and every hill that looks down upon it will be the sepulchre of a thousand free men.

Soldiers! To have been one among the defenders of Vicksburg, will be the boast hereafter of those who shall bear your names, and a living joy by your hearthstones for ever. Continue, I beseech you, to be worthy of your country's praise and the reputation you have achieved.

The Commanding General will take pleasure, and it is his duty, in forwarding the distinguished among you to the General commanding the department, for honourable mention in general orders. It is his pride to be your commander.

The steamer *Arkansas* is immortal, and above his praise. She commands the admiration of the world.

By order of Major-General Earl Van Dorn.

H. M. KIMBALL.

Major and A. A. General.

THE NORTH AND THE WEST.—On the 30th of July the Hon. J. S. Carlisle addressed the Democratic State Convention at Indianapolis, Indiana, in a speech strongly denouncing the policy of the Washington Government. In conclusion he said:—"The subjugation or extermination of the South is impossible. A year ago a large Union element was there; now there is a *solid sentiment for permanent dissolution*; and why? Because Congress by its legislation diverts the war into an unholy and gigantic crusade against the institutions of the South. The man who said slavery and the Government were incompatible virtually pronounced the Government a failure, labelled the wisdom of its founders, and was a traitor to it. The Republican Party, now in power, and now waging the war, had so pronounced through its hostile legislation to the Constitution. If slavery and the rights of States must go down, if at the dictation of these men you surrender a constitutional right, and deny or take from a State the right to hold slaves, "how soon may you be called upon to surrender others?" They make negroes competent witnesses now in the District of Columbia. How soon will they demand that it be done in Indiana? If you again give these men your confidence, and return them to Congress, you will all be made the slaves of a centralized Government, and no one will pity or sympathize with you. The interests of the Western States are with the South. There was their grain market. You have a Northern market, the same as ever; but your corn is rotting in your granaries, and you walk on the ruins of your prosperity. The wicked men of the North and South have deprived you of your market, and these Northern men want to wage a war that will for ever deprive you of it. Freeing negroes won't make one. Free the niggers, exterminate the whites, and give the land to the Yankee Norway rats, and you'll never have a market there. Indiana is more interested than slaveowners themselves in perpetuating slavery in the South. To free 4,000,000 blacks will be to keep up taxation, increase debt, ruin property, degrade our children, and make this country a second Mexico.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO. NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO. MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO. Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tenes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOUDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, J. Rumford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.

Office—No. 50, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON.
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLIGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.: F. RIMAILHO AND NEYREY,
New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BULLOCK, Cotton Broker,
Royal Exchange, Manchester.

HARPER AND CAUGHNEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHNEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

THE SOUTH VINDICATED:
Being a Series of Letters written for the American
Press during the Campaign for the Presidency in
1860, with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the
John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of
the Presidential Contest, and its consequences.

BY
THE HON. JAMES WILLIAMS,
Late American Minister to Turkey.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN BAKER HOPKINS.

From the Second American Edition published at
Nashville, Tenn., Confederate States of America,
by the Southern Methodist Publishing House.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States, Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANLEY BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somely bound, 5s.

POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition.)
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.

PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 8d.

THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. BEALY. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.

DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.

HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.

JESUS, OUR ARK.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, and MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. F. WILLIAMS.

London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that the North will not
be left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—

1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.

2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 21, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysees—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.

Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Langer,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Rue de la Paix, Paris.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.
A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a SALESMAN,
also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton Buyer.
Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
on their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice-President. M. Masson.
D. Jamison. R. P. Hunt.
Ar. Millenberger. Martin Gordon, jun.
J. Leisy. Casaire Olivier.
Jas. A. White. A. Bohn.
Douglas West. N. Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE—78 Camp Street,
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 282,908 88
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861 1,338,306 77

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 16th February next.

Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 1st January, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861 866,429 98

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issued
of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.

Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly. J. N. Nevins.
John Pemberton. S. O. Nelson.
P. Maspero. C. H. Slocomb.
P. Pouta. B. F. Voorheir.
G. Hildebrand. B. O. Vignaud.

Creseent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861 \$31,876 11
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,238 27
Assets 30th April, 1861 1,422,939 35

The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—

Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 1st September, 1861.

Scrip Certificates for the year 1861 deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America, by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Does not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Parcel Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquarionis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship who refuses to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index,
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XIX. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

"This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX" it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havana. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gen-
tlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to handle theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street, and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E. C.—September 4, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 20.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 11, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	PAGE
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter.. ..	306
Manchester Letter	306
TORRACO MARKET	306
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letters	306
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	307
Paris	307
LEADERS—	
The War News	312
President Davis's Message	312
Confederate Reprisals	313
Cause of the Disruption of the Union	314
Co-operation	314
Are the Millowners to Blame	315
REVIEW—	
The Discovery of America	317
LETTER TO THE EDITOR—	
A Canadian View of Affairs	317
OFFICIAL REPORT OF GENERAL MORGAN'S CAMPAIGN	318
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	
ADVERTISEMENTS	320

THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

(Per GLASGOW, via ROCHE'S POINT.)

NEW YORK, AUG 30.

The *New York Times* says that if England, France, and Russia would mediate on the basis of the South returning to the Union, doubtless the North would assent to any terms compatible with the national honour, and essential to the protection and preservation of Southern rights. "Mediation on the basis of Southern independence," continues the *New York Times*, "is open hostility."

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

On August 20 the Federals were attacked near Culpepper, and had to retreat across the river. The next day they were followed, and the advanced guard of General Sigel was defeated. The engagement was renewed on Friday, and on Saturday the Federals had to abandon the line of the Rappahannock and to retreat to Warrenton and Warrenton Junction. Here Pope was reinforced by several divisions under Generals Heintzelmann and others. The Federals remained in this position until the 26th, congratulating themselves upon having effected the retreat. The *Washington Star* says: "Since Saturday last nearly all firing across the Rappahannock has ceased; hardly a dozen shots a day are being fired. Most of the officers in front believe that on Saturday last Lee, Longstreet, and Jackson quietly took the back track, going somewhere, no one knows whither—ten to one to Gordonsville. The signs yesterday were that but a very small rebel force was in our front, hardly enough to keep up the appearance of an opposing force there." Indeed, it was reported that Pope had sent a force in pursuit of General Lee, but the authorities at Washington and the Federal generals were equally in the dark as to Confederate movements.

On August 26, Pope learnt the whereabouts of his enemy. The Confederates were in his rear. Two Federal regiments had been captured at Centreville and a large Confederate force was at Leesburg, preparing, so say Northern accounts, to pass into Maryland.

The Confederates, passing through Thoroughfare Gap, attacked Manassas, drove out the Federals, and captured (we give the Northern estimate, which is tolerably sure to be the reverse of exaggerated) a battery of nine guns, quartermasters' stores to the value of half a million dollars, ten locomotives, and so many of the Union forces as were not killed or wounded. "Our loss," says the *New York Tribune*, "has been immense in killed, wounded, and missing."

The Confederate cavalry then pushed on to Fairfax and destroyed the railroad and telegraphic communication between Pope's army and Washington. We do not wonder at the angry denunciations of the Northern press. The *New York World* says: "It is for the President to decide what punishment is due for this culpable and most disastrous negligence." This was written in reference to the loss of despatches and baggage resulting from the Confederate cavalry a second time riding round a Federal army without molestation, and before the Federal commander had allowed the enemy to get into his rear without opposition. As soon as Pope discerned the enemy was in his rear, and pressing on his right wing, which must have been greatly extended, he evacuated Warrenton and Warrenton Junction. According to the reports at Washington, the Federal forces fought their way to Manassas Junction, which place they reached on the 28th. We shall not attempt to follow the meagre and contradictory Northern account of the operations from the 26th until the 28th. A series of battles were fought, the results of which we may judge from the silence of the Washington Government. We now come to the second battle of Bull Run, which was fought on August 29. The following are the semi-official report published in Washington and General Pope's official report:—

Semi-official Washington despatches of the 29th inst. report that Generals Burnside and Pope have successfully cut their way through the enemy towards Manassas, and have formed a junction this side of Centreville with the army of Virginia, under General McClellan.

Headquarters, Field of Battle, Grovedown, near Gainsville, August 30.

We fought a terrific battle here yesterday with the combined forces of the enemy, which lasted with continuous fury from daylight until after dark, by which time the enemy was driven from the field, which we now occupy.

Our troops are too much exhausted to push matters, but I shall do so in the course of the morning, as soon as Fitz-John Porter's corps comes up from Manassas.

The enemy is still in our front, but badly used.

We have not less than 8000 men killed and wounded, and, from the appearance of the field, the enemy has lost two to our one. He stood strictly on the defensive, and every assault was made by ourselves.

Our troops have behaved splendidly. The battle was fought on the identical battle-field of Bull Run, which greatly increased the enthusiasm of our men.

The news has just reached me from the front that the enemy is retreating towards the mountains. I at once pushed forward a reconnoitring party to ascertain this.

We have made great captures, but I am not yet able to form an idea of their extent.

JOHN POPE, Major-General Commanding.
To Major-General Halleck,
General-in-Chief at Washington.

We do not, of course, place the slightest reliance

on any despatch written by General Pope; but in the absence of authentic intelligence, it is, perhaps, worth while to enumerate its admissions. The Confederates stood on the defensive, and the day after the battle the Federal commander writes, "The enemy is still in our front, but badly used." The object of the attack was, we presume, to drive back the Confederates; the Confederates were not driven back, and, therefore, the attack failed. General Pope admits a loss of 8000 killed and wounded, and confesses his troops are "too much exhausted to push matters." These items do not look like victory. All this notoriously boasting General claims is a drawn battle—that, after a week of Confederate victories, he attacked the Confederate army, with tremendous loss, but did not drive it from his front. All that is clearly known at the latest dates was that the Confederates were still before the Federal army and the Federal capital, that General Ewell occupied the left bank of the Occoquan River in the rear of Pope, and that there were indications of the Confederates appearing on the Upper Potomac.

Meantime the Washington Government has rigidly suppressed the publication of war news, with the exception of General Pope's official despatch in reference to the second battle of Bull Run; and we may conclude that if the news had been in any respect favourable it would have been made public; but until we get Southern accounts we can only speculate on the late important movements in Virginia. It is, however, certain that the Federal army has been forced to retreat towards Washington, and that the Confederate troops were both in its front and rear.

Richmond is no longer menaced, it is now Washington and Maryland that appear to be in danger.

All the buildings in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe were ordered to be destroyed. This is evidently for the defence of the only position, with the exception of the disputed ground between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, that the Federals hold in Virginia. From Harper's Ferry it is reported that guerillas are increasing in that neighbourhood.

General Morgan defeated a Federal force near Gallatin on the 21st inst. A considerable portion of it, with General Johnson and Major Winfries, had to surrender to the Confederate general; the remainder of the Federal troops fled to Nashville. In Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, there is daily fighting. At Cumberland Gap the Federals are completely surrounded, and have lately been defeated by General Morgan. A body of Federal cavalry, in the same neighbourhood, has been routed by Confederate cavalry. General Magruder is reported to have entered Kentucky with 15,000 men. We are again told that General Buell's position creates alarm in Washington.

Baton Rouge has been evacuated but not destroyed, the Federals, probably, having a wholesome dread of the retaliation that would have followed such an outrage.

To increase the troubles of the Washington Government, the Sioux, and Chippewa Indians have revolted, and it is supposed that a general Indian war has commenced.

But at home, as well as in the north-west, the Washington Government has to deal with disaffection. On August 23 a riot broke out in East New York among the recruits of the Spenola Brigade, who complained that their bounty-money had not been paid in full. Ten men were seriously wounded before peace was restored. The officers were overpowered, and had a narrow escape of losing their lives; the sergeant-major was shot. Mr. Lincoln will find that promises to pay will not satisfy soldiers who only enlist for bounty, pay, and the chance of plunder.

The Federal Government is so ill-provided with arms that it will not be able to supply the new army it is raising, and extensive orders have been received by European manufacturers.

Recruiting in the North is said to go on more briskly, but not so fast as to do away with the necessity for the conscription. It has been made an offence for persons to advertise that they procure substitutes. The Governor of Indiana has postponed the drafting until September 15—a very necessary measure in a State so disaffected to the Federal cause. It is now pretty generally understood that no troops will be obtained from Missouri and Kentucky, and, we need hardly add, no attempt will be made to enforce the conscription in those States.

President Davis has issued the following order:—

War Department, Adjutant and Inspector-General's office, Richmond, August 21.

Whereas Major-General Hunter, recently in command of the enemy's forces on the coast of South Carolina, and Brigadier-General Phelps, a military commander of the enemy in the State of Louisiana, have organized and armed negro slaves for military service against their masters, citizens of this Confederacy;

And whereas the Government of the United States has refused to answer an inquiry whether said conduct of its officers meets its sanction, and has thus left to the Government no other means of repressing said crimes and outrages than by the adoption of such measures of retaliation as shall serve to prevent their repetition;

Ordered, That Major-General Hunter and Brigadier-General Phelps be no longer held and treated as public enemies of the Confederate States, but as outlaws; and that in the event of the capture of either of them, or that of any other commissioned officer employed in drilling, organizing, or instructing slaves, with a view to their armed service in this war, he shall not be regarded as a prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon, at such time and place as the President may order.

By order,

S. COOPER, Adjutant and Inspector-General.

This order will have the effect of preventing Federal officers following the example of Generals Hunter and Phelps.

A war meeting was held in New York on the 27th. Very strong resolutions were passed, pledging the fortunes, lives, and honour of the citizens of New York to carry on the war. We confess we do not attach much value to the pledges. The fortune of New York is ruined, and hence the passionate vengeance of her citizens. The New York people have all along evinced a strong indisposition to risk their lives. A resolution was passed urging the President, who was unable to attend the meeting, but sent an apology, to authorize General Corcoran to raise a legion of 20,000 men. We have no doubt that Mr. Lincoln will be glad if General Corcoran can raise a legion of twice 20,000.

Mr. Charles Ingersoll, a prominent Pennsylvanian Democrat, has been arrested for making a speech at a Democratic meeting in Philadelphia, in which he declared that the North was no more advanced in the conquest of the South than at the beginning of the war, and denouncing President Lincoln's Administration as the most corrupt that ever came into power. Mr. Ingersoll obtained a Writ of Habeas Corpus, which was returnable on August 28.

In our leading columns we have dealt with Mr. Lincoln's letter to Mr. Horace Greeley. It has given serious offence to the Abolitionists.

There has been a complete exodus from Maryland; not less than 5000 citizens have left that State since the order for drafting.

It is again rumoured that General Butler is to be removed from New Orleans, and his place supplied by General Dix. General Butler is still urgently asking for reinforcements.

According to the *Washington National Intelligencer*, President Lincoln intends to enforce the Confiscation and Emancipation Act to the best of his ability.

A correspondent in Canada directs our attention to an article in the *Montreal Advertiser*, purporting to give, "by authority," the outlines of a commercial treaty, and various other important propositions, for the negotiation of which a special agent was alleged to have been deputed by the Confederate Government to Europe. The whole thing is so extravagantly absurd that it would be unworthy of our notice, had not the article in the *Montreal Advertiser* received an appearance of credibility by partial republication in London. The bearer of such an errand as the Canadian paper describes might well and wisely have been sped on his way by the Lincoln authorities, and been spared the hairbreadth escapes and romantic adventures which are assigned to Mr. Sanders, who is made the hero of this singular story. We have no right to concern ourselves with the purpose of Mr. Sanders' visit to Europe; but as this visit, through whose fault we know not, has become the object of some public curiosity and various misapprehensions, it may be as well to state here—and we can do so with perfect confidence—that it is made in no official capacity, and that Mr. Sanders brings no communication whatever from the Confederate Government to its Commissioners in Europe.

Mr. Mason, after a brief absence, has returned to London.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 10, 1862.

Our last report left the market rather unsettled in tone—high water mark had been reached, and slight symptoms were apparent that the tide had begun to ebb—still Middling Orleans could not be quoted much below 2s. 6d. per lb. On Thursday the depression became more marked, the sales only reached 1000 bales, and transactions occurred at 1½d. below the top in American cotton, and ¾d. to 1d. in Surats. On Friday the Scotia's news was to hand, but produced no effect on the market, which was, perhaps, a shade firmer, with sales of 2000 bales, and the same feeling prevailed on Saturday, with an equal business doing.

Up to this time scarcely any pressure to sell existed, as the pause in the demand was looked upon as quite temporary, and not likely to lead to any serious decline. But on Monday more anxiety was shown to effect sales, and a few transactions occurred in American cotton at fully 2d. decline, and 1d. to 1½d. in Surats.

Yesterday the "Anglo-saxon's" news was to hand, and being of a most exciting character entirely engrossed public attention for some time. A striking resemblance was remarked between the obscure accounts given of the fighting in Upper Virginia, and the first Northern version of the destructive battles before Richmond. The general impression left on the public mind was that the Federal troops had been badly cut up, and, after several days of rapid retreat, had barely been able to make a stand on their old lines at Manassas; it was thought by many that Jackson would even yet be able to drive the Federal army completely out of Virginia, and possibly to take Washington. At first the news was interpreted rather in favour of our market, as the bloody and indecisive nature of the combats was expected to embitter and intensify the struggle; but afterwards the feeling seemed to gain more favour that the frightful effusion of blood would tend to strengthen the hands of the Peace party in the North. The sales, in consequence, scarcely reached 1000 bales, and further concessions were made for cotton on the spot. Some parcels to arrive were also pressed at considerably lower prices than had yet been listened to, and sales of Fair Dhollrah early shipment were made at 16½d. Branch was also reported at 18½d; showing, in either case, 1½d. decline from the top.

In Manchester, the tone of the market was much better than here; no pressure to sell was shown, and very little concession could be obtained from the highest point. The prevailing feeling was, that the pause was quite temporary, and that a further rise in goods must take place before long. Our market to-day, however, has been more sick than before, and in a few quarters much activity has been shown to sell. American cotton has, in a few cases, been sold at 4d. decline, and there are one or two cases, though quite peculiar in character, where a much larger reduction has taken place. For Surat cotton there is scarcely any demand, and to effect sales a decline of fully 2d. must be submitted to. Vessels are now arriving pretty freely, and as 100,000 bales may still be considered about due, buyers are disinclined to operate till the market is fully supplied. In cotton to arrive low sales have also been made to-day, and transactions have taken place in Dhollrah and Omrawutta about due at 16½d., and in Branch at 18d. These low prices, however, have attracted numerous buyers, and rather higher rates are now demanded.

This sudden change in our market has taken many people very much by surprise, but it is just what might naturally be expected after so enormous an advance, still little apparent alteration has taken place in the position and prospects of the staple, and the anxiety now evinced by some holders, shows how nervously sensitive our market is at these lamiae prices. The prevailing cause of uneasiness now seems to be the idea that the next steamer may possibly bring news of the Confederates being in Washington, and it is argued by many, that so staggering a blow to the North would open the eyes of the people to the folly of this war, and so pave the way for negotiation. It is also argued that the capture of the Northern

capital would produce a powerful moral effect in Europe, and lead to the speedy recognition of the South, and also effect a basis for offering mediation to the North.

It seems, however, altogether premature to reckon on the capture of Washington, and even if it were affected by a sudden coup—it is quite as reasonable to suppose that it would goad the Northern people to fiercer exertions, and hurry out the equipment of the new levies. The fairest conclusion seems to be that the recent engagements have not materially altered the political situation of America.

Much interest has been excited here, this week, by the alleged discovery of a suitable substitute for cotton. There is a strong conviction, however, that the article will not be found practically available.

Quotations, at present, are quite nominal. Middling Orleans may be put at 27d.; and Fair Dhollrah at 17½d. to 18d.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, Sept. 9.

The immense excitement which prevailed in our yarn and cloth market during the week ending last Tuesday, was suddenly checked on Wednesday by the tameness of the Liverpool cotton report on that day, which tameness has characterized that market ever since, and produced a corresponding depression of tone in this market as regards the amount of business done, but not as regards prices which remain firm at the highest point.

Friday last, as a market day, was an extremely quiet one, no business of moment having been transacted, nevertheless, there was no weakness in quotations manifested on the part of holders of either cloth or yarn, as they felt assured that there was plenty of room for improvement in the prices of their respective staples, compared with the value of the raw material.

To-day we have to report another quiet market day, as the total amount of business has been very small. Some offers have been made by speculators for goods at a reduction of about 6d. per piece under last Tuesday's quotations, but without meeting with any success. Printing cloths are in fact higher, especially 9-8ths, 72 reed, 22 picks, 50 yards; the principal makers having advanced their pretensions 2s. per piece, bringing up the price to 3s.

Home trade yarns, up to No. 40s first cops, are held very firmly at last week's quotations, but for No. 60s first cops an advance of 1d. per lb. has been obtained, bringing the price to 3s. 2d. per lb.

Export yarns of all kinds are also firmly held, spinners and others will listen to no offers below the extreme quotations of last week.

The news by the Anglo Saxon, to day, is looked upon as favourable to cotton holders, and it is generally believed here that there will be further excitement in the Liverpool market in a few days.

TOBACCO.

There has been an active business in Maryland since the beginning of the month, at prices from 5½d. to 6½d. common and inferior quality, but dry enough for trade. This is, no doubt, speculative. Manufacturers will not use Maryland tobacco till the cold weather; but it is no doubt felt that the high price of strips makes this article now the cheapest substitute, and that the present range, say from 5½d. to 9d. is too low in proportion to cutting strips at 1s. to 16½d. per lb.

The Irish buyers have been looking about for low leaf, and quite common Western quality has been sold at 6½d. There are symptoms also of a large demand for the Continent, and altogether the tone of the market is still strengthening, and prices tending upward as the war increases in desperation, and the hope of conclusion is deferred.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

TREASURY NOTES.

The following notification respecting the payment of interest on Treasury Notes had been issued from the Confederate Treasury Department:—

Treasury Department, Richmond, August 1.

Sir,—In answer to the inquiries of the 25th ult., you can say:—

1. That the 7.30 interest notes will at any time be accepted in exchange for 8 per cent. Confederate bonds, or for any debt due to the Government, and that interest will be allowed as well as principal.

2. That I shall recommend that Congress pay annually the interest due on these notes to the respective holders thereof on January 1.

3. That the 6 per cent. call certificates cannot be issued for these interest-bearing notes, because such certificates are payable on demand in general Treasury Notes of every denomination.

4. The 7.30 notes may be issued in exchange for the 6 per cent. call certificates. Such exchange effects directly what the holder of the certificates may do indirectly by calling for payment of his certificate in current notes, and then exchanging them for interest notes.

The purpose intended by the issue of interest-bearing notes is to take them out of the general circulation. This is effected by the fact that a calculation of interest takes place at every transfer. It is not expected, therefore, that they will pass into the general deposits or circulation of the banks. In passing them from hand to hand the interest grows each day by an easy calculation of two cents on each hundred dollar note, until the end of the year, when the interest will be paid up, if Congress shall accept my recommendation.

With much respect,

C. G. MEMINGER, Secretary of Treasury.

John Boston, Esq., Depository, Savannah.

The *Savannah News* publishes the following sketch of General "Stonewall" Jackson:—

There you see self-command, perseverance, indomitable will, that seems neither to know nor think of any earthly obstacle, and all this without the least admixture of vanity, assumption, pride, foolhardiness, or anything of the kind. There seems a disposition to assert its pretensions, but from the quiet sense of conviction of his relative position, which sets the vexed question of self-importance at rest; a peculiarity, I would remark, of great minds. It is only the little and the frivolous who are for ever obtruding their petty vanities before the world. His face, also, expresses courage in the highest degree, and his phrenological developments indicate a vast amount of

coery and activity. His forehead is broad and prominent, the occipital and scapular regions are both large and well balanced; eyes expressing a singular union of mildness, energy and concentration; cheek and nose both long and well formed. His dress is a common gray suit of faded cassimere, coat, pants, and hat—the coat slightly braided on the sleeve, just enough to be perceptible, the collar displaying the mark of a Major-General. Of his gait, it is sufficient to say that he just goes along, not a particle of the strut, the military swagger, turkey-gobbler parade, so common among officers of small rank and smaller minds. It would be a profitable study for some of our military swells to devote one hour each day to the contemplation of the magnificent plainness of "Stonewall." To military fame, which they can never hope to attain, he notes the simplicity of a child, the straightforwardness of a Western farmer. On last Sunday he was dressed as above, and bestrode as common a horse as one could find in a summer day. There may be those who would be less struck with his appearance as thus accoutred than if bedizened with lace and holding the reins of a magnificent barb caparisoned and harrowed for glorious war; but to one who had seen him, as I had, at Cold Harbour and Malvern-hill, in the rain of shell and the blaze of the death lights of the battle-field, when nothing less than a mountain would serve as a breastwork against the 36-inch shells which howled and shrieked through the sickly air, General Jackson in tatters would be the same hero as General Jackson in gilded uniform. In my simple view he is a nonpareil—he is without a peer. He has enough energy to supply a whole manufacturing district, enough military genius to stock two or three military schools of the size of West Point.

The *Richmond Whig* of August 23 gives the following report of the Confederate Congress:—

In the Senate on Saturday a resolution was adopted requesting the President to communicate, as soon as practicable, all official reports of engagements, the object being to give the Senate opportunity to vote resolutions of thanks to officers who have distinguished themselves. The Committee on Military Affairs reported a Bill prohibiting the employment of substitutes, except for persons skilled and actually employed in some mechanical pursuit important to the public interest, or where the person is the only white male adult on the farm or plantation having thereon not less than fifty slaves. If the substitute deserts, however, the person who employed him is to serve. The second section provides that the commanders of brigades and divisions, under certain restrictions, may detail to any farm, or plantation work by slaves, when the owner is a *femme sole*, a minor, or a person in the public service, one enrolled private for duty. The Bill was ordered to be printed. The residue of the Session was occupied in the discussion of Yancey's resolution to make secret Sessions of the Senate the exception rather than the rule. The resolution was rejected.

In the House a vote of thanks was tendered to Colonel Forrest for his recent victories in Tennessee. That portion of Jefferson Davis's message relating to the increase of the army was taken up and discussed. Senator Foote referred to the manner in which the Conscription Act had been passed. Its constitutionality at the time of passage was doubted, and, if the plan deliberated in it should be allowed to grow into a system, it would be subversive of State sovereignty and popular freedom. The necessity which was alleged to exist formerly for the present law no longer existed, and even that necessity was artificial, having grown out of the failure of the provisional Government to provide for expected deficiencies in the army in season. He insisted that 250,000 men could be raised by requisition upon the States sooner than in any other way, and would not awaken distrust or alarm, nor occasion any collision with State authorities. If the new law recommended by the Secretary of War should be adopted, collision with Virginia, Tennessee, and all the other States would be inevitable, as it would sweep into its vortex all the militia now or to be organized. Nothing but a military despotism could be the result. Singleton, of Mississippi, and Miles, of South Carolina, opposed Mr. Foote's views. Mr. Dargan of Alabama, contrasted the present condition of the army with the past. He thought every man should be subject to the call of the President. "We had on all sides worsted our vindictive foes. It was useless to call them names. The vilest epithet would not be sufficiently severe. Mr. Bonham, of South Carolina, was in favour of raising troops as was done when we resisted Great Britain, as we did in 1812. An extract was read by the clerk from the inaugural address of Governor Vance, of North Carolina, who was in the late engagement at Malvern-hill. In it he appeals to the people of the State to "stand by the Government until the last vestige of thralldom is driven from our shores."

THE CROPS IN VIRGINIA.

(From the *Lynchburg Virginian*.)

Among the many things for which we have great cause to be grateful to an overruling Providence in connection with our struggle for independence, the bountiful crops now ripening for the harvest, and already gathered, may be put down as a blessing beyond all price. The toil of the husbandman promises to be rewarded by a most abundant yield all over the South. The wheat crop, which has now been cut, is in many portions of the country unusually fine. In South-western Virginia, we hear, it was never better, if so good, and in Piedmont, Virginia, the shocks generally stand thick upon the ground. In some sections of the State we will, of course, not be able to realize the productions of the soil, on account of the occupancy of the enemy. But this will all be more than counterbalanced by the yield of lands far South which have heretofore been appropriated to cotton, but which now team with the cereals. The oat crop is regarded one of the finest which has been produced for several years, the benefits of which cannot be overestimated in times like these. From present prospects the growing crop of corn will be an unusual one. The season so far has been admirable, the rains have fallen just as they were needed, and the stalks have shot up as if by magic. In the South, where the season is early, the corn is already safe, and it is represented as being splendid. Here the critical period in the growth of corn has not yet passed, but the crop has received such an impetus that, under unfavourable circumstances, it will be apt to turn out tolerably well. The virtual giving up of cotton and tobacco this year for the grain crops throughout the South, gives us a much larger breadth of land to draw our supplies from than usual, and will insure an abundant yield of breadstuffs for the army and the people. Timid men, who have been haunted by fears of being "starved out," may dismiss their alarms and be content. The South can feed itself without drawing on the supplies of the world. It is self-sustaining and independent of

the rest of mankind. Hostile fleets may hover about its ports and keep out the commerce of the world, but still its granaries will be full and plenty will abound. We may laugh to scorn the blockade, and yet fight our battles and win victories, and have plenty to eat and spare all the time. For all these favours our people cannot be sufficiently grateful. A nation's gratitude should constantly ascend to the Great Source of all blessings for His untold goodness to us. Victory over our enemies is vouchsafed to us in battle, and plenty is scattered with liberal hand throughout the land. Truly does Providence seem to smile on our cause, and cheer us onward in the noble work of winning our liberties.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

Mobile, July 10.

Dear —, I have just learnt that a bag is to be made up this evening, to go by Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Rinaldo*, or *Racer*; I don't know which; to be in Mobile Bay to-morrow morning.

— returned from Corinth and Okalona about three weeks ago, in fine health: the awful scenes she has witnessed during her stay with the army exceeds all belief; she says she never wishes to see such sights again; the letters I sent you, written by her, will give you but a faint idea of them.

— is still with his company, which left Tupela fourteen days ago to go into Tennessee, and thence to Kentucky; he is now orderly sergeant, and is eligible for first vacancy of lieutenant; all the company think much of him; he does duty without fear or favour. Mr. O— is about to leave the company, being over age. I enclose you a letter from E—; you see he writes in high spirits; he lost everything when Island No. 10 was evacuated.

You must have heard from the Northern papers that Mobile was taken long ago—it is not yet taken, nor can any armament come against it now until after frost; my own opinion is, that it cannot be taken unless at a sacrifice of human life of at least 20,000 persons; by that time I trust God will stir up the hearts of Great Britain and France to put an end to this wicked war.

I notice, both from yours and M—'s letters, that great distress prevails in England, especially in the manufacturing districts, produced principally by this war, and the want of cotton—you may take my word for it, that the planters will all burn their cotton before they let the Yankees take it; so it is of no use for any one to come here to buy cotton unless under a guarantee that it shall not be seized by the Yankees. I send you a letter from Benjamin, our Secretary of State, on the subject, and also comments by the papers on it.

You must, no doubt, have been very much surprised to notice the capture of New Orleans; it was a very mortifying thing for us, and caused a great falling of spirits, but now we begin to think it has all been for the best, considering that "Picayune Butler," has, and is, proving himself the best friend the South ever had; may he live a thousand years; his name is supposed to be worth to us at least 50,000 men.

I regret I cannot send you the list of the killed and wounded in the 3rd Alabama (Mobile) Regiment. M— would recognize a number of young men; it would be needless for me to enumerate them all, and from memory; among them are wounded, Mr. M'Wheeler's two sons—Daniel (seriously) and Josiah, Milton Boulleut (seriously), J. Holmes, Charles Wheeler, Engene Brooks, George Rae, Heory M'Coy, &c. Two of the surgeons and Mrs. Canfield's son, Morland, killed. In fact, hardly one of our old friends and companions have escaped; hardly a family but has lost a son, a brother, or father, either at Shiloh or at Richmond.

As to the state of political matters here, it amounts to this,—that if it was possible at the beginning to reconstruct the Union, now it is impossible; these two sections can never be reunited, but must for ever be two separate and distinct nationalities; this country has suffered too much and lost too many sons, brothers, fathers, and relatives, to ever think of again shaking hands with the Yankees.

Besides, have we ever lost a battle on land?—where they have been fairly met, we have always been the conquerors; no nation was ever more united than this is, and even if the war should last for twenty years, at the end of that time we shall be free. Alas! how much bloodshed, how much sorrow, and woe, and misery will there be before a peace is obtained.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 26.

The money-changers of Wall-street have at last taken alarm at the enormous amount of certificates of indebtedness issued by the Treasury Department, said to exceed \$500,000,000. These securities (!) are in every one's hands, and have taken the place of commercial paper, which has disappeared, consequent upon a paralyzed credit. The major portion of the sales of merchandise are made for cash, the principal purchasers are contractors, who receive payment in these "promises to pay" at twelve months' date, which they pledge to the banks and discount firms as collateral against their own notes at ninety days and four months, with a margin of 20 or 25 per cent. The ordinary amount afloat of commercial paper in the adhering States is estimated at \$800,000,000; the figures have now been lessened to \$100,000,000; this leaves a space in the financial lab-

rinth, which is being fast occupied by Mr. Chase; while he is driving the specie and bank notes from circulation by irredeemable bills as a medium of exchange, he is, at the same time, stepping into the old shoes formerly worn by the mercantile classes. In short, he is monopolizing the entire credit of the country; yet the busy bees of Wall-street are only beginning to open their eyes to the fact, which has long since been apparent to sober-thinking minds unconnected with that thoroughfare. The truth is, the pecuniary affairs, as well as the political concerns, of the Northern States have fallen under the control of a very ignorant class of men. Much as the people of the South dislike the politicians, they have equal cause to hate the moneyed interest of the North. Without the aid of the latter this wicked war would have stopped long since. What right had presidents of banks, entrusted with other people's money, for legitimate business purposes, to make the large loans to the Government a year ago, and what right have the correspondents of European houses to be giving their aid and support to this cruel strife? And it is to be expected that the Confederates will mark every man and every firm on both sides of the Atlantic that has directly or indirectly assisted in this most unjust crusade. The passive speculators, too, are almost as guilty as those who have taken an active part, because they have quietly looked on and permitted others to do what they knew to be wrong.

Much anxiety has been felt for some days past as to the state of affairs in Virginia; it is believed that the Southerners have had great successes, the intelligence concerning which has been kept back. So engrossing have matters in that locality been, that we have almost become indifferent to events in the West, where the Confederates gain ground in every direction. The first report from Baton Rouge turns out to be correct, the second, *via* General Butler, was false.

If the war is not brought to a close by the triumph of the Confederate arms, it will be ended by the ballots of the people in the Border States north of Mason and Dixon's line; the Administration being in a minority in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa, and possibly in New York. The voice of the New England States is "still for war." It is difficult to decide in which of those unenviable qualities, fanaticism or venality, the people of these States [most excel.

PARIS, September 10.

Garibaldi received two wounds in the affair at Aspromonte—a spent bullet slightly wounded him in his left thigh, but the other wound is far more serious. It appears that a Minié ball struck him with full force in the left foot, and entered it below the ankle, and no surgical skill has succeeded as yet in extracting it. The inflammation and the pain are very great, and it is feared that either tetanus or mortification may take place. The partizan chieftain lies, it is believed, in a precarious state.

In the meanwhile the Italian question is warmly discussed, and the fact that the Emperor has gone to Biarritz without allowing his opinion to transpire leaves the field open to conjecture. M. de la Guéronnière has proved as good as his word, and no one can entertain a doubt on the policy he advocates. In his two letters that have already appeared in the journal *La France* he formally declares that the new Kingdom of Italy must do without Rome; that the States of the Church cannot be taken away from the Church; that France shall remain there and protect the legitimate authority. He then goes on to state that the political equilibrium of Europe would be deranged by Victor Emmanuel possessing himself of Rome; that he would never stop before taking Venice, too, and Trieste, and the Tyrol; and that between such a Power in her rear, England in her front, and Germany all along her open eastern frontier, France could not help herself from asking some territorial advantages to guarantee her safety.

I have no doubt that your English papers will not allow this last argument to pass unnoticed; but there is, undoubtedly, a strong feeling in France in favour of defending the head of the Catholic Church against further aggression and further spoliation. It is true that the *Constitutionnel* has taken the ground opposite to *La France* in the discussion of the Italian affairs. It is true that no one knows of the Emperor's future course, and that nobody even pretends to know if the Emperor has decided on one; but notwithstanding the doubts expressed on the subject, be sure that Napoleon has determined on his policy. His strong endorsement of M. de la Guéronnière's ideas at the first rumour of Garibaldi's rising, his firm refusal of sending the slightest word to Turin which could be construed into a promise to abandon Rome, the reinforcements which continue to be sent to General de Montebello, the evident discontent of

Prince Napoleon Jerome—all these are unmistakable signs that the Emperor has adopted a policy, and a decided one, too. He did not think proper to have it published but at his own time. That his will is fixed upon not abandoning Rome, the future will show.

There is, after all, a want of fairness, a bad faith that is unbearable, amongst all those who ask France to withdraw from Rome, under the pretence of respect for the principle of non-intervention. Let the Romans themselves, let the *bona fide* citizens of the States of the Church, decide on their Government, and you will hardly find one of them who would prefer Piedmont's rule to the kind management of the Pope. It is the intervention of Mazzini's emissaries, French, English, German, as much as Piedmontese—it is their violent handling of the quiet people of Rome—it is the overthrow of an established Government by foreign Red Republicans, that the French army opposes at Rome; and the French occupation of Rome is honestly nothing else but a barrier against foreign intervention, and foreign revolutionists. But the same people who blame the Emperor for defending Rome, are they not mostly the admirers of Lincoln's Government? They approve of the invasion of a free country by barbarous mercenaries; when the Northerners deny to the black man the right to live, to breathe his share of the air, to fill his share of the space, to be warmed by his share of the heat of the sun, or to see through his share of its light, these men praise the philanthropy of the North; when the Northerners rob and burn, and when they hang innocent citizens, and when they outrage women, these same men exonerate them from all blame, and charge the South with inhumanity. They have no sympathy for a Republic with order and liberty; they have no regard for a people fighting bravely for its independence; they want mobocracy—they love mobocracy—they sympathize with mobocracy everywhere. It is an eternal honour to the South that these men are its most bitter enemies.

The eighth and last conference at Constantinople was held without any result being attained. The proposals of the Marquis de Moustier were opposed by the Turkish, English, and Austrian Commissioners, and the conference was adjourned *sine die*. The latest telegrams announce another bloody conflict between the Servians and the Turks. Eastern affairs look ominous.

After all, Servia does not go even so far as to ask for independence; all it wishes now is to get rid of the Turkish garrison in the fortress of Belgrade. Is not it a disgrace that a large city should be continually under the dread of being bombarded from its own walls. "Imagine some of the large barracks which have been built in Paris during the last ten years," said a French writer some time ago, "being permanently occupied by Russian and Austrian troops. Such is the unbearable condition of Belgrade." Montenegro, subdued for a while, will soon rise up again. In Bulgaria there exist formidable fermentations. The time has come when the Eastern question ought to be settled. It not only bears injuriously upon the quiet of Europe, but it is an obstacle to progress and civilization; it leaves barren and unproductive the most fertile provinces of Europe; in a word, Turkey's rule is a nuisance. The part of Turkey is played out as regards its usefulness. At one time it was required to counterbalance Russia; the Crimean war has disposed of that. The young nations of south-eastern Europe, when free from the Turkish yoke, are strong enough to hold their own. "Everywhere in the East," to quote again the same writer, "the populations which formerly preferred the Russians to the Turks have grown stronger, have taken confidence in their own energy, have faith in their future destinies, and put their hopes, at the present day, no more in the Russians, but in themselves. They used to say 'Better the Czar than the Sultan,' but they say now, 'Better independence than the Czar.'" This new feeling has worked up a complete change in the moral and political situation of the East; and it renders necessary to-day what was not possible twenty years ago."

The confused news that the telegraph brought us this morning of the bloody fights in Virginia, are clear enough as regards the great fact that the large and boastful invading armies which threatened Richmond have been beaten away from swamp to hill, and from river to river, until they struggle now, a few miles from Washington, to cover the capital of the invaders. The three last documents emanating from these gentlemen have astonished the French public. Mr. Seward invites European emigrants to cross over to the happy land under the rule of his colleague, Mr. Stanton, and his subordinates, the Provost Marshals. The channels of peace, commerce, and industry are open to them; full wages are assured, payable in gold and silver; no one will dare to molest them under the protection of the great star-spangled banner; and if, perchance, they feel uneasy, have they not their

Consuls to appeal to—their Consuls so much respected by the orderly, peaceful, good-wishers to all mankind, the officials of the great universal Yankee nation? I wonder what the British Consul, who was expelled from New York at the time of the Crimean war, would think of Mr. Seward's efforts to provide human flesh for shot and shell? But Mr. Seward's offers to emigrants are only second to Mr. Lincoln's to another class of men.

Mr. Lincoln's cool speech to the deputation of the coloured people at Washington was a hard blow to the Northern sympathizers in this country. "You have done no harm, but we loathe you; we are unkind and unjust, but it is none of my business. There is a place called Chiriqui, the most unhealthy on the globe, and I wish to send you there. This is your country, where you live honestly and industriously, but we are going to transport you where you will have a chance to work in coal mines, or starve. It is a settled affair, no use arguing; but take your time, don't be in a hurry; good morning!"

That was a stunner; but Mr. Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley was a finisher (to use the happy style of General McClellan in his despatches). I do feel, I assure you, for these poor journalists, who were again writing yesterday that the North is fighting for the liberty of the negroes. Of course, they never would take the trouble to inquire into the matter, and their ignorance and flippancy, together with their conceit, required nothing less than Mr. Lincoln's public denial to bring conviction to them. I am in hopes now to see no more in the Parisian papers of that annoying and absurd assertion. *Requiescat*. But I must say this much—I never in my life came across such unchristian, immoral, and basely cruel principles, publicly avowed by the head of a nation.

KNOXVILLE IN 1780 AND 1862.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

The physical geography of East Tennessee is very peculiar and intricate in its character, being marked by that extraordinary phenomena of nature which mingles the wonderful with the beautiful and sublime. It is a vast valley of an exceedingly rich agricultural nature, extending from the Cumberland Mountains on the west, to the Alleghany on the east. Its remarkable features consist in the formation of a number of parallel subordinate valleys, separated by precipitous ridges, and drained by the following rivers respectively: the Powell, Clinch, Holston, and French Broad.

The Cumberland Mountains towards the East present a sheer precipice, the very base of which rests upon Powell's Valley, one of the most fertile regions of this department. This immense ridge has several depressed indentations, the most famous and practicable of which is Cumberland Gap. Below Cumberland Gap are several other depressions in the mountains, the principal of which are Wilson's Gap, eighteen miles, and Big Creek Gap, thirty-seven miles distant from the Cumberland. Westward from this ridge a vast wilderness of mountains extends for over 120 miles towards Kentucky and Middle Tennessee. The wagon road from Cumberland Gap to Morristown, which is forty miles, runs directly across the valleys of the Powell, Clinch, and Holston Rivers. This road is the great route through which the emigrants from North Carolina first passed to Kentucky, and over which the drovers still make their way from Kentucky to the Atlantic States.

Through the centre of East Tennessee and parallel to the mountains, runs the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, following the valley drained by the Holston River, the largest tributary of the Tennessee, and passes through Morristown to Knoxville. The Clinch Mountain, which is about eight miles west of Morristown, is the only serious natural barrier to the advance of the enemy's columns during the season when the rivers are fordable, and consequently presents a strong strategic point. Another route from Cumberland Gap is down Powell's Valley, running along the base of the mountains to Jacksboro' and Clinton, where it crosses the Clinch River to Knoxville. This route is nearly double the distance of that above mentioned, but is by far the best for military operations.

Thus it will be seen that to advance upon us, the enemy must leave his stronghold at Cumberland Gap, which no longer became a strategic point of importance to us, and fight us on a battle ground of our own selection. Besides, the moment he leaves Cumberland Gap, where it is almost impossible to subvert an army, he loses the advantage of its defence, and therefore his present occupation of it is but of small moment.

The Tennessee River, assuming that name after the junction of the Holston and Little Tennessee—which latter flows transversely to the course of the mountainous region of North Carolina—receiving afterwards a large increase from the Clinch River, breaks its way through the Cumberland Chain at and below Chattanooga. Consequently, by a glance at the map, it will be seen that Cumberland Gap and Chattanooga are the two great transverse fissures through the continuous ridges of the Cumberland Mountains by which East Tennessee may be entered. Another route of military importance at this point is the old road from Knoxville to Nashville, passing through Kingston, which is situated at the junction of the Clinch and Tennessee Rivers, and continuing by Sparta upon the western slope of the Cumberland, passes through Pikeville, McMinnville, and Murfreesboro' to Nashville. This is sufficient to give the reader an idea of the general nature of the country of East Tennessee, as well as some of its most important points.

It is really wonderful, considering that the first settlement in East Tennessee was made so long ago as 1769, how little is known either of the geography or of the great agricultural and mineral resources of East Tennessee, and it can only be accounted for by the fact of its being shut in, as it were, by a wall of mountains. The railroad through it to Virginia has done much to develop it of late years, but it is destined in time to become the greatest and most valuable portion of the State. Its mineral wealth in iron, lead, copper, coal, &c., is enormous. There are now over 200 caves of saltpetre, or nitre, in the State, sufficient to make all the powder we can use. Besides, its means of subsistence are very great, and though it has, in a great measure, already fed a great portion

of Beauregard's army, its supplies are still hardly touched. Thus it may be seen what we are to lose, if we are compelled to give up East Tennessee, while at the same time it would cut us off from our great saline works, in Virginia, near Abingdon, on which the whole South is now nearly dependent for salt, and besides, open the great gate at Chattanooga to the cotton States through Georgia.

As early as 1760, over 100 years ago, a party from Virginia, headed by a Mr. Waller, after whom the ridge of the Cumberland is called (and not Waldron, as frequently now written), crossed the mountains into Powell's Valley. That same year Daniel Boone, then twenty-six years of age, also visited the country of Watanga, and a beech tree, said to be still standing near the stage road leading from Jonesboro' to Blountsville, in the valley of Boone's Creek, bore the following inscription:—"D. Boone, called A BAR on this Tree in the YEAR 1760." In 1778 Boone attempted to take his family into Kentucky; and his wife is said to have been the first white woman who ever crossed the Cumberland range. In 1789 emigration greatly increased, and several families settled on the north side of the Holston River, above Knoxville, and Captain James White and James Connor, the same year, built a cabin on the ground where the first Presbyterian church now stands in the city of Knoxville. Near this spot a fort was built, which became the central point for emigrants, and the rendezvous for rangers and scouts, called White's Fort. The settlers became charmed with the beauties of the place, presenting an elevated parallelogram extending south, and terminating with a bold front upon the Holston; a creek of considerable size glides along its eastern, and another along its western base, from whose banks still gush forth springs of excellent water, and on which are now situated two large flour mills. As then seen, says Ramsey, the sight of the future Knoxville, was lovely in the extreme; almost entirely sheltered by the primitive forest in its rich foliage, and having an air of enchanting coolness, rural retirement and seclusion, its quiet only disturbed by the playful murmurings of rivulets, surrounded by wooded hills and sylvan slopes. The high land terminated abruptly towards the Holston, seen here and there through the tall trees, winding its way along the cane-brakes which lined its margin. Immediately opposite was the Little Island, robed in green, and almost submerged by the rushing waters. The southern, or opposite shore, presented in one place lofty hills, resting upon a perpendicular cliff—in another, rising with more gradual ascent to the ridge beyond. And so it continues to-day, with the exception of the removal of the cane-brakes and the forest trees, where now stands the ancient city, whose olden and decayed brick walls still mark the primitive houses of the place, and which gives to the town a sort of Rip Van Winkle appearance; while on the principal streets, Gay and Main, several fine modern built buildings and stores tell of the late march of improvements created by the railroads.

Knoxville, as it now appears, is built on three rolling ridges, the principal and original portion of the town being on the centre ridge, with a creek on each side, already alluded to. Over the bridge, on the east side, the ground is more rolling and picturesque; this portion of the town is called East Knoxville. On the west side, or ridge, is situated the University, and a number of fine large private residences. There is a fine market in the centre of the city, a steam flour mill, besides the two water mills, and several churches, the Catholic church being a most beautiful and unique little edifice, built of gray stone, and with its little turret at one end and cross at the other, looks so devotional. The town was first laid off by Captain White, in 1791, and named after Major-General Henry Knox, the Secretary of War, under President Washington. It was the seat of the first territorial Government under Governor Blount, and afterwards the capital of the State in 1796, and continued to be so for many years after. Kingston, Murfreesboro', and Nashville were its successors for several years, until 1817, when Knoxville regained the honour, and for the last time; the flood of emigration to the West having taken from her the sceptre.

On November 5, 1791, the first newspaper was published and edited by George Roulstone, at Rogersville, in Hawkins county, and, singularly enough, called "The Knoxville Gazette"—it being the intention of the editor to remove to Knoxville, where the seat of the Territorial Government was soon to be established. And here it was that the romantic, brave, and chivalrous John Mitchell—the only true Irish patriot of all the refugees of his day who flocked to this country for bread and protection, excepting that noble heart and powerful writer, Devin Reilly—lured by the exquisite scenery and charming situation of the place, issued "The Southern Citizen." And here, too, the black-hearted Billingsgate viper poured forth his slime—Brownlow—the lowest of all the Browns—low-down Brown, Brownlow! Will friend Mitchell forgive me for having written his name on the same paper with that of the miscreant?

There are several magnificent views of mountain scenery to be had near here, one of the grandest being from the height of the ridge on the east side of Sharp's Gap, about four miles north of this. It is a very pleasant ride, and at about one and a-half miles you pass Gray's prettily laid-off cemetery, enclosed by a fine iron railing. Near the foot of the gap flows a beautiful stream, on which is erected a powder mill. Ascending the height by a good carriage road, you arrive at a cottage house, with a pretty garden and improved grounds, the property of a Mr. Shields, now, however, in a dilapidated state, the tin having been stripped from the roof to make canteens! From this point a sublime view presents itself. To the eastward rises ridge after ridge of the Alleghenies, with their lofty peaks and indentations, extending to the Chillsawee, or Smoky Mountain of North Carolina, rolling up like the majestic deep sea waves of the ocean in a terrific storm. To the westward lies the continuous chain of the Cumberland, with their sloping summits standing out in relief against the tints of a glorious sunset sky. To the northward rises House Mountain, being in the shape of the gable end of a house, one of the chain of the Clinch Mountains, and beneath you, to the southward, lies the pretty town of Knoxville, on the winding Holston, with its turrets and spires, and variegated fields of meadow and grain, looking like the beds of some fairy garden; the whole surrounded with and enclosed by rolling ridges and knolls, clothed with velvety verdure, and making up a landscape of indescribable beauty. It is amid such scenes of grandeur and sublimity that the soul involuntarily offers up its devotion to the Deity, and whom, one may then truly say, he worships in the beauty of holiness!

In scanning the surrounding river and mountain scenery, almost as wild as in its virgin state, and still as beautiful and magnificent, and reflecting on the early scenes of the hunter-pioneers and settlers of this country, when the sound of the Indian war-whoop echoed through the mountains and along the banks of the Holston, where now stands the city of Knoxville—then but a military garrison—the reverses of our first revolutionary struggle, down to the period when Knoxville

became the first seat of government and the classic land of Tennessee—and contrasting those days with the present, how changed, yet, in many respects, how similar to the present day, and what strange feelings awoke over one in their contemplation.

It was about the year 1780 that a deep gloom hung over the cause of American independence, and the confidence of its most steadfast friends was shaken. The reduction of Savannah, the capitulation of Charleston, and the loss of the entire army under General Lincoln, had depressed the hopes of the patriot Whigs, and the subsequent career of British conquest and subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina, excited serious apprehension and alarm for the eventual success of the American cause. At the earnest appeal of the patriotic Governor Rutledge, Virginia had sent forward reinforcements under Colonel Buford. His command was defeated and his men butchered by the sabres of Tarleton. At Camden a second Southern army, commanded by General Gates, was dispersed, captured, and signally defeated by Cornwallis.

Besides these disasters, there were other circumstances that aggravated the discouraging condition of American affairs. The finances of Congress were low; the paper currency had failed; its depreciation sinking rapidly; the treasuries of the States were exhausted and their credit lost; a general distress pervaded the country; subsistence and clothing for the famishing and ill-clad troops were to be procured only by impressment; and the inability of the Government, from the want of means, to carry on the war, was openly admitted. British posts were established, and garrisons kept up in the very heart of the country, and detachments from the main army were, with profane impudence, rioting through the land in an uninterrupted career of outrage, aggression, and conquest. Under the protection of these, the loyalists were encouraged to rise against their Whig countrymen, to deprade upon their property, insult their families, seek their lives, and drive them into exile upon the western waters. Estates of active partisans and others were sequestered. Instant death was denounced against those who, after taking protection, should be found in arms against the King, and other measures of the most infamous character adopted to secure the submission of the rebels.

Such was the general condition of affairs in the South, immediately after the defeat near Camden eighty-two years ago; and most remarkable to say, a perfect picture to the life as they exist to-day, with the brutal fanatical Northerner for our foe! What is there, compared to the times of 1780, to allow any one to doubt the establishing of Southern independence?

THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—RETURN OF GENERALS BUCKNERS, MACKALL, AND TILGHMAN TO RICHMOND.

The correspondent of the Philadelphia Press gives the following statement:—

At dusk I departed for the vessels on which were the Confederate prisoners. There were 3013, divided between the steamers Coatzacoalas, Knickerbocker, State of Maine, Wilson Small, Catskill, and Georgia. The flag-of-truce boat, Henry Burden, followed the next day, carrying up Adjutant General Thomas, charged with the superintendence of the exchange, assisted by Captain Stevenson, of the artillery stationed at Fort Delaware. The expedition was under the command of Captain Jones, of Philadelphia; also stationed at Fort Delaware, assisted on board the different boats by Lieuts. Paul, Krouse, Stock, and others, of Fort Delaware, and Lieut. Purr, of the 11th United States' Infantry, who came down in charge of the Fort Warren prisoners. The Coatzacoalas grounded below City Point through the carelessness of a coloured pilot, and after anchoring through the night, the little fleet proceeded on Tuesday morning on its way, after the Coatzacoalas had transferred its living cargo to the Knickerbocker, and to a tugboat, which opportunely arrived. City Point had been the locality hitherto used for exchanging prisoners; but as the Confederates are now erecting fortifications there they did not wish our men to see them, and appointed Aiken's Landing, seven miles further off, for the transaction. It is there that all conferences now take place between the Confederate authorities and our own.

It was my lot to be on board the Knickerbocker, and here were the 210 Fort Warren prisoners, included among whom were the Confederate Generals Buckner, Tilghman, Mackall, Pettigrew, and Gaunt, with Commodore Barron, Captains Mitchell and Kennon, and a host of inferior officers of both navy and army. The sixty privates in this batch were chiefly educated men, and associated on terms of entire equality with their officers, occupying the same cabin and the same deck.

As a matter of trifling import, I will advert to the personal appearance of a few Confederates on the Knickerbocker. Buckner is a man of two or three-and-forty, with a dark complexion. He wore his long prematurely grey hair pushed behind his ears, and his face shaven, with the exception of the lip and chin. His dress was a plain sack and pantaloons of dark-blue cloth, a grey waistcoat, and a high grey skull-cap of indescribable shape, banded by black Scotch checks. His form is moderately thick-set. His manners are cordial and attractive. The countenance and general air of Tilghman and the Barron both bear the impress of high breeding, and both are gentlemen in the highest degree.

All spoke of the war as likely to last long, and scouted the idea of the Union being again consolidated. They inspected silently and with great interest the different gunboats that we passed, and more especially the Monitor and Galena. As a chance shot from one screamed over the hills, their excitement to catch a possible glance of their own forces in the distance was great. Each new feature on shore, as they supposed themselves within their own lines, was eagerly scanned. "There are some of our people," said one, as he saw several Union Cavalry officers approach the shore to water their horses. "No, those are Yanks," said another; "Don't you see their uniforms?" "Why didn't they land us at City Point?" said a third, "there is a railroad there to take us up." "We are fortifying around there," said a fourth. On a first view of negroes, one cried out, "Here are some intelligent contrabands!" A general laugh then ensued at this frequent term used by Northern papers.

Presently the sight offered itself of negro women, whom they knew to be slaves, and their gratulations were lively. The old south was really reached at last. On they came from their distant homes, trooping to the landing, and were received with waving of handkerchiefs and screeches of delight. Generals vied with their subordinates in these demonstrations, to which the negro women heartily responded, "Dem'a our folks; glad to see you, massa!" "Dey'r waiting for you up dar," were severally heard among their shouts of welcome; and one old woman, who led the

rest, was profound in her courtesies and gesticulations. Similar novel manifestations of sentiment were expressed on other occasions of that kind that offered themselves; but on a first sight of Seceah white women, enthusiasm became boundless. There were ladies in the house of Mr. Aiken. They dang upon the blinds and waved their handkerchiefs with a will. No cheers were given in return, but screech followed upon screech, and yell upon yell. "Bless 'em! God bless 'em! I'd wave 'em my handkerchief, if it was not so dirty," said one, "but never mind, I'll give 'em my hat;" and again hats were waved and cries renewed. Soon the Landing was attained, and all descended to go on shore.

The army officers were required to leave first, in order of rank; then the navy officers and privates; afterward the privates, and finally the sailors. The absence of enthusiasm was remarkable. Not a cheer was given as their feet touched shore, nor was any welcome offered them. Not a waggon was sent from Richmond for the conveyance of officers or baggage, nor was a solitary member of the Confederate army present, beyond the exchange officer, Major Ould, and two young captains who, later in the afternoon, took a pleasure excursion to the Landing in a buggy. Every one slowly ascended to the summit of the gradually sloping bank, and either sat down or stood in groups conversing, in evident expectation of waggons. Finally, the baggage being placed in Aiken's warehouse, many privates and a few officers concluded to walk, leaving the rest fondly awaiting conveyance. These latter, in great part, set forth during the night, leaving yet a considerable number on the spot in the morning. One of them, an officer, came on board our boat, and asked for a little coffee, roundly cursing the Confederate Government for its total neglect.

By 8 o'clock all had departed—3013 in number—and an equal number of noble Union soldiers, who had arrived at 2 a.m. from Richmond, marched on board. They had received no food since breakfast on Tuesday morning, until their arrival near the Landing during the night. Rations were then sent them from our steamers, which they devoured ravenously, and received the officers who distributed them with extravagant cheers and congratulations. They complained much of the scanty fare the Confederates had given them, but looked well and hearty, notwithstanding. Their march the previous day had been through an intense heat, and several had fallen prostrate on the way. One of these was told to rise by a Confederate guard, and on expressing inability, received a blow on the head from the butt of a musket, which drew a stream of blood. Another man, in a similar situation, received a bayonet thrust, which gave him much pain. Three Confederate guards had fallen dead by sunstroke.

Our soldiers reported civil treatment during captivity, and were assured that their scanty rations were the same as those of the Confederate soldiers. One of them had seen in the memorandum book of Lieutenant Turner, the Confederate officer in charge, the names of three deserters from among our soldiers, who took the oath of allegiance to the Confederate Government. These were: C. A. Bowen, private, United States Artillery; Frank Sembler, Company A, 57th Pennsylvania, and A. G. Lawrence, Company C, 16th Massachusetts, who stated that he was a South Carolinian, and had been pressed into the Union service. As our men marched past Libby's tobacco warehouse from their prison on Bell Island, they recognized General McCall sitting at a window, who, on being cheered, said he was glad to see them going back, and bade them farewell.

Newspaper writers often speak of the wild cheering given by our returned prisoners when once they stood again beneath the Stars and Stripes. I can safely say that not a cheer was given as these men filed on board their several steamers. Their sentiment seemed absorbed by approaching dinner, as they viewed barrels of beef and onions and piles of loaves on the foredeck. When all had left shore, the battalion of ragged, confest Confederate soldiers, acting as guard, who had, during the embarkation, lounged or slept on the adjoining bank, walked off without exchanging adieus.

GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON'S VICTORIES NEAR FORT REPUBLIC.

(From the Richmond Enquirer.)

We have the pleasure of presenting the following description of the late brilliant victories near Fort Republic, from the pen of one of the clearest and most dispassionate minds in the Commonwealth. The writer visited the battle-fields, and conversed with many who took part in them, and from his power of deducing the connected truth from fragmentary and varying statements, we have no hesitation in commending his narrative as historically reliable:—

THE BATTLES NEAR FORT REPUBLIC.

To the Editor of the Enquirer—

When General Jackson retreated from Winchester, after routing Banks, he managed with great address, boldness, and energy, to carry off his prisoners and spoils, and to bring off his army between the converging columns of Fremont, who approached his rear from the west with eight brigades, and Shields, who approached from the east, with four brigades. If these brigades averaged 2500 men, the force of Fremont was 20,000 men, and that of Shields 10,000 men. At Harrisonburg, Jackson left the main turnpike road of the Valley and marched towards Port Republic, the distance between these two places being about twelve miles. Port Republic is situated at the junction of South River, flowing north, and North river flowing east. Jackson could retire no further without crossing North river, which was swollen, and there was then no bridge over it except at Port Republic. The two rivers uniting at that village form the Shenandoah, which flows north, and which could not then be crossed by an army. On the east side of that stream was the army of Shields, and on the west side were the armies of Fremont and Jackson. The latter halted near North river without crossing it, and, while in that position, his rear was approached and attacked by Fremont's whole army, on the morning of Sunday, the 8th instant, and at the same time, Shields's force approached on the east side of the Shenandoah near Port Republic.

That part of Jackson's army which engaged Fremont on Sunday was commanded by General Ewell, while the rest of the army under General Jackson held Shields in check with artillery firing across the Shenandoah near Port Republic. The battle of Sunday took place about five miles from that village in the direction of Harrisonburg.

It began early in the morning and lasted all day, with occasional intervals. It was mainly an artillery fight, but now and then, here and there, the infantry became hotly engaged. The force under Fremont were much larger than that under Ewell, but the latter was strongly posted on eminences which favored the effectiveness of artillery and sheltered the infantry, while

the enemy could only approach through open fields. Ewell's command was handled with remarkable skill while Fremont's generalship was indifferent. Ewell's artillery was served with admirable precision and effect, and his infantry, whenever engaged, displayed great steadiness and gallantry. The result was that, when night put an end to the contest, Fremont had been driven back between one and two miles with a loss, in killed and wounded, not less than 2000, and probably much larger, while our loss did not exceed 300, and probably not 200. The judicious selection of a position in which to receive the enemy favoured this result, but it was largely due to the superior fighting qualities of our men.

Soon after nightfall, General Jackson began to withdraw his men from this battle-field, and pass them over North river by the bridge at Port Republic, with a view to attack Shields the next morning. He left in front of Fremont a small force to amuse and detain him, and, after retiring before him to Port Republic, to burn the bridge behind them and thus to prevent Fremont from rendering any aid to Shields. All this was accomplished.

On Monday morning, Jackson passed the greater part of his army across the South river (the smallest of the streams) by means of a bridge made of planks laid on waggons placed in the river. Early in the morning a sufficient number had crossed to commence the battle, and they were led to the field between one and two miles distant, on the east bank of the Shenandoah. The enemy's force was found drawn up awaiting the attack.

The enemy's line extended from the river about half a mile across a flat bottom, free from timber, and covered with wheat, grass, &c. His left rested on the point of a low ridge coming out from the woods which skirt the bottom. On a slight elevation there, and in some small knolls in the bottom, he had his artillery, commanding the road and the wide uncovered level plain, over which Jackson's army was obliged to advance. The level and exposed ground offered scarcely any suitable positions for planting our artillery. The advantage of position belonged altogether to the enemy. The capital fault of his disposition for battle was that the battery on his extreme left was posted near the woods without any infantry in the woods to defend it. By availing himself of this circumstance, and by a brilliant manoeuvre and charge, Jackson turned the fortune of the day at a critical moment.

For some two hours the battle raged with great fury. Our infantry, at first but few, advanced with marvellous intrepidity in the face of a withering fire of artillery and musketry. At one moment the enemy advanced a section of a battery several hundred yards so as to enfilade our left wing, which already suffered terribly from the fire in front. It seemed that nothing could withstand the fury of the enemy's fire of all arms. His artillery was very fine, and was served with great effect by regiments. But other troops coming at a double-quick from Port Republic, came on to the field, and at the same time, the Louisiana brigade, under Taylor, emerged from the woods on the enemy's left. They had been sent by a considerable circuit through the woods which extend all along the battle-field between the cleared ground and the neighbouring mountain.

By a slight error of direction they came out of the woods a little too soon and found themselves almost in front of the battery, which instantly began to shower grape upon them. But, immediately rectifying their direction, they charged the battery with irresistible impetuosity, and carried it. The contest then was speedily ended. The enemy's whole line gave way, and was presently retreating in disorder, pursued by the cavalry. The pursuit was kept up about ten or twelve miles, but the fight continued all that day and the next. About 500 prisoners were taken that day, and others have been brought in daily ever since. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was heavy, and so was our own. Six splendid cannon were captured on the field, another was taken in the pursuit, and still another had been captured on Sunday. The force of the enemy engaged was about 6000 or 7000, and ours a little larger. Shields was not present, but his troops were commanded by General Tyler.

After the rout of the enemy had commenced the last of our troops crossed over the bridge at Port Republic, and burnt it. Fremont, cautiously following, appeared some time afterwards and drew up his army in line of battle on the heights along the west bank of the Shenandoah, from which he overlooked the field of battle. While he stood there in impotent idleness, Jackson's army, having finally disposed of Shields, moved off at leisure to Brown's Gap, and there encamped, to rest for a few days from the fatigues of a month's campaign more arduous and more successful than any month's operations of the war. The exhaustion of our men, and the interposition of a river, no longer bridged, secured Fremont from a second battle or a hasty flight. The next day he commenced his retreat down the Valley. He and Shields had set out to catch Jackson, and they caught him.

It is hoped that the judicious reader, from the circumstances which we have gathered into a connected form from various sources, will be able to discover the masterly strategy of our General, as well as the dauntless valour of our men, and the favour of a benignant Providence.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE ON THE SOUTH.

Mr. Hope, during his canvass at Stoke Upon Trent, read a letter from an eminent politician exhorting the electors not to send him (Mr. Hope) to Parliament, because of his views on the American question. Mr. Hope said:—

That letter was in something like these terms:—"Don't send to Parliament a man who distinguishes himself by his virulent and disgraceful attacks upon the American President and people—attacks which make it the duty of every enemy to oppose him." Was John Bright, the great Birmingham orator who stood by Napoleon and Lincoln, to assimilate them to the freemen of the borough of Stoke. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Hope) had spoken in favour of the Southern Confederacy, and would do so again. (Applause.) He was not blind to that slavery which existed in the Confederate States. He had privately to Southerners, and in his published speeches, denounced in the strongest terms that horrible system; but he maintained that in that system England, in the first place, and in the second place the Northern States—New York that mortgaged the South—New York that sent its slaves to Cuba—were responsible. He had said that owing to the necessities of the constitution which gave votes according to numbers—five slaves counting for three white men—which returned men to the House of Representatives, the trenchant action of New York was begun, and the South fell back upon self-interest. Then that system was doomed. It was not doomed by sudden emancipation, by the violence of Butler and Hunter, or the efforts of Thurlow Weed, Greeley, or Phillips, urging the black men to take vengeance upon his master—(hear, hear)—but

doom lay in gradual emancipation, leading from slavery to serfdom, and from serfdom to liberty. (Hear, hear.) It was not likely to be doomed by a man like Lincoln making a preposterous proposal to the black man to take advantage of the misfortune of the Southern States, and leave home to settle on the Isthmus of Panama, because the State of Illinois had just passed a law prohibiting every black man from crossing the frontier. He sympathized with second-rate man placed in positions of responsibility, and he would treat the latter written by Mr. Lincoln with all due Christian charity—(laughter)—but when he had spread over it all the Christian charity of which he was master, he may say that, when he saw the cynical way in which Mr. Lincoln proposed to preserve slavery, the greatest curse of the human race, or emancipate the slaves, which meant massacring the whites—when he saw a third-rate lawyer from the background of Illinois hoisted up to the chief magistracy of a powerful nation making such a proclamation, he must say, in the name of everything that was great and free, and in the name of Heaven and the Christian faith itself, was it right, was it to be desired that such a nation and such a man should prosper? (Loud cheers.) He was a Southerner in sympathy before Bull's Run. Some became so when that happened; others became so at the time of the Trent affair; others when Butler issued his proclamation. Referring to the constitution of the United States, he said that in 1776 a political congress assembled of thirteen States, which threw off the allegiance to England. This was the Provisional Government, and it broke down. In 1787 the existing Government was organized. In 1781, under the title of the "Federal Union," he read, as the first article of the Constitution—"The style or title of the Confederacy shall be the United States of America." That at once did away with the quibble of the lawyers as to the words "Confederate" and "United," having some antagonistic meaning. Article 2 said, "Each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." There was the sovereignty of each State distinctly laid down. That rickety old constitution broke down. The constitution of 1787 maintained the same principle, but created an Executive, a Ministry, a Government, and the Confederation stood in a substantial form before the world. The preamble to that constitution said, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America." No word implying the sovereignty of the individual States was given up. (Hear, hear.) That absurd articles saying this union is perpetual was abrogated in 1787. The men of that time with Washington in the chair, were not mad enough to think that they could bind their posterity. (Hear.) The Government of 1787 was as much a confederation of sovereign States as was the Confederation of 1776 and 1781. They were only thirteen in number at that time. When the Government broke down, it took several months before those thirteen States could be induced to return to the Constitution. Now they had increased to thirty-four States, and party squabbles had taken place amongst them, until the South divided from the North. Mr. Hope then proceeded to point out the causes which led to that division, and quoted the opinion of Mr. Everett, the candidate for the vice-presidency in 1861, as to the absurdity of supposing that the Seceding States could be coerced into submission to a Government which they abhorred. The grave question now was how soon the Confederate States were to be recognised. He thought that that recognition ought to have taken place earlier. (Applause.) He expressed himself satisfied with the way in which Mr. Lindsay's motion terminated last session. If he should be in Parliament, as he expected to be, next February—(applause)—he would not lend himself to any knot of men who would adopt a course to render the question a complicated one by petitioning President Lincoln; but when the opportunity offered itself—when England might do so with safety, with dignity, and in the name of suffering Lancashire, in the name of the heroic Confederation itself, in the name of humanity—his voice should be raised for terminating the war by placing the Confederate States amongst the governments of the world. (Loud cheers.)

AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

The grand prize for which the South is struggling in this deadly conflict with a powerful enemy is the right of self government. The secondary prize is that she may enjoy the full privilege and results of her intrinsic power to create wealth. That with her independence achieved, the South will enter upon a grand and unexampled career of progress, and an unprecedented existence of substantial wealth, is no Utopian dream, no bright, intoxicating fallacy, all who have pursued a common sense investigation know beyond a peradventure. The main staple of our agricultural industry will always make the world our tributary. Cotton has betrayed our too overweening confidence that it would fight our battles promptly, but we may, nevertheless, confidently trust that it will always fill our pockets. Our cotton fields are mines of wealth from which we will always dig gold by the hundred millions annually—enough to far overpay our indebtedness incurred with the outside world, and leave a grand balance to be poured into the cornucopia of the nation's accumulating wealth. It was the agriculture of the South which was the chiefest agency in bearing the whole country onward and upward in its splendid career of progress. It created the foreign commerce and sustained the navigation of the North, which through these mediums succeeded in securing the larger share of the profits of our industry, leaving us still, however, ample returns for our support and moderate increase. As an independent nation, none will share with us what justly belongs all to us, and if that could render the whole country prosperous and progressive as never a country was before, how much more will it do so when its benefits are confined to the South alone.

This war, too, is teaching us valuable lessons—at a present extravagant price, it is true, but which, in the end, may not prove so expensive. It is teaching us to subsist within ourselves. How much money we have been in the habit of paying out for the necessities of life is now taught by the extra prices we have to pay when depending upon our own resources. The bitter lesson, learned amid toil, privation, and blood, will not be lost, and in this war we shall achieve not only our political but our industrial or material independence. This latter will be of twofold value to us, for it will retain a great amount of wealth in the country and render the provision

supply steady and assured amid all chances and changes; and it will tend to cripple those whom this war will leave our hereditary enemies, the people of the provision producing sections of the West as well as the whole North. With the Southern market cut off, their bacon sells at four cents per pound and their corn at ten cents per bushel—our bacon at forty cents per pound and our corn at prices as much beyond what it should. Destroy its produce market, and you sap the vital strength of the powerful West and assure a rupture between it and the Eastern States, whose high protective system will be too oppressive for the West to bear without the support of the Southern market. The disunion of the Northern and Western States will alone relieve us of the disagreeable awe with which we must recognize the power of a United North. We may not fear it, but we must dread the trouble to which it can put us, and must be in some sort deferential to its management of the affairs of the continent.

There are those, doubtless, who are apprehensive that the cost of war for our independence will be a terrible drawback on the future prosperity of the South. We set aside the truism that liberty is priceless at any imaginable cost of blood and treasure, and come down to figures, but briefly. It is feared that this war will leave the nation oppressed with such a debt as will be an effectual incubus upon its progress. Let us see: suppose that peace finds the Confederacy with a debt of \$500,000,000 worth of paper out, which will be funded into 8 per cent. bonds; the interest on this public debt will be \$40,000,000 per annum. To pay this interest a tax of perhaps one-third or one-half of 1 per cent. on all property considered within the term taxable property would be necessary. This would be no great burden for a nation to bear which has such intrinsic sources of wealth as ours. These national debt bonds, indeed, paying their attractive interest, would be a valuable item of national wealth, and being made taxable property themselves would pay their share of the tax for their interest. A light additional tax would regularly sink a portion, and in a few decades extinguish the whole war debt which we are incurring so cheerfully for so incalculable an object. It is to be hoped that the whole amount of these bonds will remain in the hands of our own people, and thus the money disbursed for their interest will be retained in the country. So soon as our independence is accomplished there will be an eager rush for securities so undoubted and paying an interest so munificent in the eyes of European capitalists. But possibly this national debt may become a thousand millions ere the war closed. In that case our rough estimate of tax would be doubled and it will then be a very terrible matter. The payment of the tax will become easier and easier with every year of peace and prosperity.

GENERAL BUTLER AND THE FRENCH CONSUL.

The following correspondence has passed between the French Consul and General Butler:—

French Consulate at New Orleans,

Aug. 12, 1862.

Sir,—The new order of the day, which has been published this morning, and by which you require that all and whatever arms which may be in the possession of the people of this city must be delivered up, has caused the most serious alarm among the French subjects of New Orleans.

Foreigners, sir, and particularly Frenchmen, have, notwithstanding the accusations brought against them by certain persons, sacrificed everything to maintain, during the actual conflict, the neutrality imposed upon them. When arms were delivered them by the municipal authorities, they only used them to maintain order and defend personal property, and those arms have since been almost all returned. And it now appears, according to the tenor of your order of to-day, that French subjects, as well as citizens, are required to surrender their personal arms, which could only be used in self-defence.

For some time past unmistakable signs have manifested themselves among the servile population of the city and surrounding country of their intention to break the bonds which bind them to their masters, and many persons apprehended an actual revolt. It is these signs, this prospect of finding ourselves completely unarmed, in the presence of a population from which the greatest excesses are feared, that we are above all things justly alarmed; for the result of such a state of things would fall on all alike who were left without the means of self-defence.

It is not denied that the protection of the United States' Government would be extended to them in such an event; but that protection could not be effective at all times and in all places, nor provide against those internal enemies whose unrestrained language and manners are constantly increasing, and who are but partially kept in subjugation by the conviction that their masters are armed.

I submit to you, sir, these observations with the request that you take them into consideration.

Please accept, sir, the assurances of my high esteem.

The Consul of France,

COUNT MEJAN.

Lieutenant Weitzel, U.S. Engineers, and Assistant Military Commandant of New Orleans.

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, Aug. 14.

Sir,—Your official note to Lieutenant Weitzel, Assistant Military Commandant, has been forwarded to me.

I see no just cause of complaint against the order requiring the arms of private citizens to be delivered up. It is the usual course pursued in cities similarly situated to this—even without any exterior force in the neighbourhood.

You will observe that it will not do to trust to mere professions of neutrality. Trust most of your countrymen are, in good faith, neutral; but it is unfortunately true that some of them are not. This causes the good, of necessity, to suffer for the acts of the bad.

I take leave to call your attention to the fact that the United States' forces gave every immunity to M. Bonnegras, who claimed to be the French Consul at Baton Rouge; allowed him to keep his arms, and relied upon his neutrality; but his son was taken prisoner on the battle-field, in arms against us.

You will also do me the favour to remember that very few of the French subjects here have taken the oath of neutrality, which was offered to but not required of them, by my order No. 41; although all the officers of the French Legion had, with your knowledge and assent, taken the oath to support the Constitution of the Confederate States. Thus, you see, I have no guarantee for the good faith of bad men.

I do not understand how it is that arms are altered in their effectiveness by being "personal property," nor do I see how arms which will serve for personal defence (*"qui ne peuvent servir que pour leur defense personnelle"*) cannot be as effectually used for offensive warfare.

"Of the disquiet which you say there are signs manifesting themselves among the black population, of a desire to break their bonds which bind them to their masters (*"certaines dispositions a rompre les liens qui les attachent a leurs maitres"*), I have been a not inattentive observer, without wonder, because it would seem natural, when their masters had set them the example of rebellion against constituted authorities, that the negroes, being an imitative race, should do likewise.

But surely the representative of the Emperor, who does not tolerate slavery in France, does not desire his countrymen to be armed for the purpose of preventing the negroes from breaking their bonds.

Let me assure you that the protection of the United States against violence, either by negroes or white men, whether citizens or foreigners, will continue to be as perfect as it has been since our advent here, and by far more manifesting itself at all moments and everywhere (*"tous les instants et partout"*) than any improvised citizens' organization can do.

Whenever the inhabitants of this city will, by a public and united act, show both their loyalty and neutrality, I shall be glad of their aid to keep the peace, and indeed to restore the city to them. Till that time, however, I must require the arms of all the inhabitants, black and white, to be under my control. I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. BUTLER,

Major-General Commanding.

To Count Meján, French Consul.

THE LATE MOVEMENTS IN VIRGINIA.

The *Standard* gives the following summary:—

It is now clear that McClellan's movements did not escape the observation of the Southern commanders; and that it was a part of the programme of the latter to permit McClellan to get his troops on shipboard without molestation. The moment Richmond was safe from an attack from the south-west the whole Confederate army appears to have been put in motion, with a view of taking Pope's forces in detail and destroying them before McClellan's troops could effect a junction with them. It was probably for the purpose of keeping Pope's army away from its supports that the Battle of Cedar Mountain was fought. The object, doubtless, was to induce the army of Virginia to follow close upon the heels of Jackson's small force on its retreat, and so bring it within reach of the main body of the Confederates. This object was only partially obtained. Pope cautiously declined to pursue Jackson across the Rapidan, and occupied himself in concentrating his forces and securing his communications with McClellan; and when the Confederates readvanced the Federal army was on the alert, and already far on its line of retreat, although subsequently overtaken and hard pressed by the Confederate artillery and cavalry. On the left bank of the Rappahannock a stand was attempted, but it failed to arrest the progress of the enemy for any time. The Federals, driven out of Rappahannock Station, fell back upon Warrenton; and in the neighbourhood of Warrenton Pope appears to have disposed the bulk of his army. But here an unexpected movement of the Confederates outflanks his right wing; and he learns that a considerable body of the enemy has got completely round into his rear, and that his railroad and telegraphic communications with Washington are cut off. It will be recollected that a week ago a division of the Southern army was said to have gone off in the direction of the Shenandoah Valley, and that an attack upon the right wing of the Federals was feared. The sudden attack upon Manassas, which has so nearly destroyed the whole Federal army, came from this force, which seems to have got as far to the north as Leesburg, and a portion of which made a dash through Thoroughfare Gap, a pass in the range of mountains west of the Blue Ridge, and fell upon Manassas Junction. Here the Federals sustained a severe reverse, and lost nine guns. Pope, on finding the enemy in his rear, marched with his whole army, strengthened by Heintzelmann's, Porter's, and Hooker's divisions of the old army of the Potomac, upon Manassas Junction. In this movement it is reported that the advance of the Confederate army was cut off from its supports, encountered by a Federal division, and routed. Finally, a great engagement takes place along the whole line on the old battle-field, the Federals being, in their turn, the assailants, in which General Pope claims the victory, the field of battle, and great captures, but admits a loss of 8000 killed and wounded, states that the enemy is still in his front, and that his troops are too exhausted to "push matters." He adds, *naively* enough, that "the battle was fought on the identical field of Bull Run," which "greatly increased the enthusiasm of the men." Of course the Confederates lost two to one, General Pope had heard that the army are retreating, and had pushed forward a reconnaissance to ascertain this. The general who claimed the victory of Cedar Mountain, and who captured 10,000 of Beauregard's retreating army, is not likely to issue more veracious bulletins as his difficulties become greater.

It is, of course, hopeless to attempt to throw light on the complicated accounts furnished by the telegraph. All that we know is that the two great armies are engaged along their whole lines; that by a very brilliant manoeuvre the Confederates have outflanked the Federal army; that the principal attack has taken place on the extreme right; that on more than one occasion the Federals admit a defeat, and that in the last great engagement of which any official account had been published, even according to the admissions of the authorities, nothing more than a drawn battle could be claimed. But, we repeat, for this knowledge we are indebted to the North; and as it is unreasonable to suppose that on this single occasion the North is speaking the truth, we are inclined to believe the result of the fighting has been continuously disastrous to the Federal arms. Within the week, at the latest, there will be a relief to all suspense. We shall be surprised if within that time we do not hear a very different account of the struggle. Every friend of humanity must desire that victory may have fallen to the Confederate side, and that so North and South may be spared the misery of a third campaign.

FEDERAL OUTRAGES IN ALABAMA.

The *Knoxville Register* thus refers to some of the earlier Federal outrages in Alabama:—

The conduct of the Federal General Mitchell, and his subordinate officers and men (the most of whom appear to be Dutch and Irish,) is of the most insolent and oppressive character. On the arrival of the Federals in Huntsville, Mitchell sent for the Mayor and told him that he must have food for his men, about 5000. Mayor Coltart replied that he would consult some of the citizens. Mitchell told him that he would give him to understand that he was master, and the food must be provided or it would be taken from the citizens. To

prevent outrages on individual citizens, the Mayor provided food at municipal expense. Sundry private citizens were arrested the first day and afterwards, without knowing why they were singled out from others who were as much, or more, in "the rebel" category than themselves; and, it is presumed, they were pointed out by Tories in town. This presumption was confirmed by the fact that squads of Federals showed an extraordinary knowledge of localities, by the facility which they found their way to houses in which Confederate soldiers were, or had been staying.

Our informants report that Mitchell appears to take a malicious pleasure in petty annoyances, as well as greater outrages upon the people. If he sees half a dozen or more citizens together, he will, in the most haughty and imperious manner, cry out, "Disperse, you d—n rebels!"—knowing well that the balls and bayonets of the myrmidons who back him, give him immunity from the penalty due to his cowardly insolence, and which outraged freemen would visit upon him if they were unshackled.

The citizens of the town and country have been robbed of bacon, lard, poultry, corn, fodder, flour, groceries, horses, mules—in short, everything that will replenish the exhausted quartermaster and commissary stores. In some instances they make a pretense to remunerative owners, by giving them receipts for the property taken, specifying their own arbitrary, unremunerative prices, and telling the owners to present the receipt to the quartermaster, and when presented, the owner is required to take the oath of allegiance, and if he refuses, payment is refused. Sometimes Federal scouts will take part of a man's bacon, provender or other property, and take an inventory of the balance, and if the balance is not forthcoming when called for, the vandals will wantonly destroy almost everything that they can lay their hands on, and, perhaps, arrest the owner and hold him a prisoner for one or more days, and then release him on parole not to leave certain prison bounds.

The Confederate Marshal, General Ben. Patterson, and his family left his residence near the city on the approach of the Hessians, and they destroyed his doors, windows, piano, furniture, &c.; used his house as a privy, and carried off his corn, fodder, and everything they could make useful. They robbed the grocery store of McCredy, Patton, and Sprague of about \$12,000 worth of groceries, and appropriated the house as a sutler's store. They robbed the other grocery stores in like manner, with the exception of one, Wm. H. Powers', a Yankee, and they paid him for all they got.

The Federals are greatly incensed by the citizens of the country burning bridges, cutting telegraph wires, shooting scouts and pickets, and firing into railroad trains; and prominent citizens, in every neighbourhood where such things occur, are arrested, taken to Huntsville, and imprisoned in the Court House or in Law Offices, &c., for such time as the caprice of the General, or his Provost, may direct, and then paroled. Numbers of citizens are thus treated, without any apparent reason. When our informant left, some dozen citizens of the town, and thirty odd citizens of the county, were confined. Among the prominent citizens who have thus suffered, we remember the names of Ex-Governor Clay, Ex-Governor Reuben Chapman, Dr. Thomas Fearn, George P. Bierne, and Rev. J. G. Wilson, though nearly every man of any prominence has, at some time or other, experienced this petty despotism. Ex-Governor Clay, who is over seventy years of age, and infirm, was ruthlessly taken from his plantation, in Jackson county, twenty miles from Huntsville, carried to town, confined two or three days, and released on parole to remain in the city limits, the alleged ground for this treatment being that persons had fired on a railroad train containing Federal soldiers and on a railroad-bridge guard, a few miles distant from his plantation. For the same alleged offence, however, they burnt the small village of Camden or Paint Rock, which should have sufficed to satiate their ire. The villages of Woodville and Scottsboro', in Jackson county, on the railroad, were destroyed in like manner, and Mitchell made a speech at Woodville, in which he threatened to burn every house within ten miles, if bridge burning and bush-whacking did not cease, and he would hang every bush-whacker he caught. At this announcement, a fellow in a hollow, at a safe distance, not having the fear of King Abraham or his august military representative before his eyes, called out, "The h—ll you say." The threats have been practically disregarded. Ex-Governor Chapman was taken from his residence, two miles from town, confined in town several days, and then returned home on parole, and is kept there under guard. He was an original and decided Secessionist, but his special offence was probably that General L. Pope Walker and family were his guests when Huntsville was taken.

A SOUTHERN HEROINE.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

The following account of the arrest of Miss Bella Boyd, of Martinsburg, whose beauty and courage have made her the idol of Virginia, is from her own pen:—

On the evening of July 29 I was standing upon the balcony of the hotel at Front Royal, Virginia, surrounded by my young friends. We were all thinking of our dear relatives who, not many miles away, were awaiting the invaders, and ready to shed their last drop of blood in defence of our honour and our homes. We presently saw, with deep sorrow, the charge of a large body of Yankee cavalry down the street, for we felt sure they were bound upon a barbaric scouting excursion among our native hills. I retired, however, little dreaming of their cruel purposes towards myself, which were to be revealed the following morning, and that the next day would witness my own arrest as a prisoner of war.

On Wednesday morning, about 8 o'clock, my thoughts still wandering away up the valley, I noticed that the officers were gazing at me, and ere long I was informed that the Provost Marshal desired my presence in the parlour below. I found there Major Sherman, of the 12th Illinois Cavalry, and a very mysterious and vulgar looking character from Washington, who said he had an order from the Secretary of War for my immediate arrest, and wished to examine my baggage and proceed with me at once to Washington. I, of course, in the midst of an invading army, could only obey, and soon found myself in a carriage and on the road to Winchester. Front Royal being scarcely within their lines, it was deemed necessary to surround me with about 300 cavalry over the nineteen miles of road between Front Royal and Winchester. Reaching there at 5 o'clock p.m., I was taken to General White's headquarters. The general would not permit me to stay in Winchester for the night, fearing my rescue would be attempted either by citizens or a bold dash of Confederate cavalry, so that I was kept under guard at his encampment all night. About 3 o'clock on Thursday morning an alarm was given from the outposts and

the minions sprang to arms, but, unfortunately for me, it was a false surprise. I was then taken under guard of about 100 cavalry to Martinsburg, my dear native home. The guard had received orders from Washington not to allow my friends even to speak to me. During an interview with Colonel Voss, who was in command of the post, I discovered that the rough common man who had me in charge was one of the military detective police. I politely requested the colonel to furnish me with some gentleman as an escort, which he promised to do. I was not permitted to visit even my own home, but detained at the depot hotel; three hirelings guarded the hall leading to the door of my room, and a strong detachment surrounded the house. At 2 o'clock we were en route for Washington. Adjutant Steele, of the 12th Illinois, having been detailed for the service, he proved to be one of the very few "gentlemen" to be found in Lincoln's army. He received orders to report with me at Secretary Stanton's, but on arriving at the Washington depot I was immediately transferred to the Yankee "Bastille" on Capitol-hill. I write this from my cell; no trial, no examination, no woman's sympathising companionship; still I am happy, for I have a clear conscience, a conviction that I have not transgressed my duty, and that if I suffer it is for the sake of my dear home and my native land. I can suffer the insult and the falsehood of the Yankee Government and the Yankee press, for I feel that I have the esteem and the sympathy of thousands upon thousands of true and noble hearts who, while I am yearning for freedom, are with their strong right arms fighting for it.

May God, in his mercy, stay the hand of oppression, and lead to victory and glory those who are fighting for our hearths and homes, for our honour, and our country. God is for the right, and victory is with Him.

I ought in justice to say that Colonel Voss, Major Sherman, and Adjutant Steele, behaved very courteously and kindly towards me in executing the orders of their Government. Their conduct was in marked contrast to that of the Washington emissary; they seemed to regret very much to see me in the position of a prisoner, and I thank them for their kindness and sympathy.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT G. V.—THEIR SERVICE ON JAMES ISLAND.

(From the *Savannah Daily News*.)

Among the many bloody engagements of this war, not one will shine in brighter characters upon the pages of the future historian, than the gallant action of the 47th Georgia with the enemy on June 10, 1862. The monument of that terrible fight can now be seen by the visitor to James Island in the woods and fields that border upon the Stono. The hail of balls and the path of fire have left their impress indelibly written upon the scene of the action. It has ever been the custom of nations to return the public thanks of the country to the brave soldiers who have distinguished themselves upon the field. The officers and soldiers of the 47th, while they mourn over the heroic dead and suffering wounded, who have freely shed their blood upon the soil of a sister State, are content with the simple consciousness which each one has in his own breast, that they have performed the whole duty of a soldier, and are now again prepared, though reduced by sickness, wounds, and death, to almost half their original number, to re-echo the language of Ireland's martyred patriot, and meet the foe once more with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other, and if forced to retire before their advancing host, raise every house, burn every blade of grass, and make the last entrenchment of liberty a hero's grave.

The condition of the regiment from the time when the troops were mustered into service, has been one of peculiar trial. Quite a number were lost to the service by sickness at Camp Davis, and while at Causton's Bluff nearly one half of the regiment were prostrated by diseases incident to camp life. The two companies of Captains Ashton and Mines were not permitted to accompany us to Carolina, though they were anxious and pleaded hard to join the regiment, and share its trials and dangers. The regiment left Georgia about the 4th of June last, with four days' rations. They went forth at the word of command, not knowing their point of destination, but ready to meet the enemy in any part of the Confederacy, and prove to the world that Georgians knew their rights, and knowing, dared maintain them. On the day after their arrival at the termini of the Charleston and Savannah railroad, the regiment was ordered to a position on James Island. For several days the troops were without tents or change of clothing, these having all been left at their last encampment near Savannah. After changing position for several days on the island, they were marched on the 10th of June to a point near the lines of the enemy.

About 4 o'clock in the evening of that day an order was received to scour the woods intervening between our lines and the gunboats of the enemy on the Stono. Not a man in the regiment or perhaps on the island among our forces knew the strength of the enemy ambuscaded or entrenched in these woods. No doubt, however, the order was issued to ascertain this important fact. Our gallant Colonel, without a moment's hesitation, obeyed the order to advance and drive back the foe. Two companies, commanded by Captains Aiken and Latimore, were deployed from the centre, and advanced with great difficulty through the dense wood, and came upon a body of the enemy near a well dug in the woods. These were fired upon and retreated quickly to their advanced column behind their first entrenchments, while our two companies marched rapidly in pursuit. The company of Captain Tippins, was thrown out on the left, and advancing to the first line of the enemy began the action. Colonel Williams, with Captain Fraser and Adjutant Williams, and two companies, Captains Cone's and W. Williams', advanced from the right and charged the enemy's centre. Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards, with the companies of Captains Phillips, Doyle, and Gormany, led the attack upon the enemy's left. The action now became general, and our forces repeatedly charging the enemy, drove them back from the breastwork and ditch behind which their first stand was made. Several of our men were wounded in this bold attack upon the advanced line of the enemy. A little beyond the first position of the enemy, and between it and their second line of defence, the woods have been purposely cleared of the undergrowth, and an open space of some seventy-five yards lay directly in front of their second line. Into this open space the gallant 47th dashed in pursuit of the foe. By this time the fight

became terrible beyond all description. Here was a little band of 330 men rushing into the very jaws of death. At least three regiments of the enemy, with artillery on the right and left, poured a most destructive fire into the ranks of that daring band of volunteer soldiers, most to whom had never before seen a battle-field. Our men fell by scores under this terrible fire, and had it not been for the direct interposition of Almighty God, I do not believe that a single one would have escaped from that bloody battle-field. Besides the fire above described, the gunboats from the Stono now opened with shell upon the woods, and although the most of these passed over the heads of our men, several were severely wounded by the heavy branches of the trees cut down by the shot.

It seems scarcely credible, but yet it is true, that the 47th, not reinforced by a single company, continued to fight the enemy in the face of such an overwhelming force and under such a fire for one hour and a half. In several places they charged up to the enemy's guns and drove them back from the second line. The brave Captain Williams, of the Bulloch Guards, while charging at the head of his men, fell in the very midst of the foe, pierced by seven balls. Some of the prisoners captured in the late fight at Lamar's battery confessed that the enemy in this fight lost eighty men killed and wounded. We have no doubt that double that number fell in the close and deadly combat. Our brave commander, Colonel G. W. M. Williams, never gave the order to retreat, but with a handful of men continued the fight until darkness shut out the foe. We have strong reasons to believe that this battle, so serious and unexpected to the enemy, prevented their immediate advance upon Secessionville. At least we believe that it has taught the enemy what kind of opposition he must meet with in his march on Charleston, and taken in connection with the terrible whipping he received a few days ago at Lamar's battery, accounts for his late inaction. I do not now believe that he will again attempt to reach Charleston by land. Our defences here both by land and sea are the best I have ever seen, and the enemy may be assured that nothing awaits his advance but terrible slaughter and shameful defeat. The stern determination in every soldier's heart is to die or drive back the invader. We are fighting for our homes, and our altars, our families, our sacred rights, and a glorious name among the nations of the earth, and with the blessings of a righteous God, whose favour we continually invoke, how can such a people be conquered? Never! Southward the star of empire takes its way, it rises amid darkness, revolution and blood, but daily mounts higher and higher, and grows brighter and brighter. The eyes of all men are fixed in wonder upon its beauty, and soon it will mount to mid heaven and shine in glory over a new State that has taken its rank among the nations of the earth.

Out of about 330 men who went into the action on June 10, the 47th regiment lost fifty-four in killed and wounded. They deserve a name of honour whether they receive it or not, and should rank among the bravest troops in the army. A part of the regiment, Captain Gormany's company, were also engaged in the late battle at Lamar's battery, and we there lost Lieut. Graham, a gallant and noble soldier. The rest of the regiment were in another part of the field, ready to assist in repelling the foe.

I can safely avow that the 47th, when ordered, on every occasion have promptly occupied the post of danger both on picket and in battle, and that they have been ever ready, at a moments warning, to march against the enemy. I candidly believe, however, that the regiment now requires a short cessation from severe active duty in some healthy location. The regiment is now but a skeleton of its former self. Not one half of the men are fit for duty, and the sick list seems to increase every day. No doubt the men earnestly desire a change, but I hear no murmur from their lips. If the country can be benefited by their position here, they are willing to brave all dangers and endure all trials that their country may be free. All honour to the gallant 47th; may they be enabled to preserve in the future the brave reputation they have acquired in the past.

The above account of this regiment has been written with no special view to its publicity, but that each soldier of the regiment might procure a printed copy for his own perusal and the satisfaction of his family and friends. My own individual hope and prayer is, that He who alone can give the victory, will continue to bless our armies, and ensure to our beloved country a speedy and permanent peace, granting to our Confederacy a glorious independence that the nations may know that He alone is God, and that we may praise Him for his great deliverance in our dark day of trouble.

H. E. C.

MR. LINCOLN ON EMANCIPATION.

The President has forwarded the following letter to the Honourable Mr. Greeley, in answer to an appeal by the latter gentleman, urging the emancipation of the slaves:—

Washington, August 22.

Sir,—I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*. If there be in it any statements or assumptions, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend, whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1862.

The War News.

"No fears, however, are entertained for the safety of Washington." Such is the latest news from New York, and it must awaken in the mind of the most careless reader strange remembrances. Not three months since the North was rejoicing in the imminent capture of the Confederate capital. We were told that the outposts of the Army of the Potomac could hear the ringing of the bells of the churches in Richmond; on August 27 the roar of Confederate artillery might have been heard from the eastward of the White House. On June 26 General McClellan wrote a despatch to his Government, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the advance he had made towards Richmond; on August 26 he had entirely evacuated the peninsula, and had landed, with the main portion of the remnant of his army, at Alexandria, near to Washington, for the purpose of effecting a junction with General Pope. It is needless to dwell on the contrasted positions. The invading armies have been driven back, and instead of attacking Richmond, are arraying for the defence of the Northern capital. We cannot conceive a more striking confession of defeat than is conveyed in the sentence—"No fears, however, are entertained for the safety of Washington."

We have not any Southern accounts of the important movements in Virginia since August 20, and the Washington Government has maintained an ominous silence, only broken by the publication of General Pope's despatch in reference to the second battle of Bull Run. The few facts that have transpired, and been reported to Europe, are so confused and contradictory that they would be utterly unintelligible, except for the light thrown on them by admitted results. Two things are, however, clear—the Confederate commanders have displayed consummate strategy, and the Northern commanders have been completely out-generalled.

It appears the capture of Pope's baggage and papers was effected by a cavalry exploit under General Stuart, identical in its features to that by which the same general made the circuit of General McClellan's army; and, as we supposed, besides the capture of the Federal commander's personal effects, a considerable booty was secured. On August 23 the Confederates forced the Federals to abandon the line of the Rappahannock, which was said to be impregnable, and General Pope retired to Warrenton Junction. There he remained for three days, uncertain of the movements of his enemy; and from the rumours that found their way into the Northern papers, evidently congratulating himself that the Confederates had drawn back. On the 26th he was startled from his repose. Whilst he had been resting at Warrenton, the Confederate forces had passed to his rear, and were between him and Washington. This was intimated to him by the Federal force being driven from Manassas Junction, with a great loss of artillery and stores, and by his communication with the Federal capital being cut off. The Confederates, still keeping possession of Manassas Junction, sent forward a force that drove the Federals from Bull Run Bridge, and the Confederate cavalry even advanced to Fairfax. As we

do not charge General Pope with imbecility, we must give credit to his enemy for consummate strategy. The Federal general had been driven across the Rappahannock, had been driven from the banks of that river before he could effect a junction with the whole of McClellan's army, and whilst he was resting at Warrenton, believing, no doubt, in massing his forces, the Confederates pass to his rear, drive in his right wing, and are between him and Washington. If we needed any further proof that General Pope was surprised, we have it in the extension of the Federal lines from Warrenton to Manassas Junction; for had he conceived an attack in his rear possible he would not have suffered General Sigel's corps to have been so far from the main body.

When General Pope became aware of the position in which he had been placed, he broke up his camp at Warrenton, divided his forces into three parts, and retreated to Manassas Junction, which place, after several skirmishes, he reached on the 28th, three hours after it had been evacuated by General Jackson. Whither had the Confederate general retired? Not, we may be sure, to the north of General Pope's army. Where was the main body of the Confederates, which had passed to Pope's rear while he was resting at Warrenton? We have not information that enables us to give a definite and certain answer to this question; and yet until this point is settled we cannot fully understand the position of the contending armies at the second battle of Bull Run, which occurred on the 29th. Was the Confederate army between the Federal army and Richmond, or between the Federal army and Washington? If in the former position, how can we explain the attack of Pope before he was joined by the whole of McClellan's army? If in the latter position, it is manifest that so far from the Federals gaining any advantages, they made a vain attempt to cut through the Confederate army and reopen the communication with Washington. The official despatch of General Pope, of course, announces a victory, yet he confesses to a loss of 8000 men; that his troops were so exhausted as not to be able to follow up the advantage which it is the policy of Federal commanders to say they have gained, however badly they may have been defeated. He refers hesitatingly to the Confederate loss, and indefinitely to the capture he has made. Judging from Pope's antecedents, we may very well regard this despatch as an admission of defeat; but the very terms of it enable us to do more than surmise the truth. He says distinctly that the Confederates stood on the defensive. Now, if the attacking party did not drive his enemy from his front, there can be no question that the attack was a failure. If the Confederates did not gain a victory it was a drawn battle, which left the Federals exhausted, and the relative positions of the armies unchanged. The last advices from New York, stating that the appearance of the Confederates on the Upper Potomac was expected, is, we think, very sufficient evidence that the Federal army is menaced both in front and rear. It is far from improbable that we may shortly hear of the united armies of McClellan and Pope being established on the bank of the Potomac, or there may have been another engagement; but a single victory could not retrieve the fortunes of the invader. In the *Times* of yesterday it was observed that "the safety of Washington and the existence of the Federal Government still depended on the result of a battle;" but a Federal victory would still leave the invasion of Virginia one of the completest military failures on record. We will not speculate upon the probability of impending events, which are decided ere this, and of which the news is already on its way to Europe.

The report of the state of affairs in the Border States, and, indeed, in every part of the Confederacy, is as favourable to the Southern cause as the most sanguine friend could have anticipated. Every day the position of General Buell becomes more critical. The Confederate forces may be said to command Tennessee, if we except the part absolutely occupied by the Federal army. General Morgan has added to his long list of

triumphs the defeat and capture of General Johnson, together with a large portion of his forces. In Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, there is continuous fighting, and whenever we hear of a decided advantage it is on the side of the Confederates. Baton Rouge has been evacuated by the Federals, and much anxiety is felt for the safety of General Butler in New Orleans. If the picture we present of Federal affairs is gloomy, we may be sure it is not untruthfully gloomy, for, unfortunately, on this occasion we are obliged to write from the reports furnished to us by the North.

In the north-west the United States' Government has to contend with a new and formidable trouble; some Indian tribes have revolted, and it is supposed an Indian war has commenced, and if this be so, it will prove a heavy drain on Federal resources, both of men and money. In East New York there has been a mutiny in consequence of the non-payment of the soldiers. By means of enormous bounties, and the pressure of the conscription, which, by the way, has been postponed in Indiana, and practically abandoned in the Border States, some progress has been made in raising the much-needed 300,000 additional troops, and now it is discovered that there is a scarcity of arms. We are not so much surprised at this scarcity when we remember for the last few months the Federals have been abundantly supplying their enemy with arms and ammunition. New York is no longer reported as being cheerful, though the citizens get up war meetings at which resolutions are passed avowing the determination of the North to continue the contest. The diminished commerce of New York will prevent any inconvenience being experienced from the closing of the stores at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, in order to give time for volunteering and drafting. It is not unlikely that a half-holiday every day may lead to more rioting than enlisting.

We read in the New York press that Mr. Lincoln is determined to carry out the Confiscation and Emancipation Act *as far as he can*. Surely, under present circumstances, this is a biting jest and bitter mockery.

President Davis's Message.

MANY of our contemporaries have remarked, from time to time, on the striking contrast afforded by the State Papers and other official utterances of the Federal and Confederate Governments. The former are peculiarly offensive to English readers, accustomed to be addressed, and to see foreign Powers addressed, by the Ministers of this country in language whose gravity is almost too formal, and whose calmness incurs from critics in other nations the reproach of coldness. To us the tone of French and Italian reports and despatches seems objectionably vivacious, and their style suited rather to literary than to official compositions. But the most vivacious of French Ministers, the most violent of Italian patriots, must stand aghast at the violent language, as well as the insolent demeanour, with which the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln addresses its subjects—we can no longer call them citizens—its enemy, and foreign nations. The most passionate and plain-spoken member of the British Parliament would hardly think of using in public, concerning the most hostile of foreign Powers, language such as that in which a notorious ex-Ambassador indulges towards England; and if he did, his audience would suppose him to be either drunk or mad. But even the frantic scoldings of Mr. Cassius Clay can hardly surprise a people used to the vituperative eloquence of a Sumner or a Lovejoy, the diplomatic ferocity of Mr. Seward, and the abusive proclamations which express at once the rage and the impotence of an incapable Government face to face with a people resolved on independence. Mr. Seward's despatches, indeed, are but translations into decent words of the frantic ribaldry of the gentleman displaced to make room for the late Secretary at War; and the Government, in its tone towards the Confederates, seems only to strive to outdo the harangues of Republican agitators, and the tirades of Abolition journals. It seems to think

that fury will prove its earnestness, and that violence will pass for energy. In a word, all its utterances read like what they are—the addresses of demagogues to an excited populace, rather than the deliberate expression of the will and opinion of the Government of a great country involved in a terrible conflict. Of a similar effusion to those of the Washington Government a sarcastic statesman observed, “I hope the enemy, when he reads it, will tremble as I do.” Well, indeed, might sober observers in the United States tremble for their country and for the Federal cause when they read the marvellous despatches of the Secretary of State and the bombastic promises of instant victory with which the war was inaugurated by the President. Undersuch auspices, what could be expected but that which has actually been incurred—a long series of blunders and reverses as disgraceful as disastrous? But bluster and bombast serve their purpose. The Government speaks to Bunkum; and Bunkum cheers and seems to trust it.

The South, which has always furnished the Union with such statesmanship as the Federal Government has possessed, has the good fortune to be governed by statesmen; and their public utterances, addressed not to an ignorant rabble, but to a people terribly in earnest and thoroughly aware of the momentous nature of its great enterprise, have assured their country and the world of the genuineness and sufficiency of their statesmanship. Neither boastful extravagance nor wanton ferocity, neither unworthy panic nor undignified exultation, are to be traced in the conduct or in the language of the Confederate Government. The two Messages of President Davis—one delivered at the darkest hour of the fortunes of the Commonwealth, when Fort Donelson had fallen and Richmond seemed in danger, and one just after the defeated Army of the Potomac had fallen back, leaving tens of thousands of its dead on Virginian soil—have received the tribute of almost universal admiration from the English press; a tribute to which we need not add our mite of applause. All impartial critics have recognized in them the mind of a man worthy to guide the destinies of his country through the perils of a gigantic war and the embarrassments which beset the first steps of a newly-created State—courage that cannot be cowed by danger or disaster—candour that does not shrink from the painful avowal of errors and reverses—a spirit, even in the midst of brilliant successes, *ab insolenti temperatam letitiam*—a conscientious sense of duty which will not flinch from any measure, however obnoxious and unpopular, that is necessary to the public weal—a love of freedom, yielding neither to the promptings of ambition, nor to the instincts of official convenience, which has preserved in an invaded country the liberties which, on the plea of necessity, have been wrested from the invading people. If any fault has been found with the late Message, save by those who cannot think that the South can do any right or the North any wrong, it is that it speaks almost too coldly and indifferently of the glorious achievements of this summer's campaign—achievements which would have wrung an ample meed of praise from the haughtiest and most reserved of European statesmen. There is a Roman, almost a stoical, sternness in the manner in which the Confederate President accepts, as matters of course, the victories which have saved the capital; and the army might almost be disappointed did it not know how thoroughly a ruler, himself a distinguished soldier, appreciates the exploits which have signalized the soldiery of the South. Never was anything further removed from bombast or boastfulness than the language in which Mr. Davis announces triumphs which would have excited enthusiasm even in phlegmatic England, and done honour to the veteran armies of France.

Mr. Davis's temper does not fail him even when he has to speak of the wanton barbarities suffered by the districts that have been visited by the invaders, and of the unexampled outrages on the laws of civilized warfare which reflect such signal infamy on the Federal army and on the Federal Government. He speaks strongly, no doubt, but in terms of just and measured reprobation, of the crimes

which have rendered a cause, bad to begin with, utterly detestable in the eyes of the civilized world. Let us recall for a moment what those crimes have been. Forgery has been the least of them. It is a trifle that the manufacture of counterfeit Confederate notes is regularly and publicly carried on in the Northern States, with the implied sanction of the Federal Administration; and that the forged notes are supplied by wholesale to the army, that the soldiers may add swindling to robbery, and defraud where they are not permitted to pillage. Yet we know that war gives no license to forgery. The army of General Pope has been ordered to subsist by plunder, and has accordingly made war on private citizens, robbing, burning, and destroying wherever its marauding bands have ventured to extend their operations. Murder has been the pastime of the Federal soldiery. In Missouri they assassinate gentlemen returning from church, on their own threshold and in sight of their families. In Virginia they smash the head of an aged lady with their musket-butts. In Tennessee they avenge the surprise and destruction of a general and his escort by hanging a score of unoffending citizens. In Louisiana they bombard a defenceless town, because their vessels of war have been fired upon by Confederate guerillas. In Alabama a ladies' school is deliberately given up to the license of a brutal soldiery. In New Orleans war is declared against unarmed men, against foreign property, and against the whole female population. And when the demand is made directly of the Federal Government whether it sanctions these atrocities, General Halleck refuses a reply. How can President Davis designate the perpetrators of these crimes but as “murderers and felons?” What else does Europe call them? And how can he deal with a systematic violation of the laws of war but by threatening condign punishment to the cowardly criminals? We regret the necessity of reprisals; but in a case like this there is no other resort. If American officers and soldiers will make war after the fashion of Taepings or Sepoys, it would be impossible, it would be criminal, to treat them as men engaged in honourable warfare.

In all that relates to the provision of necessary means for the maintenance of the war, the tone of the Message is calm and cheerful evincing full confidence in the army, in Congress, and in the country; confidence which is fully reciprocated. The Confederate army has not suffered like that of the invaders from the sword, from climate, from famine, from disease, and from desertion. There have been no routs, and the losses of an army in the field are never so great as when it has ceased to defend itself. The Confederates are fighting on their own soil, and are not wilfully sacrificed by being encamped in swamps; they have an efficient commissariat; they have been well led and carefully husbanded; and they have no traitors or halfhearted mercenaries in their ranks. It is probably, therefore, that, even without a further conscription, they will be able to hold their own against any force that the North can send into the field; but in case they should require reinforcements, the President prudently demands from Congress power to call a further force into the field. In reference to this subject a mistake, perhaps wilful, has been made by one of our contemporaries, which notoriously derives inspiration and even information, more or less veracious, from the Federal Embassy. The Message speaks of differences of opinion, and calls on Congress to take measures to secure the harmonious co-operation of the State and Central Governments; and hereon is used a shout of premature exultation over imaginary dissensions at the South. But there has been no dissension. Discussion there has been, but discussion on a point of constitutional law, not of practical action. Governor Brown, of Georgia, a gentleman full of patriotic energy, but, perhaps, tinged with a little of that disposition to theoretic cavil which sailors denounce as a “sea-lawyer,” objects to the Conscription Act as unconstitutional the Government defends it, as necessary to that provision for the security of the Confederacy which is undoubtedly within the power and duty of the President and Congress, and a correspondence, very

courteous, but very lengthy, has taken place on the subject. But the State of Georgia furnishes her full contingent to the Confederate army, and neither the Governor nor any other citizen dreams of desiring that she should do otherwise. That such a discussion should arise in an invaded country proves at once the confidence of the people and the strength of the Government. What would be the fate of any man who ventured to question the constitutionality of a conscription in the North?

One other point in the Message deserves notice—the frankness, namely, with which Mr. Davis treats the difficult case of “officers incompetent for their position.” Wherever a vast army has suddenly to be created this case must be a common one; and in America the evil is aggravated by the practice of regimental election. In the Northern armies incompetence would seem to be the rule, and capacity the rare exception. And this might have been expected. Subordinate officers have been elected after a personal canvass, for their popularity, or their wealth, or any reason except that of military knowledge and experience. Superior officers have been appointed by favour, through political intrigue or backstairs influence. Election brings forward the heroes of the stump, the Corcorans and the Meaghers; executive appointment, the wire-pullers and lobby-hunters, the Bankses and the Butlers. In the South there has been very little of this kind of folly. There, the seriousness of the struggle has been understood from the first. War was not there expected to be a holiday task; and soldiers have chosen, and Government has appointed, officers with sole reference to their supposed fitness. There, men of every social grade are found in every rank of the army; dozens of officers who have no claim to rank but military capacity are found commanding thousands of privates sprung from the best and richest families in the South. But, nevertheless, mistakes have been made, as a matter of course, where some twenty-five or thirty thousand officers were to be chosen in a single year; and these mistakes Mr. Davis is anxious to rectify by some gentler means than the judgment of a court-martial. But, by some means or other, he is resolved to weed the army of officers who, from whatever cause, are unfit for command. It would be well for the unfortunate men who are marched to die by fever, famine, or the sword, under McClellan, Pope, and Buell, if any similar conscientious exercise of authority were to be hoped either from the Government or the Commander-in-Chief at Washington. And there may be European Governments which might, with advantage to their armies, imitate the wholesome strictness of the Confederate President.

Confederate Reprisals.

THREE weeks since we had occasion to dwell on the duty as well as the justice of Confederate reprisals. Their justice is, we presume, unquestionable. Neither in peace or war ought the atrocious crimes of such men as Butler, Mitchell, and Turchin to be committed with impunity. The cruel proclamation of Pope, the wholesale plundering of peaceful inhabitants, the circulation of forged Confederate notes, the infamous order of Butler, are offences that loudly call for punishment. No one will argue that the thefts, and diabolical brutality of the Northern soldiery, sanctioned as they are by the Washington Government and the Northern commanders, do not justify severe reprisals; and we imagine that the humanity of reprisals is equally manifest. President Davis does not seek for retribution in kind; in fact, he repudiates the idea of retaliation, except in the form of “stern and exemplary punishment;” and this is insisted on because “no method remains for the suppression of these enormities but such retributive justice as it may be found possible to execute.” Not to punish the crimes of the North would be to incur the guilt of encouraging them. So far from the Confederate reprisals making the war more savage in its character, they will have the opposite effect. When we last referred to this subject, we ventured to express an

opinion that the order of President Davis in regard to Pope's command would have a good result, and in our succeeding issue we had to record a proclamation of General Halleck against wholesale plundering; and also that General Pope had thought it better to revoke or modify his license to plunder, and we are informed the officers in his command insisted upon his so doing. We are convinced the resolute action of the Confederate Government will further curb the brutal instincts of the Northern authorities. For retaliation upon their women and children, or even upon their soldiers, they would not so much care, but as they are to be punished in their own persons for the crimes which they instigate and for which they are responsible, they will, for the sake of their necks, try to observe the laws of civilized warfare.

Some surprise has been expressed with respect to a proposed measure of retaliation that, in our opinion, is one of the most justifiable. The proposal to which we advert is, that Federal armies incongruously composed of white and men black shall not be held entitled to the privileges of war, and that of such as may be captured, the negroes shall be returned to their masters, or publicly sold, and their commanders be hung or shot. At present the proposed Act has not even been discussed by the Confederate Congress, and therefore our contemporaries have been rather premature in condemning as a law what may never become the law of the Confederate States. Our Parliamentary experience teaches us that there is an immense difference between a Bill being laid upon the table and a Bill becoming law. But we are not advancing this in defence of the proposition we have summarized; we defend it on its own merits; and if such an Act is passed it ought to be approved by every Christian community and by every humane man.

To put this matter on the broadest issue, we will, for a moment, assume that the negro regiments of the North are raised from the free coloured population. In that case, would the Confederate Government be justified in selling the captives of such regiments to slavery, and hanging the commanders? We must bear in mind that not only is the negro of an inferior race, but his inferiority is recognized and insisted on by the United States. In the North, as well as in the South, he is denied political equality, and is not liable to be called out for military service. The former, then, cannot complain of the latter refusing to treat the negro as the equal of the white man. But the object of raising coloured regiments is atrocious. The North is not engaged in a defensive war, and even if so, it would scarcely palliate the arming of negroes; nor is there any lack of white men, if they choose to enlist, to carry on the war of invasion. It is not pretended that the United States' armies will be strengthened by the addition of negro regiments; on the contrary, it is admitted they may prove a source of weakness. The object is to incite a servile insurrection. In the North there are persons so fiendish in their malignity as to avowedly sympathize with this idea of extermination. Language is too poor to set forth the atrocity of such a scheme, but the civilized world will not gainsay the right of the Confederates to punish any and every attempt to promote it.

It is, however, well known that the negro regiments are not composed of the free coloured population of the North, but of runaway or captured slaves. It is intended, if possible, to make the negro fight against his master. Surely no Englishman can be found to approve such conduct. The proposal for England to arm the American savages during the War of Independence, and turn them against the revolted colonists, was denounced by the Earl of Chatham in a speech of scathing invective; but it would have been far less inhuman to employ savages than it is to stir up a servile war, and, by exciting the negro's passions, to reduce him to the state of savageness from which he has been raised. The illustrious orator would not have been able to find adequate terms of reprobation for such an act. Any one who can palliate the proceedings of the United States' Government participates in its infamy. Mr. Lin-

coln has declared he cares not for Emancipation, but only for the reconstruction of the Union. The sole purpose of the war is the maintenance of the area of the late United States, and to attain it the people of the South are to be exterminated, if they cannot be conquered. Posterity will not wonder at the retaliation of the Confederate States, but rather, that Christian nations did not protest actively against the diabolical scheme of the North.

Besides, we maintain that it is a solemn obligation of the Southern people to protect the slaves. They ought not to permit the negroes to be made the tools of the white man's lust and vengeance; and we believe the proposed law will be an efficient protection. It will not punish the negro to be restored to his master, or assigned to a new master; he is too glad to escape from the North and to return to the South, which has been his home and country. But hanging or shooting the officers of negro regiments will have a very salutary effect, and, as we think, put an end to negro enlistment, or rather, impressment. Mr. Horace Greeley will not, we may be sure, accept a commission on such terms, and he will not be able to persuade others to incur the risk from which he shrinks.

Cause of the Disruption of the Union.

ONE of the most consistent champions of Abolition has again entered the field, and his opponent in the lists is this time no less a person than the Chief of the nation—a tilt in which the President holds no very dignified position, we venture to surmise. However, there is the fact that Mr. Lincoln has broadly put upon public record his views, and, we presume, the line of policy approved by his Cabinet, with reference to slavery. Now, before we approach his peculiar treatment of it, let us, for one moment, look at the complexion the great controversy assumed on both sides of the Atlantic. We were told, not only by statesmen in the Senate and House of Representatives, but their opinion was endorsed by States and people, that slavery, being contrary to the law of God, was not to be suffered in a Christian country, and was to be put away as the unholy thing, nationally, even though the doing so would destroy the Union.

Mr. W. H. Seward and his friends have been named by themselves the "Higher Law Party," because they avowed their consciences would not allow them to obey the law of the land, as it abetted slavery condemned by such higher law; and if they had contented themselves with excluding and abolishing slavery in their own States, they would have been blameless. But, without knowledge of the country or its peculiar institutions, religious people on this side of the Atlantic have allowed themselves to be worked on by false and fraudulent misrepresentations of the social state of the slave, to overlook, in their benevolent desire for the well-being of their *protégés*, every consideration of law, justice, or the common weal of the nation. And to such people the idea has been pertinaciously held out by the emissaries of the Washington autocracy, that the war of the North against the South is a war for the enfranchisement of the slave. What says the Chief Officer of the North?

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union; and it is neither to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do it. What I do about slavery and the coloured race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

Again, we have heard something broadly and fearlessly laid down by statesmen, whose names are enrolled in the list of those whom all parties in America were delighted to honour, about the Constitution of the United States permitting slavery, and that the law of the land, as allowed by Mr. Seward and his friends, did sanction, nay, even protect a man who so disregarded the higher law as to own such property. What says Mr. Lincoln?

As the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not met to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union.

I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

Now, the "Union as it was," but never will be again, was a nation living under a code of laws enacted for the benefit of all who lived under its rule, and a great portion of those were slaveowners. When, therefore, on that and on other points—and they are all too well-known to require illustration here—the people of the Confederate States agreed, as they had a right to do, no longer to abide in the Constitution, what does the President mean by his declaration? He means that he and his will persist in their wicked and suicidal system of coercion. He means they will ignore the plain rights of freemen to choose their own Government; that they will murder thousands of men, and even women and children. He means they will ruin whole States of flourishing and peaceful members of their own family; throw back, for it may be centuries, the civilization and welfare of the common country by savage brutality at the hands of a ferocious and foreign horde, and wreck the destinies of the nation of which he swore to administer faithfully the laws and Constitution. For what? To restore the Union; to force back into a community they abhor eight millions of freemen with arms in their hands, and who need not be told on September 11, 1862, how to use them. The thing is an absurdity, and Mr. Lincoln knows it. There is not one single article in nature, from the mountain rock to the slenderest needle, that human art can rejoin when once sundered. "As it was," indeed! The Union as it was is gone, and in the lesson it has taught mankind has done the work for which an all-wise Providence permitted it—to show how a lust of power, insolence of control at home, and assumption regardless of law or decency abroad, has recoiled upon the people who set up their idol, and found it of clay. They dare not go back; the machine that they have set in motion, were they to dare to stop it, would crush them as the car of Juggernaut. They must go on. Neither reason, nor law, nor any human ability, can weigh aught in their counsels. They have marked themselves for destruction, and it has found them out. For some short time past a better feeling has taken possession of public men and public writers in this country. Mr. Seward, in his letter to the Paisley sympathizers, acknowledges the fact that the feeling of England is against him. Why? Because he and his men have senselessly ignored every sentiment that Englishmen hold dear. They have shut the mouth of the press, and confined in loathsome dungeons, without trial, all who dare disagree; they have boasted and threatened till Europe has become disgusted with their conduct, and cannot but rejoice in the dissolution of a union which would have jeopardized the peace of the world.

Co-operation.

LAST week, in speaking of the injuries inflicted by the American war upon the manufacturing districts of this country, we had occasion to mention the heavy losses sustained by the Lancashire co-operative societies, through the impoverishment of their members, and the consequent withdrawals of capital; losses which, it is to be feared, will prove fatal to the existence of many of these most excellent institutions, and cripple for a long time to come the progress of all except the richest, best established, and best managed among them. We take the first opportunity of recurring to the subject, because we believe that the defeat of the co-operative movement would be about the most serious blow that could be suffered by the intelligent and thrifty working-classes of the cotton districts, that it would be equivalent to a suspension of their social progress for a generation to come, and would undo the best part of the progress that has been accomplished during the lifetime of the generation now living. In our opinion, the success which Co-operation has

achieved in the last eighteen years is the most hopeful feature in the industrial history of our time, and promised more for the eradication of some of the worst defects of our social organization than is to be hoped from any other of the marvellous discoveries—moral, political, and mechanical—of this self-satisfied nineteenth century. If this movement should now be crushed or beaten back, the lawless ambition of the Northern people will have inflicted on popular progress and prosperity in England the heaviest blow it has yet suffered. American Democracy will have done more to hinder the elevation of the masses, to perpetuate inequality, discontent, and ill-will among men, than has ever been effected by any reaction, aristocratic or monarchical, in any part of the world.

Some persons have a vague idea that Co-operation is a modified phase, or reproduction in a new shape, of the exploded errors of the Communists. Such a mistake is hardly excusable after men of all parties and opinions, the strictest economists and the most resolute Conservatives, have concurred in approving the principles, and applauding the progress, of the new movement. One of the earliest journals to discern and defend the merits of Co-operation was the organ of the strictest school of Political Economy; one of the most elaborate and most favourable accounts of the rise of the Rochdale societies was given by the recognized organ of the Tory party. The truth is, that the fundamental principles of Co-operation and of Communism are not merely distinct, but antagonistic. Communism seeks to destroy private property; Co-operation to do away with a proletariat and to make every labourer a small capitalist. Communism, merging individual interests in the common weal, minimises the incentive to individual exertion. Co-operation, giving to each individual the strongest possible interest in his own labour, strives to render that labour as energetic and as intelligent as human labour can be made. Historically, however, Co-operation is the child of Communism. The first English co-operators were disciples of Robert Owen. They began their work with full faith in his teachings; and in their hopes of renovating the world they were scarcely less sanguine than that most hopeful of visionaries. They differed from him in this—that while he was a dreamer they were practical labourers; that they were as teachable as he was self-willed; that they were willing to profit by experience and that he was not; and, therefore, they have unlearned in their upward progress the extravagant absurdities of their early faith; while they have worked their way to practical achievements, which, if not what they once dreamed of, are infinitely greater than could reasonably have been expected when in 1844 the first co-operative society started in business with forty members, and a capital of twenty-eight pounds.

Co-operation resembles Communism only in this—that it also is a revolt against injustice and an effort to escape from evils inherent in the actual constitution and industrial organization of society. Communism endeavoured to attain its end by attempting to revolutionize society; attempting at once too little and too much; for in order to succeed it must have revolutionized not only society but human nature; in order to provoke hostility, it did more than was required. And, accordingly, society crushed out its declared enemy; in England by the moral force of national common sense, in France by the physical force of grapeshot and bayonets. Co-operation, working in strict obedience to economical laws, avails itself of existing materials to build up in the midst of society, as actually organized, institutions which afford to their members protection against the evils of which they complain; and supercedes defective social arrangements only by the gradual substitution of others which hold their ground and prevail simply by virtue of their practical superiority. To men not accustomed to the study of economical science, the assertion of such superiority sounds like a glaring economical heresy; they are wont to regard the actual organization of the world's business—the business of production, distribution, and exchange—as something ordained

by nature, and certain to establish itself wherever men are left free to order their affairs at their own pleasure. It is with great difficulty that Englishmen are brought to understand that the form of industrial organization which obtains in England is not the necessary form into which all societies advanced in civilization naturally fall; nay, that even in England its existence is but of recent date. And yet history tells us that there was a time, not many centuries ago, when the status of a journeyman, permanently working for hire—now the status of the bulk of our town population—did not exist among us; and every observant traveller knows that such is not the condition of the agricultural classes of France and Italy, or of the trading classes of the Levant, or of any great class in any Oriental country. Most Englishmen accept the existing relation between capitalist and labourer—with its concomitant mischiefs of pauperism, and overpopulation, and class-antagonism, and all the troubles to which class-antagonism gives rise—as a law of nature, against which they no more murmur than against gravitation or the succession of the seasons. Co-operation establishes a new and healthier relation. It makes the labourer partner with the capitalist, jointly interested with him in the prosperity of the concern, in its economical working, in its efficiency of production, in its profits and in its losses. It endeavours, too, to make him a capitalist; and thereby to remove the last vestige of the old antagonism. And eighteen months or two years ago, it bade fair thus to change, in the course of a generation or two, the relation between employers and employed in all trades giving occupation to a highly-skilled and intelligent class of labourers.

In another direction it had worked even more successfully. There are, no doubt, many persons who consider the enormous machinery of retail trade as a subject of pride and a source of profit to England, and would be disposed to pity a country which, like the Confederate States of America, has scarcely anything of the kind. But retail trade adds nothing to the wealth of a country; it is merely a scheme for conveying the produce of labour from the producer to the consumer; and the less capital and the less labour are thus occupied, the more will be available for that productive employment which really increases riches. Retail trade in this country employs, probably, thrice as much capital and six times as many hands as are required to do the work; and all the unnecessary means and industry thus employed is simply wasted, and receives its remuneration at the expense of producers. It is a parasitic incubus, draining the resources and diminishing the productive power of the country. We have six men, with £600, doing the work that might be done by one man with £200. These six men must live; each on his £100 must make an annual profit of £50. The one man with £200 would be satisfied with an annual profit of £100, and thus £200 a year would be saved to the customers. This saving is effected, when a co-operative society opens a store, buys at wholesale prices, and sells to its members at retail prices, distributing among them afterwards the profits made by this trade, less the salaries of servants and other working expenses. It happens that the town of Rochdale affords a noble example of both achievements of Co-operation—of what it can do in furthering production, and of what it can do in economizing and cheapening distribution. There exist in that town the first and greatest co-operative store, and the first and greatest co-operative factory in England.

The store was first established in 1844, by the Society of Equitable Pioneers—the parent Co-operative Society of England. The society had originally forty members, of whom twelve seem to have dropped off before business commenced. At first the store was only open on one or two evenings in the week, and butter, flour, and groceries, the sole commodities, were sold by the directors in person, who in turn attended gratuitously to its business. It was not until 1851 that it was open all day and every day, and that salaried salesmen and a manager were appointed. The directors still serve gratuitously, though they and all the members are,

in Lancashire parlance, “nobbut working men.” The following table records the financial history of the store up to the end of 1860:—

	No. of Members.	Amount of Funds.		Business done.		Profit made.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1844	28	28	0 0				
1845	74	181	12 5	710	6 5	32	17 6
1846	80	252	7 1½	1,146	17 1	80	16 6
1847	110	286	15 3½	1,924	13 10	72	2 10
1848	140	397	0 0	2,276	6 5½	117	16 10½
1849	399	1,193	19 1	6,611	18 0	561	3 9
1850	600	2,299	10 5	13,179	17 0	889	12 5
1851	630	2,785	0 1½	17,638	4 0	990	19 8½
1852	680	3,471	0 6	16,352	5 0	1,206	15 2½
1853	720	5,848	3 11	22,760	0 0	1,674	18 11½
1854	900	7,172	15 7	33,364	0 0	1,763	11 2½
1855	1400	11,032	12 10½	44,902	12 0	3,106	8 4
1856	1600	12,920	13 1½	63,197	10 0	3,921	13 1½
1857	1850	15,142	1 2	79,788	0 0	5,470	6 8½
1858	1950	18,160	5 4	71,689	0 0	6,284	17 4½
1859	2703	27,064	14 2	104,012	0 0	10,739	18 6½
1860	3450	37,710	9 0	152,063	0 0	15,906	9 11

The profits are divided after the following manner. The capital of the store first receives interest at the rate of 5 per cent; then 2½ per cent. of the net profits is devoted to “educational purposes”—i.e., the maintenance of the excellent library and news-room connected with the store. The remainder of the profits belong to the members of the society, in proportion to their purchases. Thus, if at a quarterly stock-taking, the amount of purchase-money received during the quarter—the “returns”—be £40,000 and the net profit £4000, a dividend is declared of 10 per cent.; and every member who has expended during the quarter £20 at the store is entitled to a dividend of £2. The store is, in fact, a purchasing agency managed by and for the profit of the customers, and they receive the difference between wholesale and retail prices, not at each purchase, but quarterly, in the form of dividend. These dividends are, in great part, left to accumulate in the hands of the society, a very large part of whose capital consists of such accumulations. There are men who have now £50, or more, to their credit in the store, who have drawn out more than they ever subscribed to its capital; their present wealth being simply the result of these accumulated dividends. The store acts as a savings bank, allowing members to draw out their money, nominally at short notice, practically without notice. While the money remains, it bears interest at the rate of 5 per cent.; and this rate on money at call is found to offer such attractions that the store has always a larger capital than it can profitably employ; indeed, it has £10,000 invested in two other co-operative societies in Rochdale. The whole of this capital is owned by working-men; the whole of it has been saved, under the influence or by the agency of the store since 1844, in a town of less than 40,000 inhabitants. Better still, the store has emancipated the working classes of Rochdale from that state of indebtedness which is almost the normal condition of the Lancashire artisan. It gives no credit; and its members, dealing only with it, have been obliged as well as assisted to get rid of their debts to the shopkeepers. It is scarcely possible to overrate the moral and material benefits which the Equitable Pioneers and their store have conferred on Rochdale.

The town boasts two other co-operative institutions—a corn mill, managed on the principles of the store, and a cotton manufacturing society. The latter had in 1856 a capital of £4000; in 1860 a capital of £70,000. It divides profits on wages and capital equally, after first paying 5 per cent. interest on the latter. That is to say, if in 1860 it made a profit of £13,500, after paying £30,000 in wages, it would first set aside £3500 as interest on capital, and then divide £10,000 at 10 per cent. on £70,000 capital, + £30,000 wages. Every shareholder of £50 would receive 50s. interest and £5 dividend. Every labourer who earned £50 in wages would receive £5 dividend. Thus sharing in the profits, the labourer's intelligence and energy are stimulated to the utmost; and the promoters of the concern believe that, from the increased application and care thus obtained, the capitalist in a co-operative factory actually receives a larger percentage on his capital than the master who monopolizes the whole profit of an ordinary mill. This may be so. But the system has not yet

been tried on a sufficiently large scale, or for sufficient time, to afford practical proof of its value.

In 1860 co-operative stores and co-operative factories were springing up all over the land. We should be afraid to state the amount of capital—all belonging to operative families—that was said to have been invested in these off-shoots and imitations of the Rochdale societies. It is enough to say that every considerable town and many a hamlet in South Lancashire had its co-operative store, acting as savings bank and general shop in one; supplying its customers with sound wares and wholesome food, and employing their money, at call, in such manner as to afford them the means of rapidly acquiring a modest competence while still retaining the power, essential to working-men, of withdrawing their money at once in time of need. The Cotton Famine has interrupted the spread of the movement. It has suspended the business of the stores; it has compelled enormous withdrawals of capital; and, should it continue for another year, we fear that it will have entirely exhausted their resources, and undone the work of the last eighteen years. This is one of the manifold injuries which the working classes of Lancashire owe to the Democracy of the United States, and not, perhaps, the least of that long and terrible list.

Are the Millowners to Blame?

EVERY day increases the anxiety felt in the manufacturing districts as to the coming winter. The distressing character of the Cotton Famine is being more thoroughly and painfully appreciated. The state of affairs is bad now, it must continue to grow worse, and though the worst will be experienced in the winter, the ensuing spring will not bring relief. We need not, however, dwell upon the duration of the famine, for even if it were certain that trade would revive in next February or March, the intermediate suffering would be terrible to contemplate. We do not mean to infer that the operatives will be allowed to starve in the full meaning of that word of woe. If the present systems of succour are insufficient, others must be forthwith devised. The English pauper, in case of need, has a mortgage upon the entire wealth of the country. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the extent of the evil, or imagine that idleness and the ills that are heir to it are all the Lancashire operatives will have to endure. The parochial or special assistance will not prevent the ravages of the wolf. The men, women, and children of the working population of Lancashire will not die for want of a morsel of bread, but they will not get enough to eat. It would shame our boasted civilization if we fed our criminals as our unfortunate operatives will be fed during the next few months. We do not bring any charge against the rich. We frankly, and yet sorrowfully, admit that when a disaster is so widespread as is the Cotton Famine, the alleviation that can be afforded by the wealthiest and most benevolent community is but trifling. And should the winter be inclement, or even if it is an average winter, how will the cold strike the half-fed, half-clad people? Can we expect that, as a rule, the poor creatures will have the warmth of a fire? It is melancholy to reflect, too, that many of the comforts of home, as dear to the labourer as luxuries are to the rich, have long since been parted with for food. We grant this is a sad picture, but it is a true one, and this is not the time to hide the truth. The unhappy artisans must bear the famine as best as they may be able; and it does not become those who look on to mock their misery by underrating it. It is in vain to hope against hope. We believe, we are perfectly sure, that all will be done that can be done to aid the operatives, and their wives and children; but still, the Cotton Famine will make full churchyards, as well as inflict lasting and incalculable injury upon those who outlive the trial.

We have heartily admired the heroic patience displayed by the operatives, and which is, in our opinion, an honour to the nation. Whether rightly or wrongly, we will not essay to determine, it is now whispered that there is a limit to endurance, and that in the winter there may be manifestations of impa-

tience. It is suggested that, with no prospect in the future, and famished by cold and hunger, some of the artisans may be impelled to assume a riotous bearing. We trust these surmises will not, in any degree, be realized; we are only stating the opinions of those who are most interested in the question; that they are pretty general, may be gathered from the attempt to find a scapegoat in the mill-owners. It is not expressly said that these gentlemen are the cause of the American war, but it is hinted that they have not done enough, not what they could and ought, to help their unfortunate hands. A more wicked and unjust charge was never preferred against any class.

We happen to know, as well as any and better than most of our contemporaries, how strenuously and generously the millowners have exerted themselves to aid the distressed. They have acted right nobly. They have kept their mills open at a heavy loss. The fiction that they have neglected their usual business to speculate in cotton is not worth refutation. The mills have been closed for lack of the raw material. It was not more the duty of the millowners of Lancashire than the duty of the merchants of London to assist the operatives. The Cotton Famine is not the result of any usual disturbance of trade, or of any failure of the cotton crop, but of the blockade of the Southern ports. The Government thinks it wise to observe that blockade, and so far from interfering to stop the war, will not so much as recognize the Confederate States. Grant, for argument's sake, this policy is sound and prudent, that it is for the benefit of the empire to suffer the heavy loss of the cotton trade, rather than run the slightest risk of offending the extreme susceptibilities of the New York mob—are the millowners to bear the burden of this Imperial necessity? They do not endorse the Government policy, and if their opinions were canvassed, a vast majority of them, at all events, would demand immediate recognition of the Confederate States, and the observance of a *de facto* neutrality. Instead of reprimanding the millowners for not supporting their workpeople, it seems to us they have some claim for compensation for having their mills, if not originally closed, kept closed by the exigencies of the Imperial policy. It would have been just, and not over generous, if our public writers and public men had said, "We regret the continued loss sustained by our manufacturers in consequence of the attitude of the Government; let us, at least, take heed that they are not burdened with the support of their hands."

Two reasons are given for the attack on the millowners; one is that they have made fortunes out of cotton; and the other, that they ought to have made themselves independent of the American supply. As to the first of these arguments, we would suggest that not only Lancashire, but the whole of England, has been enriched by our cotton manufacture, and that we are greatly indebted to the indomitable energy of our cotton spinners. Our manufacturers have become wealthy, but their wealth has been, to a considerable extent, invested in mills and warehouses; so that it contributes not only to the wealth of the owners, but to the commerce of the country. Taking the aggregate wealth England has derived from the manufacture of cotton fabrics, we say, advisedly, that the lion's share of it has not been enjoyed by our manufacturers. The empire has grown rich through the industry of Lancashire; and now that industry is stopped by an unavoidable calamity, let the empire repay a part of its indebtedness by freely aiding Lancashire.

Mr. Cobden hit the right nail on the head when he observed that it was the business of the spinners to spin, and not to grow cotton; yet the clamour is still continued about Manchester men not investing their money in cotton companies. We conceive that Manchester is acting very sensibly. India, for instance, is a good field for investment for many kinds of enterprise, but not for cotton cultivation, and therefore we find there is in India abundance of capital for public works, for opium, for all things that pay, but not for cotton that does not pay. The West Indies do not afford a good prospect. Will the gentlemen who are trying to

get up limited liability companies for cotton culture in the West Indies explain to us how it happens, if the speculation is so good, that West India proprietors do not, to some extent, abandon sugar and take up with cotton? At present prices cotton may be profitably grown almost anywhere; but not only will present prices topple down when America re-enters the market, but the excessive dearness checks competition, and so will diminish the demand for the raw material. If India, together with other countries, could replace the American supply, it would have to do so at American prices. The cause of the low prices has been the abundance, and yet India is told that if she can produce that abundance she will get higher prices!

But suppose Political Economy is wrong, and the would-be secretaries of Cotton Companies (Limited) are right, and that our cotton lords are foolish as well as blamable, it must, nevertheless, be conceded that they are generous. Content with cotton spinning, they leave to others the profit of cotton growing. Let the great capitalists of London produce cotton, and our manufacturers will buy it. Perhaps those who urge Manchester to invest in cotton culture are not so certain of the success of the enterprise as to invest their own money. It is not altogether without precedent for men to recommend investments to others in which they have not sufficient faith to invest their own cash.

We do not fear that the effort to put enmity between the operatives and the millowners will succeed. In the last fifteen years education has made immense progress, and now, during all the suffering of the past few months, there has not been a murmur. The unhappy operatives know that their employers are not to blame. They know the blockade keeps away the cotton, and that the Government has thought proper not to do anything to put an end to the war or the blockade. It is possible when the operatives learn the truth about the war, when they discern, by the open declaration of Mr. Lincoln, that the Northern agitators have been deceiving them by describing the war as a war of Emancipation, when they find out how selfish is the North, how much the secession of the South is for the benefit of the world, and especially of England—it is possible, we say, that there may be a great uprising in Lancashire; there may be a loud cry for recognition of the South, and, by some means or other, for the cotton of the South. Not diplomatic but absolute fair play may be insisted on. If the North and West can sell their cereals for guns, let the South sell her cotton for guns. In the midst of the agitation there will not be any blame attached to the millowners, for the operatives will only represent and express the sentiments of their employers.

POSITION OF NORTH AND SOUTH.

The *Times*' New York correspondent thus details the relative position of the belligerents:—

The premium on gold, which was temporarily checked by the non-arrival from England of American securities ordered for immediate sale, has again begun to rise, and now stands at 16 per cent. Silver has nearly disappeared from circulation, postage stamps—too many of them old ones already used, from which the marks of transit through the post-office have been cleverly obliterated—do all the duty of a minor currency. The most valuable coins handled by the people are the one cent, of nickel, and the three-cent piece of alloyed silver. The *habeas corpus* is suspended. Every one's liberty is at the mercy of spies, informers, and extortioners. The will of Mr. Lincoln is law; as is that of Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton, provided the President does not object, which he never does; and the country is *de facto* a pure despotism, with the mere form and semblance of a freedom that has ceased in reality to exist. New York is under martial law, the Superintendent of Police having been appointed Special Provost-Marshal, to prevent citizens from travelling or aliens from leaving the country without passports, and also to arrest all persons who by word or deed discourage enlistments, and to give men the choice of the army or Fort Lafayette. Foreign trade is almost wholly at an end, and neither the people nor the Government know what to think or what to do to make things better.

And while this, broadly stated, is the condition of the North, what is that of the South? Perilous, no doubt, but full of hope for the Southern people. Unrecognized as it is, it has succeeded in making itself a nation. Isolation from the outer world in all things except in sympathy, combined with fanaticism, intense love of country, and enormous suffering, have welded it into adamant unity. It has been baptized in fire and blood, and stands before the great commonwealth of Christendom heroic and undaunted, an object of admiration even to three-fourths of its late fellow-citizens who are in arms to resist its independence. The North offers no such spectacle. It is not a nation, and it is not united. The immigrants from Europe who added so largely to its wealth and power, refuse to fight for it. Its own people would rather do battle for it vicariously than personally. It is split up into irreconcilable factions, each clamouring for the other's blood. Fort McHenry near Baltimore, is receiving political prisoners at the rate of twenty-five per day.

Reviews.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.*

THE oft-told story of the discovery of America has not lost its freshness. As our author observes, "neither the renowned march of Alexander the Great to Asia, nor the noisy deeds of the Crusaders, nor even the destructive eruptions of Alaric or Ghengis Khan, have been so important, nor have had such consequences for humanity, as the quiet voyage of Columbus with his three small vessels across the ocean." Columbus, and those who followed in the wake of his adventures, knew not that they were engaged in the discovery of a new continent. They were instigated in this bold enterprise by the hope of reaping a harvest of wealth from India, and so fixed was this object in their thoughts that everything they saw in America seemed to them an Indian product. It is astonishing how prejudice ignores the most palpable facts. Before Columbus would set forth on his momentous voyage, he stipulated for a large share of the fabulous wealth of the land to which he was proceeding. If, during his voyage he had had a vision revealing to him the true nature and effect of his discoveries, he would have regarded it as the wildest dream that ever flashed across a distempered imagination. He was not sailing to India, but to a new world; he was not about to add to the domains of the Romish Church, but to open up a field for the development of civilization, and where Christianity, free and unfettered, was to be established and enjoyed by the descendants of European emigrants. The native races, instead of being Christianized, were to be exterminated and die out. The Spanish language and the Spanish dominion, so far from being predominant, were to succumb to the Anglo-Saxon language, and Anglo-Saxon rule. The mountains of gold and the stores of precious stones were not to be forthcoming; yet the New World was to be a treasure trove to the Old World, and contribute largely to the sustenance and clothing of mankind. All these things were to be brought to bear in an incredibly short space of time. And in less than four centuries a mighty war—a war of unsurpassed magnitude—was to rage on the new continent, paralyze the industry of Europe, and pauperize a host of European artisans. The romance of Columbus is a nothing to the reality. Just as the fruitless attempts of the alchemist to find the philosopher's stone led to many important discoveries, so the fruitless attempts of the early navigators to light upon an imaginary India, teeming with riches, brought about the discovery of America. In fact, we may almost say that it is to the fables of Indian wealth that we owe the discovery of America in the fifteenth century. With so many marvels to dilate upon, it was hardly necessary for Mr. Kohl to devote a portion of his space to speculations upon the probabilities of America being discovered by the Phenicians; speculations which seem to us to have little foundation. With most nations, their early history is necessarily more or less speculative and mystical, but we can see American history in the cradle, and we also know that before the time of Columbus the history of America is sealed from us. We do not, in the least, dispute that there were emigrants from the Old World to the New World before the fifteenth century of the Christian era; on the contrary, we think such an emigration incontestably proved by the manners, habits, and customs of the aborigines, but there is no record of any European visiting America before that period.

Mr. Kohl's work is rather an epitome than a history, but still deserves commendation for its comprehensiveness. The account of the early navigators is very well arranged, though Spanish colonization is treated too briefly to give a fair and intelligent conception of its extent and importance. Whilst we cannot but condemn the cruel manner in which the Spaniards treated the aborigines, we must also admire their enterprise and energy, and we should regard them as the pioneers of American colonization.

One of the most pleasant chapters in the work is that devoted to the English expeditions for finding out the North-west Passage. The adventures of Sir John Franklin are shortly but graphically recited; and as a favourable specimen of the author's style, as it appears in an English dress, we will quote the description of the illustrious navigator's sufferings on his first north-west voyage:—

Franklin reached with indescribable toil the extreme end of the mainland—which before him had merely been seen from two points in the far distance, by two celebrated travellers of the far company, MacKenzie and Hearne—wintered in its neighbourhood, travelled over it, discovered and explored a stretch of coast upwards of eight hundred miles long, but

sought in vain for Parry, who, as I said, had in the meanwhile sunk fast in the ice one thousand miles north of him. The disasters and privations which Franklin, his scientific friends Dr. Richardson and Heed, and their other admirable companions underwent on this journey can scarcely be described in a small compass. They wandered about for months in open boats, on these inhospitable shores, struggling with storms, breakers, masses of ice, and hostile Esquimaux. When the usual preserved food of travellers in those regions, the "pemmican," as it is called (buffalo flesh, dried, scraped, and packed in leathern sacks), was come to an end, they were compelled to support themselves with difficulty on the berries and mosses which grow scantily on the rocks of the north coast. For festivals and holidays they had to wring their repasts from bears and wolves, and whatever skin and bone these savage beasts left behind them they carefully collected, dried, and pulverized between stones, and prepared their soup from such refuse. When not a bone more was to be found under the snow, they felt their own meagre bodies, and examined their clothing, to discover if yet a piece of leather or a strap remained to stew. Partly forsaken by their people, whom famine and cold were decimating, threatened by some mutinous spirits with conspiracy and murder, the little suffering band—the martyrs of science—crept over the unknown region of ice in the direction of home, constantly, even in the midst of the greatest distress, keeping their scientific aims before their eyes. Even when their fever-shaken skeleton forms were already under the hand of death, they made their astronomical, meteorological, and magnetic observations, and with their trembling, frostbitten, emaciated fingers, put them to paper. If then, in order to relieve their feeble shoulders, they at last threw almost everything aside, they still preserved their journals and reports for the government and the nation. They could at last scarcely, with their changed and ghastly voices, which sounded as if coming out of the grave, make communications to each other, or exhort each other mutually to endurance, courage, and hope. A couple of friendly Indians, heaven sent messengers, who at last came one day among these few despairing sufferers with some just-shot venison, saved and preserved for us Franklin, who was to give the world so many more disclosures still as to a part of our globe never before visited, and who, undismayed by the want and anguish already endured—like Schiller's diver—a second and a third time plunged into the cold gloom of the north to fill the goblet of science.

The concluding chapter upon the results of the discovery of America is not worthy of the rest of the book. For example, a list is given of the products of America. Potatoes, Indian corn, tobacco, are called "the most prized gifts which we have received from the American flora," and cocoa and the pine-apple are incidentally mentioned, but not one word is said of cotton, of which the enormous production is the principal pillar of modern commerce, and the main source of the wealth, not only of the Confederate States, but also of the Northern States. This omission is very singular. Mr. Kohl is a German, and we know that some of his countrymen are determined not to believe that any good thing can come from the South; but we cannot understand upon what principle the less important productions of the South are noticed, and the great staple, cotton, not referred to.

Our author's views upon the use of tobacco are peculiar. He tells us, "The Spanish and Portuguese sailors were the first to adopt the Indian custom of intoxicating themselves with the leaves of this narcotic plant." Did Mr. Kohl ever hear the reason why a certain eminent English lawyer obtained the cognomen of "Apple-pip Kelly?" The learned gentleman had to defend a prisoner charged with murder, and he contended that the murdered person died from the effects of eating apples and swallowing the pips of them, which contain, like many other articles of food, infinitesimal quantities of poison. Or did Mr. Kohl ever hear of the old lady, who, at the patriarchal age of 110 years, expressed a conviction that her constitution had been undermined by her drinking tea for a century? There is, however, a difference between the startling theories of the English advocate, and the venerable dame, and Mr. Kohl's assertion about the intoxicating influence of tobacco. Our author does not propound an absurd theory, but he makes an utterly false statement.

Tobacco smoking never did and never will intoxicate any man. In excess it may be injurious, but so is too much bread or meat injurious. Further, it is remarked:—

If we consider what a powerful influence tobacco has had upon the health and habits of men, on agriculture, on our State Governments, and on politics, we may in truth say that through this plant alone the discovery of America has produced results of a most astonishing character in all the other quarters of the globe.

Smoking has caused our habits to become in many ways less sociable, and has greatly injured family life. By men withdrawing to envelope themselves in smoke, the intercourse of the sexes became loosened. And as tobacco diminishes the appetite but increases thirst, taverns and coffee-houses, and other establishments for the sale of beer and wines, came into fashion. We have to thank the discovery of America for much of that kind of so-called sociability to be found in places of public resort. Had there been a Roman plebs after the time of Columbus, "*Tabac ac circenses*," and not "*Panem ac circenses*," would have been the cry.

We do not deny the powerful influence of tobacco, but we gratefully acknowledge it. The use of this plant is physically, and therefore morally, beneficial. So far from smoking inducing drunkenness, it checks that appalling vice, and certainly drunkenness abounded when the use of tobacco was unknown. As for smoking injuring family life, it might just as well be said that the

habit of German ladies of knitting everywhere except in Church has the same ill-effect. We are not, however, seriously going to discuss this question; when it is necessary to defend the use of wheat it will be necessary to defend the use of tobacco. No amount of charlatanism will persuade mankind to give up tobacco, which is as much the gift of a beneficent Providence as is the grape-vine.

We repeat, Mr. Kohl's work is a comprehensive epitome of the history of the discovery of America, a discovery which was only made step by step. In this view we can commend these volume to our readers.

A CANADIAN VIEW OF AFFAIRS.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

MONTREAL, August 29.

SIR,—Days, weeks, and months succeed each other; victories follow upon victories; the Grand Army of the Peninsula has been dislodged; General Pope, who proclaimed such a thing as "lines of retreat," must never be mentioned in camp unless applied to the enemy, no sooner met the foe than he commenced, and has continued ever since, retreating; mails from Europe bring us intelligence that public sentiment is unmistakably in favour of the South; everywhere we seem to be favoured, and yet the halcyon era appears as far off as ever. Why is this? What is the reason? The only solution is to be found in the immensity of the contest, in the dignified and uncompromising determination of the South, on the one part, to have justice, and nothing but that; and in the wildest popular fanaticism in the North, on the other. Add to this original disease the numerous misfortunes that have beset them for the last sixteen months—making due allowance for their national vanity having been sorely tried—and you can see why they are not prepared, like sensible men, to make the best of a bad job; especially, as a London paper truly remarks, "Their leaders are afraid to have peace, for in that moment they are liable to be arraigned as criminals and defaulters;" as the former, for having persistently violated the Constitution by which they were to be guided; and as the latter, for having plundered the people they had sworn to protect.

They commenced this contest laughing at the very idea of the South pretending to resist them; thirty days was the original limit, sixty, then ninety, and so on to the present moment; now they find themselves bankrupt both in money and honour; the first they cannot escape unless they conquer; the latter they have lost, both in the field and in the Cabinet, by allowing the Government to sanction private and public acts that would have disgraced the civilization of even a ruder age. Abroad they find themselves daily losing ground, notwithstanding the efforts of Bishop Hughes, Thurlow Weed, and other social ambassadors; and at home they must find their position humiliating, in spite of the bombastic eloquence of their journalists. It is with regret we learn that the distinguished prelate above mentioned has so far forgot his sacerdotal character as in these critical times to use his pulpit for the promulgation of political opinion. Up to the last few Sundays the Catholic Church has been free from any interference in State matters of the Republic, but that prestige has been sadly blighted by the prominent part taken by the Prelate of New York within the last few months. G. N. Sanders left this city by the last steamer for England; his arrival, hair-breadth escapes on his journey from Richmond; and the nature of his reported despatches, which were published in one of the Montreal papers, created no little stir among the Southerners sojourning here. But for the publicity which has been given to them, and the absence of any denial, their genuineness would not have received credence; but if, as I strongly doubt, they are genuine, that publicity is all the more to be regretted. The travelling between the States and Canada has ceased almost entirely for the present, owing to the strict passport system now enforced; occasionally some fortunate individual presents himself as having eluded the vigilance of the police. Near Niagara several difficulties have occurred, such as the firing into pleasure-boats filled with Canadians by United States' sentries; and one case in particular is mentioned by a Buffalo paper, where some United States' soldiers carried off a deserter from Waterloo, Canada West, *vi et armis*. As the Government has strictly prohibited any news of the Virginia army to be published, it is impossible to get any information except through private sources; and amongst the most startling items is, that Pope had been surprised at an important point, and all his despatches, maps, and plans of the campaign arranged between Halleck, McClellan, and himself, captured. That the war is likely to be made offensive on the par-

* A Popular History of the Discovery of America, from Columbus to Franklin. By J. G. KOHL. Translated from the German by Major R. L. NOEL. London: Chapman and Hall.

of the South, instead of defensive, I think is now the general impression here; and those who are deeply interested in the success of the great cause impatiently expect to hear that the Confederate flag waves over the good old State of Maryland. God grant it may be soon.

AUGUSTA.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF GENERAL JOHN H. MORGAN'S OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY.

Headquarters, Morgan's Command,
Knoxville, Tennessee, July 30.

To Major-General E. Kirby Smith, Commanding Department of East Tennessee:—

General:—I have the honour to report that upon the day of the engagement at Tomkinsville, a full report of which I have already sent you, I moved my command—consisting of my own regiment, the Georgia regiment of Partizan Rangers, commanded by Colonel A. A. Hunt, and Major Gano's Texas squadron, to which was attached two companies of Tennessee cavalry—in the direction of Glasgow, which place I reached at 12 o'clock that night.

There were but few troops in the town, who fled at our approach. The commissary stores, clothing, &c., together with a large supply of medical stores, found in Glasgow, were burned, and the guns were distributed among my command—about 200 of whom were unarmed when I left Knoxville.

From Glasgow I proceeded along the main Lexington road to Barren River, halting for a time near Cave City—any object being to induce the belief that I intended destroying the railroad bridge between Bowling Green and Woodsonville. I caused wires, connecting with a portable battery that I carried with me, to be attached to the telegraph line near Texas Cave, and intercepted a number of despatches.

At Barren River I detached three companies under Captain Jack Allan, to move forward rapidly and destroy Salt River Bridge, that the troops along the line of railroad might be prevented from returning to Louisville.

On the following morning I moved on towards Lebanon, distant thirty-five miles from Barren River. At 11 o'clock at night I reached the bridge over Rolling Fork, six miles from Lebanon. The enemy had received information of my approach from their spies, and my advance guard was fired upon at the bridge. After a short fight the force at the bridge was dispersed, and the planks, which had been torn up, having been replaced, the command moved forward to Lebanon. About two miles from the town a skirmish took place between two companies that I caused to dismount and deploy, and a force of the enemy posted upon the road, which was soon ended by its dispersion and capture. Lieut.-Col. A. Y. Johnson, commanding the troops in town, surrendered, and I entered the place. The prisoners taken, in number about sixty-five, were paroled.

I took immediate possession of the telegraph and intercepted a despatch to Colonel Johnson, informing him that Colonel Owen, with the 60th Indiana Regiment, had been sent to his assistance; so I at once despatched a company of Texan Rangers, under Major Gano, to destroy the railroad bridge on the Lebanon Branch, which he successfully accomplished in time to prevent the arrival of the troops. I burned two long buildings full of commissary stores, consisting of upwards of 500 sacks of coffee, and a large amount of all other supplies in bulk, marked for the army at Cumberland Gap. I also destroyed a very large amount of clothing, boots, &c. I burned the hospital buildings, which appeared to have been recently erected and fitted up, together with about thirty-five waggons and fifty-three new ambulances. I found in the place a large store of medicines, 5000 stand of arms with accoutrements, about 2000 sabres, and an immense quantity of ammunition, shell, &c. I distributed the best arms among my command, and loaded one wagon with them, to be given to the recruits that I expected to join me. I also loaded one wagon with ammunition. The remainder of the arms, ammunition, and the hospital and medical stores I destroyed.

While in Lebanon, I ascertained, from telegraphic despatches that I intercepted, that the force which had been started from Lebanon Junction to reinforce Lieut.-Col. Johnson, had met and driven back the force under Capt. Jack Allan, killing one of his men, and preventing him from accomplishing the purpose for which he had been detailed.

I proceeded from Lebanon on the following day through Springfield to Macksville, at which point I was attacked by Home Guards. Two of my men were taken prisoners, and one severely wounded. I remained at Macksville that night to recover the prisoners, which I did early the next morning. I then left for Harrodsburg, capturing a Federal captain and lieutenant on the road; reached Harrodsburg at half-past 12 o'clock, and found that the Home Guard of all that portion of country had fled to Lexington. A force was also stationed on the bridge where the Lexington road crossed the Kentucky River. My reception at this place was very encouraging. The whole population appeared to turn out and vie with each other as to who should show us most attention.

I left Harrodsburg at 6 o'clock the same evening, and moved to Lawrenceburg, twenty miles distant, threatening Frankfort in order to draw off the troops from Georgetown; remained there until the return of my courier from Frankfort, who brought the information that there was a force in Frankfort of two or three thousand men, consisting of Home Guards collected from the adjacent counties, and a few regular troops.

From Lawrenceburg I proceeded to Shryke's Ferry, on the Kentucky River, raised the boat, which had been sunken, and crossed that evening, reaching Versailles at 7 o'clock. I found this place abandoned by its defenders, who had fled to Lexington; remained there that night, and on the next morning marched toward Georgetown. While at Versailles I took about 300 Government horses and mules.

I passed through Midway on the road to Georgetown, and was informed, just before reaching the place, that a train from Frankfort was nearly due, with two regiments of Federals. I tore up the track and posted a howitzer to command it, and formed my command along the line of the road; but the train was warned of our presence, and returned to Frankfort. Having taken possession of the telegraph office, I intercepted a despatch asking if the road was clear, and if it would be safe to start the train from Lexington. I replied to send the train, and made preparations to receive it; but it was also turned back and escaped.

I reached Georgetown, twelve miles from Lexington, that evening. Just before entering the town I was informed that a small force of Home Guards had mustered to oppose us. I

sent them word to surrender their arms, and they should not be molested, but they fled. The people of Georgetown also welcomed us with gladness, and provided my troops with everything they needed. I remained at Georgetown two days, during which time I sent out a company under Captain McMillan to destroy the track between Midway and Lexington, and Midway and Frankfort, and to blow up the stone bridge on that road, which he successfully accomplished. Hearing that a company of Home Guards were encamped at Stamping Ground, thirteen miles distant, I despatched a company under Captain Hamilton to break up the encampment, burn the tents and stores, and destroy the guns. This was also accomplished—Captain Hamilton taking fifteen prisoners and all their guns, and destroying a large amount of medical and commissary supplies. I also, while at Georgetown, sent Captain Castleman, with his company, to destroy the railroad bridges between Paris and Lexington, and report to me at Winchester. This was done.

Determining to move on Paris, with a view of returning, and hearing that the place was being rapidly reinforced from Cynthiana, I deemed it of great importance to cut off the communication from that place, while I drew off the troops that were already there, by a feint on Lexington. I therefore despatched a portion of two companies towards Lexington, with instructions to drive the pickets to the very entrance of the city, while I moved the command towards Cynthiana. When I arrived within three miles of the place I learned that it was defended by a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. I despatched the Texas squadron, under Major Gano, to enter the town on the right, and the Georgia regiment to cross the river and get into the rear, while I moved my own regiment, with the artillery under the command of Lieut. J. E. Harris, down the Georgetown pike. A severe engagement took place, which lasted about an hour and a half, before the enemy were driven into the town and compelled to surrender. I took 420 prisoners, including about seventy Home Guards. I regret to have to mention the loss of eight of my men in killed and twenty-nine wounded. The enemy's loss was ninety-four killed and wounded, according to their own account. Their excess in killed and wounded is remarkable, as they fought us from behind stone fences and fired at us from buildings as we charged through the town. We captured a very fine 12-pounder brass piece of artillery, together with a large number of small arms, and about 300 Government horses. The arms and Government stores were burned, and as many of the horses as we could bring with us were kept. I found a very large supply of commissary and medical stores, tents, guns, and ammunition at this place, which I destroyed. The paroled prisoners were sent under an escort to Falmouth, where they took the train for Cincinnati.

I proceeded next morning towards Paris, and was met on the road by a bearer of a flag of truce, offering the unconditional surrender of the place. I reached Paris at 4 o'clock, remained there that night, and started toward Winchester next morning. As my command was filing out of Paris, on the Winchester pike, I discovered a large force of Federals coming towards the town from the direction of Lexington. They immediately counter-marched, supposing, no doubt, that my intention was to get into the rear. This enabled me to bring off my entire command without molestation, with the exception of two of my pickets, who were probably surprised. I reached Winchester that day at 12 o'clock, and remained until 4 o'clock, when I proceeded towards Richmond. At Winchester I found a number of arms, which were destroyed.

I arrived at Richmond at 12 o'clock that night, and remained until the next afternoon, when I proceeded to Crab Orchard. I had determined to make a stand at Richmond and await reinforcements, as the whole people appeared ready to rise and join me, but I received information that large bodies of cavalry under General Clay Smith, and Colonels Wolsford, Metcalf, Mundy, and Wynkoop, were endeavouring to surround me at this place. So I moved on to Crab Orchard. There I attached my portable battery to the telegraph leading from Stanford to Louisville, and learned the exact position of the enemy's forces, and directed my movements accordingly.

Leaving Crab Orchard at 12 o'clock I arrived at Somerset, distant twenty-eight miles, at sundown. I took possession of the telegraph, and countermanded all the previous orders that had been given by General Boyle to intercept me, and remained in perfect security all night. I found a very large supply of commissary stores, clothing, blankets, shoes, hats, &c., at this place, which were destroyed. I also found the arms that had been taken from General Zollicoffer, together with large quantities of shell and ammunition, all of which were destroyed. I also burned at this place, and Crab Orchard, about 130 Government waggons.

From Somerset I proceeded to Monticello, and from thence to between Livingston and Sparta, where my command is now encamped.

I left Knoxville on the 4th day of this month with about 900 men, and returned to Livingston on the 28th instant with nearly 1200, having been absent just twenty-four days, during which time I travelled over a thousand miles, captured seventeen towns, destroyed all the Government supplies and arms in them, dispersed about 1500 Home Guards, and paroled nearly 1200 regular troops. I lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, of the number that I carried into Kentucky, about ninety.

I take great pleasure in testifying to the gallant bravery and efficiency of my whole command. There were individual instances of daring so conspicuous that I must beg the privilege of referring to them. Private Moore, of Louisiana, a member of Company A. of my regiment, particularly distinguished himself in leading a charge at Cynthiana, which had an important effect in winning the battle. The reports of the regimental commanders, which are enclosed, are respectfully referred to for further instances of individual bravery and efficiency. I feel indebted to all my aids for the promptness with which my orders were executed, and particularly to Colonel St. Leger Grenfell, for the assistance which his experience afforded me. All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. MORGAN,

Acting Brigadier-General, C.S.A.

R. A. Alston, A.A.G.

THE FEDERAL BASTILLES.

(From the letter of the *Times*' New York Correspondent.)

Neither of these twin Bastilles (and it is a pity that the great name of such a champion of liberty as General Lafayette should be desecrated by bestowal upon the ugly prison in New York Harbor) is so hermetically sealed against the world as to prevent a cry of anguish from being heard outside. One young man, son of a former Governor of Maryland, lies in Fort Lafayette in solitary confinement and in chains; and not even his mother is allowed to see him. His offence was the

endeavour, in the disguise of a woman, to cut adrift a Federal gunboat in the York River; a great crime, no doubt, in the eyes of his captors, and one that may deserve death; but that surely does not deserve the punishment of life in chains, darkness, and total seclusion from the face of man? The complaint of another unfortunate, transferred from Fort Lafayette to Fort Warren, has reached me—I need not say how—and the story, which is based on official documents in my possession, I forward, to tell as briefly as is consistent with clearness. It may suffice to afford the people of England some little idea of the despotism which this country is for the present content to endure without social convulsion. On the 13th of September, 1861, Mr. W. H. Winder, a gentleman of Philadelphia, was arrested at his own house by telegraphic order from the Hon. Simon Cameron, then Minister of War, and conveyed first to Fort Lafayette and subsequently to Fort Warren. Immediately on his arrest, for which no charge was assigned, his office, desks, chests, boxes, &c., were broken open, and all his manuscripts and papers, a collection of thirty years, were turned over and ransacked, in the hope or under the pretext of finding treasonable matter. Garbled extracts from some of these, which perverted his real meaning for want of the context, were published in the Philadelphia newspapers. "The sanctity of my private correspondence," says Mr. Winder, "was violated and malignantly calumniated by the publication of pretended contents of letters, thus seized. Other parties were also grievously slandered by statements of falsely alleged contents, and I was debarred from all opportunity of contradicting the infamous publications. Even portraits that had been for twenty years in my possession were misrepresented to slander me."

Mr. Winder being entirely ignorant of the causes of his arrest, and having been informed through the newspapers, like everybody else, that the Secretary of State would listen to any complaints coming directly from a prisoner, but that he would not only pay no attention to any applications made by paid counsel on a prisoner's behalf, but that he would treat them as prejudicial to the case, and an aggravation of the offence—wrote to Mr. Seward on December 5, requesting to know the names of his accusers, on what charge he was confined, and permission to go to Washington to meet it, whatever it might be. Mr. Seward replied by offering him his release if he would take the oath of allegiance. Mr. Winder declined on the ground that his doing so would lead to the inference that he had been guilty of some crime or offence unspecified, and that he had been pardoned on promise of better behaviour for the future. Mr. Seward, on a subsequent occasion, renewed the offer; but Mr. Winder's objection, being radical, applied to all tests or conditions which might be supposed to admit that he had done anything inconsistent with the character of a true American and a loyal citizen, and he declined the second time. Thus the matter rested for five months, until February 22, 1862, when Mr. Winder wrote to Mr. Cameron, setting forth that he had been five months in prison without process or form of law; that if any charge of crime were to be brought against him he was ready to meet it, and that if there were none he demanded his unconditional release. Mr. Cameron being in no hurry to reply, Mr. Winder wrote to him again on March 15, and received the following answer:—

"Lochiel, March 24, 1862.

"Sir,—You surprise me by saying in your letter of the 15th inst., received to-day, that it was by my order you were taken from Philadelphia to Fort Lafayette and placed in confinement, &c. I knew nothing of your arrest until I saw the fact stated in the newspapers, and, being at the time closely engaged in the discharge of my official duties, neglected to inquire into the case, presuming, however, that it was done by order of the State Department, which had charge of such cases as I presumed yours to be.

"Very respectfully,

"SIMON CAMERON.

"W. H. Winder, Esq."

To this document Mr. Winder replied as follows:—

"Fort Warren, March 30.

"Sir,—I have to thank you for your prompt reply to my request for information as to the cause which induced you to issue an order for my transfer to Fort Lafayette. Your letter confirms me in my supposition that your name had been used, without your knowledge, or inadvertently signed to a paper without heeding its contents. It was obtained somehow through the District Attorney. I give you a copy of the document by authority of which Colonel Burke took charge of me, and placed me in Fort Lafayette:—

"Philadelphia, Sept. 13.

"Dear Sir,—Permit me to introduce to you my deputy, Mr. Starkey, who carries with him Mr. Winder, to be delivered to your custody per order of the Secretary of War.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"WM. MILLWARD, United States' Marshal.

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Burke, Commanding at Fort Hamilton."

"I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,"

"W. H. WINDER.

"To the Hon. Simon Cameron, Lochiel, near Harrisburg."

On the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Winder wrote a second letter to Mr. Cameron, enclosing him a copy of the telegraphic despatch purporting to be signed by himself and addressed to Mr. Coffey, the District Attorney at Philadelphia, ordering his arrest and transference to Fort Lafayette. Mr. Cameron promptly replied in the following terms:—

"Lochiel, April 2, 1862.

"Sir,—I have enclosed your letter of the 31st, received to-day, to the Secretary of State, and disavowed all knowledge of your arrest, with a request for your release, if you have been held by my direction.

"Very respectfully,

"SIMON CAMERON.

"To Mr. W. H. Winder."

Mr. Seward refused to order the release unless upon the previous terms of taking the oath of allegiance, and transferred the case to General Dix and Judge Pierpont, the Commissioners appointed by the War Department for the examination of political prisoners. From these gentlemen Mr. Winder learnt for the first time that his offence was "his correspondence with various parties and his writings for the newspapers," and by them he was promised to be set at liberty on parole and on taking the oath of allegiance. Mr. Winder denied that his correspondence or writings were treasonable, disloyal, or illegal; demanded, if they were thought so by the Government, to be brought to trial in due form and course of law, that he might have an opportunity of defending himself, and declined to take the oath as a necessary preliminary to his demand for justice. His correspondence with the Commissioners is dated in the beginning of May last, since which time more than three

months have elapsed. He is still in Fort Warren a close prisoner.

Mr. Winder's case is but one of hundreds, but the state of public security and political morality which it discloses might well make Americans reflect on the unhappy position of their once great and free Republic. They may not be aware of it themselves, but the Northern people have already lost their own liberties in the futile attempt to destroy those of their Southern brethren—and, worse than all, perhaps, to people who love the "almighty dollar" so much, they have not lost their liberties gratis, but have already incurred debts to the extent of a thousand millions of dollars by the process, and will incur as much more in another twelve months, unless they recoune the idea of subjugation, and come to terms with a people whom they never can subdue.

TELEGRAPHIC STRATEGY.

(From the *Augusta (Ga.) Southern Confederacy.*)

KNOXVILLE, July 30.

Captain R. A. Alston, A.A.G.—On July 10 General Morgan, with myself and a body guard of fifteen men, arrived at a point half a mile below Horse Cave, on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, where I took down the telegraph wire and connected my pocket instrument, for the purpose of taking off all dispatches as they passed through. Owing to a heavy storm prevailing south the atmospheric electricity prevented me from communicating with Bowling Green or Nashville. The first I heard was Louisville calling Bowling Green. I immediately put on my ground wire southward, noticing particularly at the same time what change it would make in the circuit. It did make it stronger; but the storm mentioned affecting telegraphs more or less, Louisville did not suspect anything wrong, and I answered for Bowling Green, when I received the following message:—

"Louisville, July 10, 1862.

"TO S. D. BROWN, BOWLING GREEN.

"You and Colonel Houghton move together. I fear the force of Colonel H. is too small to venture to Glasgow. The whole force should move together, as the enemy are mounted. We cannot venture to leave the road too far, as they may pass round and ruin it.

"J. T. BOYLE,
"Brigadier General Commanding."

I returned the usual signal, "O. K.," after receiving the message.

Louisville immediately called Nashville; and I answered for Nashville, receiving business for two hours. This business was mostly of a private nature, and I took no copies. It could be plainly perceived from the tenor of the messages that Morgan was in the country, and all orders to send money or valuables by railroad were countermanded, as they supposed. Little did the operator at Louisville think all his work would have to be repeated the next day. Louisville also sent the news of the day, and thus we were furnished with New York and Washington dates of that day. During the whole of this time it was raining heavily, and my situation was anything but an agreeable one—sitting in the mud with my feet in the water up to my knees. At 11 o'clock p.m., the General being satisfied that we had drained Louisville of news, concluded to close for the night, and gave me the following message, dating and signing:—

"Nashville, July 10, 1862.

"TO HENRY DENT, PROVOST MARSHAL OF LOUISVILLE.

"General Forrest, commanding a brigade, attacked Murfreesboro', routing our forces, and is now moving on Nashville. Morgan is reported to be between Scottsville and Gallatin, and will act in concert with Forrest, it is believed.

"Inform the general commanding.

"STANLEY MATTHEWS, Provost Marshal."

I am not aware that General Morgan claims to be a prophet, or the son of a prophet; but Forrest did attack Murfreesboro', and rout the enemy.

On arriving at Lebanon, July 12, I accompanied the advance guard into town, and took possession of the telegraph office immediately. This, as you know, was at half-past 3 a.m. I adjusted the instrument and examined the circuit. No other operator on the line appeared to be on hand thus early. I then examined all the despatches of the day previous. Among them I found the following:—

"Lebanon, July 11, 1862.

"General J. T. Boyle, Louisville, Kentucky:—

"I have positive information that there are 400 marauders in the twenty miles of this place, on the old Lexington-road, approaching Lebanon. Send reinforcements immediately.

"A. Y. JOHNSON, Lieut.-Colonel Commanding."

At half-past 7 an operator signing "Z" commenced calling "B," which I had ascertained by the books in the office was the signal for the Lebanon office. I answered the call, when the following conversation between "Z" and myself ensued:—

"To Lebanon.—What news? Any more skirmishing after your last message?"

"To Z.—No. We drove what little cavalry there was away."

"To B.—Has the train arrived yet?"

"To Z.—No. About how many troops on train?"

"To B.—Five hundred and how Indiana, commanded by Colonel Owens."

My curiosity being excited as to what station Z was, and to ascertain without creating any suspicion, I adopted the following plan:—

"To Z.—A gentleman here in the office bets me the segars you cannot spell the name of your station correctly."

"To B.—Take the bet. L-e-b-a-n-o-n 'J-u-n-c-t-i-o-n."

Is this not right? How do you think I would spell it?"

"To Z.—He gives it up. He thought you would put two b's to Lebanon."

"To B.—Ha! ha! ha! He is a green one."

"To Z.—Yes; that's so."

"To B.—What time did the train with soldiers pass, Z?"

"To Z.—8.30 last night."

"To B.—Very singular where the train is."

"To Z.—Yes, it is. Let me know when it arrives."

At 8.20 Lebanon Junction called me up and said:—

"To B.—The train has returned. They had a fight with the rebels at New Hope. The commanding officer awaits orders here."

"To Z.—Give us the particulars of the fight. Colonel Johnson is anxious to know all about it."

"To B.—Here is Moore's message to General Boyle."

"Lebanon Junction, July 12, 1862.

"TO GENERAL J. T. BOYLE, LOUISVILLE.

"At 11 o'clock last night, at New Hope Station, part of my command encountered a force of rebel cavalry posted on the county road one half-mile south of the railroad. After a brisk fire of musketry for twenty minutes the enemy was routed and fled. Skirmishers were sent out in different directions, but were unable to find the enemy. At 3 this morning, apprehending that an effort might be made to destroy the bridges in our rear, we moved down to New Haven and remained until after daylight, when the train went back to the scene of the skirmish. A Mr. Foreman, of Owen County, was found mortally wounded. He reported the rebel force at 550, under command of Captain Jack Allen, and that they had fallen back towards Greensburg. One horse was killed and three captured. The books of the company were found in the field. Blood was found at different places, showing that the enemy was severely punished. No casualties on our side. Here with a train awaiting orders."

"O. F. MOORE, Commanding."

We arrived at Midway, between Frankfort and Lexington, on the Louisville and Lexington Railroad about 10 o'clock a.m., the next day.

On commencing operations at this place I discovered that there were two wires on the line along this railroad. One was what we term a "through wire," running direct from Lexington to Frankfort, and not entering any of the way offices. I found that all military messages were sent over that wire. As it did not enter Midway office I ordered it to be cut, thus forcing Lexington on to the wire that did run through the office.

I tested the line, and found that by applying my ground-wire it made no difference with the circuit; and as Lexington was headquarters, I cut Frankfort off. Midway was called. I answered and received the following:—

"Lexington, July 15, 1862.

"TO J. W. WOOLUMS, OPERATOR, MIDWAY.

"Will there be any danger in coming to Midway? Is everything right?"

"TAYLOR, Conductor."

I inquired of my prisoner (the operator) if he knew a man of the name of Taylor. He said that Taylor was conductor. I immediately gave Taylor the following reply:—

"Midway, July 15, 1862.

"TO TAYLOR, LEXINGTON.

"All right; come on. No signs of any rebels here."

"WOOLUMS."

We arrived at Georgetown at about the setting of the sun. I went to the telegraph office, found it locked, and inquired for the operator, who was pointed out to me in the street. I hailed him, and demanded admission into his office. He very courteously showed me in. Discovering that his instruments had been removed, I asked where they were. He said he had sent them to Lexington. I asked him what time he had Lexington last. He said, "Nine o'clock, and since that time the line had been down." I remarked that it must be an extraordinary line to be in working condition when it was down, as I heard him sending messages to Lexington when I was at Midway at 1 o'clock. This was a stunner; he had nothing to say. I immediately tested the line by applying the ends of the wires to my tongue, and found the line "O. K." I said nothing to him, but called for a guard of two men to take care of Mr. Smith until I got ready to leave town. I did not interrupt the lines till after tea, when I put in my own instruments, and after listening an hour or two to the Yankees talking, I opened the conversation as follows, signing myself "Federal Operator":—

"To Lexington.—Keep mum. I am in the office, reading by the sound of my magnet, in the dark. I crawled in when no one saw me. Morgan's men are here, camped on Dr. Gano's place."

"To Georgetown.—Keep cool; don't be discovered. About how many rebels are there?"

"LEXINGTON."

"To Lexington.—I don't know; I did not notice. As Morgan's operator was asking me about my instruments I told him I sent them to Lexington. He said, 'D—n the luck,' and went out."

"GEORGETOWN."

"To Georgetown.—Be on hand, and keep us posted."

"LEXINGTON."

"To Lexington.—I will do so. Tell General Ward I'll stay up all night if he wishes."

"GEORGETOWN."

"To Georgetown.—Mr. Fuller wishes to know if the rebels are there."

"CINCINNATI."

"To Cincinnati.—Yes, Morgan's men are here."

"GEORGETOWN."

"To Georgetown.—How can you be in the office and not be arrested?"

"CINCINNATI."

"To Cincinnati.—Oh, I am in the dark, and am reading by the sound of the magnet."

"GEORGETOWN."

This settled Cincinnati. Question after question was asked me about the rebels, and I answered to suit myself.

We arrived at Somerset. I took charge of the office. I ascertained from citizens that it had been closed three weeks, up to the very hour that our advance guard arrived in town. It was just opened by the operator from London, who came to work the instruments for the purpose of catching Morgan; but, unfortunately for Uncle Sam, the operator, and all concerned, he had no time to either send or receive a message; but he had it in fine working condition for me. I had been in the office for some time when Stanford called Somerset and said:—

"I have just returned from Crab Orchard, where I have been to fix the line. The rebels tore it down. I left there at 8 o'clock. The 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry had not then arrived. What time did you get in from London?"

"STANFORD."

"To Stanford.—Just arrived, and got my office working finely."

"SOMERSET."

"To Somerset.—Any signs of Morgan yet; he left Crab Orchard at 11.30 to-day."

"STANFORD."

"To Stanford.—No signs of him as yet."

"SOMERSET."

"To Somerset.—For fear they may take you by surprise, I would suggest we have a private signal. What say you?"

"STANFORD."

"To Stanford.—Good. Before signing, we will make the figure 7."

"SOMERSET."

This was mutually agreed upon.

I asked when Woolford would be at Somerset. He said Woolford had telegraphed Boyle that his force was green and insufficient to attack Morgan.

Seeing there was no use of my losing a night's rest, I told Stanford I would retire, that I had made arrangements with the pickets to wake me up in case Morgan came in. The operator at Lebanon Junction urged me to sit up, but I declined, on the ground of being unwell. This did not satisfy him, but after arguing with him for some time, I retired.

July 22.—Opened the office at 7 o'clock a.m.; informed the Stanford operator that Morgan had not yet arrived; made inquiries about different things; and, after everything in the town belonging to the United States was destroyed, the general gave me a few messages to send—one to Prentice, one to General Boyle, and one to Duolap. They are hereto annexed.

I then telegraphed home, informing my relatives of my whereabouts, what I was doing, &c. I then transmitted the general's despatches, as follows:—

"Somerset, July 22, 1862.

"GEORGE D. PRENTICE, LOUISVILLE.

"Good morning, George D. I am quietly watching the complete destruction of all Uncle Sam's property in this little burgh. I regret exceedingly that this is the last that comes under my supervision on this route. I expect in a short time to pay you a visit, and wish to know if you will be at home. All well in Dixie."

"JOHN H. MORGAN, Commanding Brigade."

"GENERAL J. T. BOYLE, LOUISVILLE.

"Good morning, Jerry. This telegraph is a great institution. You should destroy it, as it keeps you too well posted. My friend, Ellsworth, has all your despatches since the 10th of July on file. Do you wish copies?"

"JOHN H. MORGAN, Commanding Brigade."

"HON. GEORGE W. DUNLAP, WASHINGTON CITY.

"Just completed my tour through Kentucky—captured seventeen cities, destroyed millions of dollars' worth of United States' property; passed through your county, but regret not seeing you. We paroled 1500 rebel prisoners."

"Your old friend,

"JOHN H. MORGAN, Commanding Brigade."

[The foregoing despatches were well calculated to dumbfound these Yankee dignitaries, who no doubt were half-inclined to pronounce them some spiritual freak; but for concentrated audacity the following is unequalled.—EDS. CONFED.]—

"GENERAL ORDER.—No. 1.

"Head-quarters, Telegraph Department of Kentucky, Confederate States of America.

"Georgetown, Kentucky, July 16, 1862.

"When an operator is positively informed that the enemy is marching on his station, he will immediately proceed to destroy the telegraph instruments and all materials in his charge. Such instances of carelessness as were exhibited on the part of the operators at Lebanon, Midway, and Georgetown, will be severely dealt with."

"By order of

"G. A. ELLSWORTH, General Military Superintendent C. S. Telegraph Department."

SIBLEY'S CAMPAIGN IN NEW MEXICO.

The campaign of Colonel Sibley in New Mexico is very remarkable. Nothing has occurred in this war which surpasses it in heroic enterprise and brilliant success. The remoteness of Colonel Sibley's theatre of operations is all that has prevented the achievements of his command from receiving their due share of public attention. Our correspondent justly styles him the "Stonewall" Jackson of the West, and that is praise enough for any man. We cannot forbear from once more giving the brief summary of Sibley's remarkable campaign. In November last he left San Antonio, with a small army of Texans, to conquer the United States' territory of New Mexico. His march was one of the most wonderful and successful in modern times—1300 miles over a comparative desert, often making fifty miles without water, his men living for fifteen days on beef, and enduring hardships such as few men but Texans could survive. He defeated in two pitched battles three times his own number of the best troops in the United States' army (more than half the number being old United States' regulars), marched 300 miles into the enemy's country, and planted the Confederate flag over the capital of the enemy's conquered territory. The flag was made of a captured United States' flag, it was raised upon a Federal flag-staff, a salute was fired by batteries of captured United States' guns, and "Dixie" played by a captured United States' band.

Our correspondent adds that when Colonel Sibley entered the territory of New Mexico, although in the 25th parallel, and winter fast coming on, he destroyed every tent in his army. He did not permit himself to be encumbered by any long train of baggage waggons. His officers carried no trunks or mess-chests. They slept where night found them, whipped the enemy wherever he showed himself, and have never seen a shovel or a pick since they opened the campaign. The startling order of the heroic band is to attack the enemy at all times; and, in this way, they have taken every battery the United States had in New Mexico. We reublish these particulars as an act of justice to the glorious Texans of Sibley's command, and to their noble commander, of whom it is praise enough to say that he is worthy to be the commander of such men. Colonel Henry Sibley is a native of Louisiana; graduated at West Point in 1836, distinguished himself in the Mexican war, for which he was twice brevetted; and at the time of Secession was one of the first to resign and come to the rescue of his native South.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

INVASION OF CANADIAN SOIL BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS.—

The following is taken from a Quebec journal received by the late mail:—"Our Western exchanges bring us news of invasions of Canadian soil by American officials, as well as of other outrages growing out of the unsettled state of affairs on the south side of the frontier line. Among the latter may be mentioned the firing on a boat carrying a number of English soldiers, in uniform, attended by their wives. This indignity took place near Niagara, at a spot where the river so narrows that a rifle shot will carry across, and some American soldiers were the perpetrators. Finding the bullets whistling around them, and one man, a sergeant, receiving a wound in the leg, the Englishmen made at once for the American shore, demanding an explanation of such an extraordinary proceeding. The culprits pleaded that they imagined it was a party disguised attempting to elude the draft, and there the matter at present seems to rest. Again, near Windsor, an American citizen, whether deserter or refugee does not seem clear, was forcibly abducted from Canadian soil. And in still another instance, a band of armed Federalist crossed the river and violently carried off a person who had already been once rescued by a superior force of Canadians, who resisted such an outrage on our soil and our laws."

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission
Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifica-
tions furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEED AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Runford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, partly for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILLWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; F. RIMAILHO AND NETLEY,
New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BENSLEY, Cotton Broker,
Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

On Friday next, the 19th inst., in 1 vol. 8vo.

THE SOUTH VINDICATED:

Being a Series of Letters written for the American
Press during the canvass for the Presidency
1860, with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the
John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of
the Presidential Contest, and its consequences.

BY
THE HON. JAMES WILLIAMS,
Late American Minister to Turkey.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN BAKER HOPKINS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANTAN BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somer bound, 5s.

POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
BENDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition.)
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.

PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 8d.

THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. HEALE. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.

DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 3d.

PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.

JESUS, OUR KING. By S. P. WILLIAMS.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, and MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. P. WILLIAMS.

London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the adver-
tisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.

Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Regent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chaussée d'Antin in Paris).

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.

A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Markets as a SALESMAN,
also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.

Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
Ar. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bohu.
Numa Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

**Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.**

OFFICE:—78, Camp Street,
Amount of premium for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 232,908 88
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year cut-
ting 25th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
25th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
25th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. F. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

**Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.**

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connolly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poutz.
C. Homel.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Slocomb.
B. F. Voorheir.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$31,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,269 05
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

**BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.**

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primeage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America, by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquaforts, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship who refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact,

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XX. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—the
causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the slipshod and indecorous of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—September 11, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 21.] LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 18, 1862. [PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	
America	321
England	322
Europe	323
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter.. .. .	323
Manchester Letter	324
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letters	324
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	325
Paris	325
LEADERS—	
The End of the Campaign in Virginia	328
"The Fortune of War"	329
A Long War	329
The Wheat Trade of Great Britain, France, and America	330
Mediation: A Northern Notion	331
American Indians	332
Editorial	333
REVIEWS—	
Washington Irving	333
Short Notices	334
MR. LEECH'S SKETCHES	334
LETTER TO THE EDITOR—	
Northern Angling for Sympathy	335
EXTRACTS FROM SOUTHERN PAPERS	
ADVERTISEMENTS	336

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

Whilst no one denies the good fortune that has attended the Confederate arms, it must also be conceded that what has been crowned by such signal success is not a few isolated enterprises, but a most elaborate and detailed plan of campaign. An unskilful chess-player may, if pitted against a novice, win a game brilliantly by a few dashing moves, suggested by the weak points of his adversary, but to win a game by a series of preconcerted moves—moves so arranged as to provide against the contingent moves of the adversary—is evidence of the highest skill, and is worthy of admiration. In this sense the Confederates, though reverently acknowledging the favour of Heaven, may proudly say that they owe nothing to luck, in the general acceptance of that term. Their enemy has not been in any respect so badly generaled as some persons suppose; and this suggestion is from New York, and made for the purpose of inducing the Northern people to believe that all may be well if there is a change of generals. Hence Scott, McClellan, Pope, Halleck, Corcoran, Mitchell, and Fremont are by turns the popular favourites. The strategy of the Confederates not only confounds and misleads the Federal commanders, but it prevents lookers-on from appreciating it until the game is played out. It was a matter of astonishment in this country that General McClellan should have been allowed to escape from the Peninsula, and more than one military critic of repute asserted that the Southern generals had lost a splendid opportunity, but the wisdom of letting the remnant of the Army of the Potomac escape from one trap to a position equally unfavourable for offensive operations, whilst the main body of the Confederate army made an attack upon the army of Pope is now apparent. We now know that the movements were as well calculated as they were bold. The operations that drove McClellan from before Richmond were a seven days' battle, and the operations that have caused the Federal evacuation of Virginia, and have led to the invasion, or rather armed entrance, into Maryland, extended over a period of three weeks, and terminated on August 30. In our last issue we brought down the history of the

war in Virginia until August 29, when Pope fought what he called a battle, but which was, in fact, only a part of a battle. It will be remembered that Pope, forced from his position on the Rappahannock, retired to Warrenton, and there busied himself in massing his forces, keeping a look-out in his front, and not suspecting the appearance of the enemy in his rear. His right wing was considered so safe that it was at a considerable distance from the main body, and so little supported that it took Pope two days to come up to the place that had been occupied by its outposts. As usual, the Confederates chose the weakest point for their attack. When the Federal commander first heard of the affair at Manassas Junction, he thought it was a mere raid of a small body of the enemy, and it is much to his credit that he was quickly undeceived. A large Confederate army had passed to his rear, and from this army about 30,000 had been detached, placed under the command of General Jackson, and were marched, without any baggage but ammunition, and an indispensable supply of food, through Thoroughfare Gap. We do not think General Pope is to be blamed for not calculating on such a brilliant and dashing movement; and when he observed it he did his best to defeat it. He moved the whole of his force forward towards Washington, for the purpose, mainly, of re-establishing and securing his communication with the capital, determined, at the same time, to give the Confederates battle. This he did on August 29. The Federals were, as General Pope says in his despatch, the attacking party, and they seem to have made a most determined effort to defeat Jackson and drive him back before he could receive supports. The Confederates stood their ground, and at night the contending armies occupied the position they had before the fight. Thus Pope, who claimed a victory, was so far completely foiled. He had the advantage in numbers, and yet there was his enemy in the same threatening attitude. There is every reason to suppose that General Pope did not exaggerate his losses on that day when he set them down at 8000. An attacking army repulsed again and again must, inevitably, suffer greatly. It has to suffer a double loss—whilst it is advancing and when it is withdrawing.

General Pope, in his despatch, admits that his troops were too much exhausted to do anything, and we think it likely he imagined his enemy in the same plight, or he would not have asserted that the Confederates had fallen back, and "that he had sent troops in pursuit." We need hardly observe that the last statement was an utter falsehood, and we only refer to it as evidence that Pope expected some interval of rest after his day of fighting. But during the night of the 29th, General Lee came up with his forces, and effected a junction with General Jackson. Of the precise number of men brought by General Lee we have no information, and it is useless to speculate, but we may be sure it was very considerable. Simultaneously—that is, during the night or early in the morning of the 29th—General Pope had been reinforced, and, possibly, being unaware the Confederates had been also reinforced, the attack was renewed by the Federal Generals Heintzelmann and Porter. They were repulsed by the Confederate infantry, and as they retreated the Confederate artillery opened upon them with shell and shot. General McDowell advanced to support the Federal centre, and the battle became general. The division under McDowell and Sigel were, we are told, "enveloped by the Confederates on the left, and were assailed at all points." For the second time General McDowell saw his troops retreating in disorder across Bull Run. But the battle was not yet over. Sigel made a desperate effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, and the Federals, generally, fought with great resolution. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon

Pope had brought up all his reserves, and perceiving that further resistance was useless, gave the order for retreat, and fell back on Centreville. The dead were left unburied, and the dying and wounded were deserted, and could expect no immediate succour from the Confederates. We may hereafter hear accounts of the sufferings of the wounded on that bloody field, but no account will adequately describe them. The retreat, in fact, resolved itself into a rout, and the Centreville-road was filled with "artillery, infantry, cavalry, and waggons in confusion falling back to the rear."

Such is a brief outline of a battle that has been called the Waterloo of the war. With regard to the Federal losses there is ominous silence; but there can be little doubt that the battle was as bloody as it was hotly contested. The Federals have had to pay a fearful price for their determined resistance. The only reference made to the slaughter in the Northern accounts is the brief announcement that "Alexandria is filled with the dead and dying." We will not discuss the conduct of the Federal commanders, further than this, that it seems to us the censures pronounced upon General McClellan by the press and people of the North are unfounded. It was, we conceive, impossible for him to send reinforcements to Pope, even if he had them at his disposal, and further, he occupied a position which to have greatly weakened would have exposed Washington to some danger. Besides, the troops under General McClellan, demoralized by continual defeat, in great part weakened by disease, and no longer well furnished with the equipments and ammunition of war, were not in a fit state to be sent against an enemy flushed with victory.

General Pope was not allowed to rest at Centreville; his supplies were cut off by the Confederates, and on September 2 the Federal army abandoned Centreville, and retired behind the fortifications of Washington. It appears that previous to this movement General Banks had effected a junction with Pope.

An engagement occurred on the 1st inst. between Kearney's brigade and the Confederate cavalry under Colonel Stuart, near Fairfax Court-house, in which the Federal Generals Kearney and Stevens were killed. Winchester has been evacuated, as well as Aquia Creek, which last place had been occupied by General Burnside, after he had left Fredericksburg. The Federal flotilla has left the James River, and proceeded up the Potomac, after an attack on City Point. In short, the Federal army occupies precisely the same position around Washington which it held before the departure for the Peninsula, and the invading forces have been driven out of Virginia.

The events that followed the battle of August 30 took place too near the capital—are too near and too prominent—to be disguised, and, therefore, the last telegram from New York frankly admits the completeness of the disaster. It says, "the defeat of the Federal armies at Bull Run and Centreville was complete," and that "the Confederates captured large quantities of ammunition, stores, and artillery." We do not know the amount of the Confederate booty, but from the admissions made from time to time by the North, we may be sure it is enormous, and that from their enemies the Confederates have obtained ample stores of the materiel of war. But even the Confederate booty does not include the entire loss of the Federals, for at Manassas, Fredericksburg, at Aquia Creek, and at other abandoned places, immense quantities of stores were destroyed. With regard to the capture of prisoners, it seems that the Confederates immediately paroled the privates, only retaining the officers.

According to the latest accounts General McClellan

was in command of the defences of the capital, and was entrenched on Arlington Heights for the defence of Washington. It would seem, from the Confederate movements, at which we can only glance, having to rely on meagre Federal accounts, and which are always inaccurate as to Confederate movements, that it will have to abandon Arlington Heights, or remain in a state of inactivity.

The Confederates, under the command of General Lee, are said to be at Warrenton. A force has crossed the Potomac at Point of Rocks, and occupied Frederick City, Maryland. The Marylanders have given an enthusiastic reception to the Confederate forces. The Confederate commander has declared his intention to respect and protect all private property.

The occupation of Frederick City cuts off the reinforcements for the Federal troops at Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry.

Amongst the many items of intelligence in reference to Virginia is this:—

The Confederate ram Merrimac No. 2 has been seen below Fort Darling, going in the direction of Newport. Arrangements have been made to receive her.

It would be impossible in a summary of news to give any idea of the panic and confusion that have been induced by these events. General Pope, the late idol of the North, who was sent for from the West to repair the Federal fortunes in Virginia, has been relieved from the command of the Army of Virginia and appointed to a command in the north-west. General Halleck, it is said, will immediately replace Mr. Stanton. The War Committee in New York have passed a resolution, recommending that Generals Fremont and Mitchell be authorized to raise 50,000 men each, and, also, that if President Lincoln will not sanction this proposition, that it shall be acted on without his concurrence. The New York mob clamours for a change in the Cabinet. The Federal Generals are charged with treason. All is confusion and disorder. The Abolitionists demand a decree of emancipation. The Government is beset with angry recommendations, none of which possess the merit of being practically useful. Great fears are entertained for the safety of Washington, and every day there are rumours of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet preparing to go over to New York. The Governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, are holding council at Providence. In every direction there is a manifestation of distrust and disagreement. General Halleck has offended the officers of the New York City Militia by refusing to call them out, on the plea that they have previously refused to remain "when the danger was more imminent." General Halleck does not inform us when he considers the Federal cause was in greater danger.

In other quarters there is nothing to encourage or sustain the North. The report that General Buell had captured 7000 prisoners we need hardly tell our readers proves false, because by this time no one credits Federal reports of large captures. General Buell has ordered the evacuation of Nashville, and is preparing for an attack at Chattanooga. The Federals have evacuated Frankfort, Kentucky, and the Legislature has removed to Louisville. The Federals have also evacuated Lexington, and are preparing to evacuate Cynthiana. Martial law has been proclaimed in Cincinnati, Covington, and Newport. At Louisville the Union citizens are removing their property, under the impression that that place will shortly be occupied by the Confederates. The greatest excitement prevails in Missouri; in which State the Federal authorities are unable to resist the Confederate progress. The Provost Marshal of St. Louis has closed the Old Merchants' Exchange on account of the disloyalty of the members.

As we announced in our last number, Baton Rouge has been evacuated.

It is rumoured that Generals Van Dorn and Breckinridge threaten New Orleans. If that city is attacked, General Butler will have to defend himself from enemies within as well as without.

The Governor of Indiana has called out all citizens between 19 and 45 years of age.

The agitation in Pennsylvania is increasing, and the Governor of that State has issued a proclamation calling upon the people to form volunteer bands.

The order for drafting has not been practically carried out in any of the Northern States.

In the Confederate Congress resolutions have been introduced in favour of an aggressive war.

At New York gold was 19 per cent. premium.

ENGLAND.

The distress in Lancashire makes fearful progress, and the sufferings of the people are extreme. In most of the Unions, within the afflicted district, there has been this week a large increase of paupers, amounting, in fourteen Unions, to 3870.

More mills are closing, which formerly worked short time, and the operatives are reduced from poverty to destitution. Mills that were working full time come down to two or three days a week, and each such case reduces, perhaps, a hundred families from comfort to indigence. In Wigan, the whole of the hands are out of work, and the distress is consequently appalling. Other places are almost as wretchedly situated. Stockport, with a population of 54,000, of whom nearly 19,000 are mill hands, had 8,000 idle, and 8,000 working two and a half days a week. Nearly 6500 persons are receiving parish pay, and above 10,000 are aided by the Relief Committee. The *Times*' special reporter—who may probably be trusted in regard to facts falling under his own actual observation, though he is utterly ignorant of the real circumstances of the factory districts, and though his comments display a wonderful combination of perversity and malice—draws a terrible picture of the condition of the population of Stockport. That town is, in fact, little more than a gigantic factory village, too near Manchester to have any general trade; and the stoppage of its mills entails utter destitution on nearly the whole of the inhabitants. It must not be forgotten that the ruin of the operatives ruins all that portion of the lower middle class who live upon them; that for every twenty hands out of work, there is probably some tradesman or other person dependent on operative custom, whose business is all but annihilated, and who can no longer keep his head above water. Rents are unpaid; and the owners of cottage property, many of whom are comparatively poor men, are reduced to great extremity. Few of them are cruel enough to resort to distress or ejection; and after all, what is the use of a distress were the defaulting tenant's furniture has already been sold for bread—or of an ejection, where no new tenant would be more solvent than the present one? The landlords, tradesmen, and higher class of mechanics, overlookers, and so forth, do the best they can. Some of the latter often starve in silence; a good many of the lower sort of operatives have taken to begging in the streets. Almost all the sufferers have utterly exhausted their own resources, and are wholly dependent on the aid they receive, either from the Relief Committees or from the parish. Now and then some one member of a numerous family earns one, two, or even three shillings a week, but even in these cases their condition is pitiable, as the dispensers of relief, naturally and justly, endeavour to reserve their aid for the worst sufferers, and take into account, in the distribution of their funds, the other incomings of applicants for their assistance. The average income of families employed two days a week, or not employed at all—that is, of two-thirds of the factory population—does not reach 2½d. a day per head. Those who have not more can barely exist; those who have less are actually starving.

The Manchester Central Relief Committee, of which the Earl of Ellesmere is chairman, has addressed a very remarkable circular letter to the Boards of Guardians of the suffering district. They begin by admitting the independence, of which those local magnates are so jealous, and disclaiming all pretensions to dictate to them. They allow the extreme difficulty of the task imposed upon the Unions, no less than that of feeding, clothing, lodging, and employing a population out of work. They admit that the burden of supporting the poor falls very heavily upon those ratepayers who are still solvent. An average collection of 2s. in the pound would suffice, with the present scale of relief, for the expenditure on the existing amount of pauperism. But, in the first place, the existing amount of pauperism is sure to be largely increased. Secondly, a collection of 2s. in the pound on the rateable value of a parish, when half that value is in the hands of insolvent occupiers, means a rate of 4s. on those who can pay; thirdly, and on this point the committee especially insist, the present scale of the relief granted by the Unions is far too low. It averages 1s. 2d. per head per week—a sum barely sufficient to support life—and leaving no means of replacing worn-out clothes, paying rent, or providing fuel in winter. The Relief Committees very properly refuse to allow their funds to be made the means of eking out a niggardly parish allowance, and so encouraging the miserly spirit of the poor law authorities. Nothing has yet transpired as to the temper in which this remonstrance is regarded by those to whom it is addressed.

Another correspondence has taken place on the subject of the relief funds. There are two chief collections: that made at the Mansion House, under the auspices of the Lord Mayor, and administered by a committee of merchants, and that inaugurated at Bridgewater House, the London residence of Lord Ellesmere, by the Earl of Derby, and other great Lancashire proprietors, and generally supported by the aristocracy. With great good sense the latter fund has been handed over by the gentlemen of the

Bridgewater House Committee to a Central Relief Committee formed at Manchester, and consisting of gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the manufacturing districts. It was suggested that the Lord Mayor's committee should do likewise; but they were jealous of their dignity and influence, and refused. As they can know very little about the local circumstances of the various districts, it is probable *a priori* that their funds are distributed with much less judgment than those entrusted to the Manchester committee, and that much mischief and still more waste will result from their want of special knowledge, and their unwillingness to delegate their functions to those who possess such knowledge. The *Economist*, whose articles on the cotton question and its corollaries are written by some one evidently possessing an internal personal acquaintance with Lancashire and its manufactures, declares that great harm has been done by the injudicious and indiscriminate use of their funds by ill-informed distributors; and intimates that while the most respectable and most afflicted wait and starve till charity seeks out and relieves them, the clamorous and shameless often receive far more than their just share of the bounty intended by the givers for the relief of real, terrible, and wholly unmerited distress.

We are told that the Mansion House committee has already distributed more than £27,000. New subscriptions come in every day. The last mail from Australia brings a report of a public meeting held at Sydney, in which upwards of £2000 were subscribed, before the assemblage broke up, for the relief of the suffering operatives "at home." A subscription of like amount was raised at a meeting in Birmingham.

The Stoke election has afforded some amusement to lookers-on. The Government candidate, Mr. H. R. Grenfell, accused the Conservative, Mr. Beresford Hope, of employing, and indeed of paying, Mr. Sergeant Shee, the candidate of the Radicals, to divide what is called the Liberal party in the borough. Mr. Hope, in the strongest terms consistent with courtesy, denied the disgraceful charge, and called upon Mr. Grenfell to retract. The Whig nominee declined retraction, and declared that he did not see anything so very disgraceful in the charge; it was less disreputable "than any of the grosser forms of corruption." The correspondence has been published in the *Times* and other papers; and has done much harm to Mr. Grenfell, whose notions of what is fair and honourable in electioneering are as peculiar as General Pope's ideas of legitimate warfare. It is generally felt that Mr. Hope's conduct is as eminently honourable and gentlemanly as that of his opponent is the reverse. Mr. Bright has written a letter denouncing Mr. Hope's "virulent attacks on the American President and people" and sympathy with the South as reasons which ought to ensure his rejection by "every enemy of despotism." As Mr. Hope pertinently asks, on what ground does Mr. Bright pretend to dictate to the electors of Stoke; and how can the enemies of despotism have any sympathy with the "American" President, or any respect for the people who endure his yoke?

The ravages of the small-pox (*varila ovina*) among the sheep in some parts of Wiltshire have at last obliged the Government to take steps to limit, as far as possible, the progress of the disease. Sir George Grey has issued a circular letter, calling the attention of justices and borough authorities to the powers conferred on them by law, of appointing persons to inspect all sales of sheep or lambs, and to seize all diseased animals offered for sale. And an Order in Council directs, first, that no animals shall be removed from or taken through certain infected parishes; secondly, that all animals dying of the disease shall at once be buried in quicklime; thirdly, that all sheds in which such animals have been penned, and all vehicles in which they have been conveyed, shall be subjected to a disinfecting process; and finally, that all persons who shall detect the presence of the disease in the flocks shall give notice of the fact to the police authorities. The Order is to remain in force for three months. The dispute about inoculation continues, and parties seem very evenly divided on the subject.

The annual meeting of the North-west Bucks Agricultural Association was held at Buckingham on the 17th. Mr. Disraeli was present, and his speech of course forms the chief feature in the reports. He defended the practice of giving prizes to labourers for good conduct and length of service under the same master, and congratulated the county of Bucks on the great progress made of late years in agriculture, and in the improvement of the dwellings of the people. As controversial politics are excluded from such meetings, the Conservative leader was of course precluded from saying anything concerning the views of his party in reference to the American war. He remarked, however, that wars partaking of the nature of civil war were generally long, and congratulated England on that ancestral wisdom

which had secured to her a better Constitution than that of America. It may be remarked, by the way, that America has not had the choice of such a Constitution as ours. Circumstances made monarchy impossible and federalism inevitable. Mr. Hubbard, member for the borough, was more outspoken. He did not think that the American war would be of long duration. The North had neither means, nor money, nor munitions of war; and the United States were not like Switzerland. In such countries as the latter, might be carried on without money, because every man was a soldier, ready to fight in defence of home and hearth. That was not the case in the Northern States of America. There a great proportion of the troops were imported Germans and Irish; and such soldiers would not fight for shipplaster. They must be paid. We could not but admire the ability and capacity for self-government exhibited by the Southern States, and while we had carefully avoided any interference in the quarrel, when the proper time should arrive this country would not but be glad to hail the opportunity of recognizing the independence of the Southern States of America.

The Stoke election has afforded some amusement to lookers-on. The Government candidate, Mr. H. R. Grenfell, accused the Conservative, Mr. Beresford Hope, of employing, and, indeed, of paying, Mr. Sergeant Shee, the candidate of the Radicals, to divide what is called the Liberal party in the borough. Mr. Hope, in the strongest terms consistent with courtesy, denied the disgraceful charge, and called upon Mr. Grenfell to retract. The Whig nominee declined retraction, and declared that he did not see anything so very disgraceful in the charge; it was less disreputable "than any of the grosser forms of corruption." The correspondence has been published in the *Times* and other papers, and has done much harm to Mr. Grenfell, whose notions of what is fair and honourable in electioneering are as peculiar as General Pope's ideas of legitimate warfare. It is generally felt that Mr. Hope's conduct is as eminently honourable and gentlemanly as that of his opponent is the reverse.

At a meeting held at Hanley, within the limits of the parliamentary borough, Mr. Shee very indignantly rebuked the insolence of Mr. Grenfell, and spoke in severe terms of his refusal to retract his charge. The Whig candidate was present, and made a lame attempt to defend himself. But when it became evident that he would neither apologize nor explain, he was hooted down by the audience.

Mr. Bright has written a letter denouncing Mr. Hope's "virulent attacks on the American President and people" and sympathy with the South as reasons which ought to ensure his rejection by "every enemy of despotism." As Mr. Hope pertinently asks, on what ground does Mr. Bright pretend to dictate to the electors of Stoke; and how can the enemies of despotism have any sympathy with the "American" President, or any respect for the people who endure his yoke?

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—The chief topic of interest in the French news is the controversy which, since the capture of Garibaldi, has been carried on between the new journal *La France* and the Liberal press concerning the occupation of Rome and the possible consummation of Italian unity. *La France* derives its chief importance from the fact that its editor, M. de la Guérinière, was formerly the nominal author of certain pamphlets universally ascribed to the pen of the Emperor himself. There is, however, no reason to suppose that he is at present the Imperial speaking-trumpet, though he probably endeavours to take up the line of argument which he imagines to be acceptable to his former master. He proposes to dissolve the Italian Kingdom, and establish in its place a Federation of three monarchical States, with a military, naval, customs, diplomatic, and judicial union. The thing seems impossible, and little resembles the clear, practical schemes of Napoleon III. It is probably the offspring of M. de la Guérinière's own brain, suggested, perhaps, by some ministerial hint, maladroitly understood. The *Sicéle* is very contemptuous; the more moderate *Constitutionnel* reminds the ex-Imperial scribe, very pointedly, that France has recognized the Italian Kingdom; the Catholic *Monde* is as abusive, from a different standpoint, as its Liberal contemporaries; and *La France* has had very decidedly the worst of it.

It is rumoured, however, that M. Ratazzi's demands for the evacuation of Rome have met with no very favourable reception from the Emperor. Well-informed men say that the latter is pledged to the protection of Rome during the life of the present Pope. This may or may not be true; in any case it very probably represents what will happen. The vacancy of the chair of St. Peter would afford an opportunity of honourably abandoning Rome to the Italians, which cannot be hoped for while that chair

is occupied by a man like Pius IX., too obstinate to yield to reason, and far too much revered to be abandoned to the argument of force.

ITALY.—The official accounts of the battle of Aspromonte—*si riva est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo*—have been published. The report of Colonel Pallavicino, the officer in command of the force by which Garibaldi was taken, is short and not offensive in its tone. It makes no mention of any formal summons to surrender as preceding the attack; and we may therefore presume that none was made, until the Garibaldians gave the signal to cease firing. It is quite clear that Garibaldi never contemplated an open encounter with the Italian troops. He was guilty of the madness of intending to assail the French army at Rome with an undisciplined horde of half-armed volunteers; not of the crime of meditating civil war or treason against his Sovereign. General Cialdini's report contains one phrase which, if taken literally, must ensure him the execration of Italy and the condemnation of the civilized world. He speaks of the intention of himself and his subordinates to "meet and destroy" the conqueror of the Two Sicilies. It is true that the General is an old personal enemy of Garibaldi, and is reported to be of a stern and vindictive temper; but we can hardly suspect him of really intending the death of the man who placed the Italian crown on his master's head.

It is also said, on authority, that General Cialdini has expressed himself opposed to an amnesty. Whether this be true or not, we cannot say. The same thing has been said of the Emperor, of whom it is not likely to be true. Napoleon III. was never charged, even by his worst enemies, with personal vindictiveness; he cannot be suspected of bearing malice against Garibaldi, and he is not at all likely to have given to the Italian Government advice which, if followed, could only lead to a new revolution, and the probable renewal of Austrian supremacy. We hope that in both cases the rumour of influence brought to bear on the King's Government in opposition to its own interests, and to the universal feeling of Europe, is entirely unfounded.

The facts of the engagement, so far as they can be learned from the accounts given on either side, appear to be as follows:—Finding the Garibaldians drawn up in order of battle, Pallavicino ordered the troops to attack at once. Garibaldi, passing along the front of his line, and ordering his men not to fire, received two shot wounds, and was carried to from the place. On his fall, and that of his son Menotti, the volunteers lost both heart and temper—or rather, the majority lost heart and gave way, while the veterans of the campaigns of 1859 and 1860 lost their self-control, and fired in spite of orders. They were almost immediately overpowered, and made a signal to cease firing. Garibaldi probably was unaware of this; and when an officer of Pallavicino's staff, armed and without a flag of truce, summoned him to surrender, he perhaps drew his revolver, and certainly ordered the messenger to be disarmed. His friends, making him aware of the actual position of affairs, calmed his excitement, and he requested an interview with the commander of the Royal troops. Pallavicino came; and after some conversation, in which he probably conceded more than he intended, and less than Garibaldi supposed, the latter surrendered, expecting to be placed on board an English vessel. On finding that he was to be detained a prisoner, he complained of a breach of faith, which provoked an indignant disclaimer by his captor of any pledge to the contrary.

The General's wounds were so alarming, according to a report received by his English friends, that they thought it necessary to send off to his aid Mr. Partridge, a Professor of King's College, and a surgeon of the highest eminence.

Mr. Partridge has written to those who sent him from Turin. He says:—

Lord Palmerston has telegraphed to our Ambassador to use his influence with the Ministry here to obtain permission for me to see Garibaldi, so that I hope to have the order tomorrow, and to be at Spezia on Tuesday at latest. Meanwhile, reports seem to show that at least Garibaldi is not worse. The wound is said to discharge freely, the bone to be "exfoliating"—that is, the injured part of the bone is in process of being cast off, and may then be removed. This is a slow affair, but is not dangerous. The ball is still in the wound, it is supposed. I shall telegraph as soon as I have seen Garibaldi. My great object will be, when I obtain permission to see Garibaldi, to do so in such a way as not to offend the doctors who are in attendance upon him, so as not to throw them into opposition to any measure I may have to propose.

Many of the General's Italian friends, hearing that he was ill-lodged and ill-attended, have not hesitated to affirm that Signor Ratazzi, dreading the inconvenient revelations which his prisoner might make, if so disposed, desired his death. This is, no doubt, an unjust and unfounded ebullition of the frantic grief of devoted partisans. Nevertheless, the friends of Italy will be glad to be assured that the Minister has not acted in a way which encourages such suspicions, and that the treatment of the

heroic captive has been worthy of his merits, and of the chivalric character of the *Re Galantuomo*.

Some weeks ago an Englishman, a Mr. James Bishop, was arrested by Italian gendarmes at on the charge, or rather on suspicion, of being an agent of the reactionary conspiracy carried on for and fomented by the ex-King of Naples. Nothing appeared at that time to justify the suspicion. He was, nevertheless, maltreated by his captors, carried to Naples, and there detained in prison. He has just been tried by jury. The evidence against him was the possession of a sealed letter, in which one reactionary agent spoke of him to another as a man to be trusted—of a document enumerating the force of the reactionary party—of a printed pamphlet by General Ulloa, abusing Lord Palmerston—of a letter asking the Prince Torella, a liberal loyalist under the old regime, his intentions in regard to a Bourbonist reaction, written by Bishop—of a letter from Rome, in which mention is made of men sent there by Bishop, who were starving—and of a telegram which mentions that a notorious insurgent had reported that he had met an Englishman, who seems to have been the accused, at the house of the Duchess of Montecalvo. The only evidence of guilt in all this is the letter to Prince Torella; the other papers—as the suspicious letter was sealed—might have been in the possession of any man curious about Neapolitan affairs, acquainted with men of all parties, and prejudiced in favour of Francis II. Bishop declares the letter to Prince Torella to have been prompted by mere curiosity. An English jury would probably have acquitted him; the Neapolitan, in obedience to orders, found him guilty, and, if legally wrong, we do not doubt that his conviction was substantially just. His case closely resembles that of the engineers of the Cagliari. There was no proof that they were accomplices of Pisacane; but the probabilities were certainly strong against them. Lord Malmesbury extorted their liberation. Mr. Bishop has been sentenced to ten years' hard labour—according to English ideas, a brutal punishment for a political offence. But it is not likely that Lord Russell will interfere on his behalf, though, if the Italian Government be well advised, it will pardon him on his promise to quit the country, and not meddle for the future in Italian politics. We have no respect for these troublesome meddlers in general, or for this offender in particular; but we must admit that he has been hardly treated.

It is satisfactory to learn that the state of siege in Naples has enabled the Government to break up the Camorristi—a gang of organized robbers, bullies, and murderers, bound by masonic ties, who have long exercised in Naples a tyranny resembling that of the Unionists in Sheffield, or the Riband Societies in Ireland.

SERBIA.—It is said that a number of the National Guard and militia have refused to serve any longer; that the former dispersed, and the latter exacted a promise that they should be disbanded within ten days. This argues that the people are becoming tired of a quarrel begun on their part with exactly that "enthusiasm which makes men run away." It is difficult to conceive a quarrel more causeless or less likely to receive steady support from the bulk of an ignorant population. The Porte is suzerain of Serbia, and it has the right to garrison certain Servian fortresses. With the internal government of the country it interferes less than England with that of Canada. But the presence of a Moslem garrison in Belgrade afforded an opportunity to the clergy and to other ambitious and turbulent men to stir up the theological passions of the populace, and hound them on to attack the Turks. The garrison, after repulsing their assaults, retaliated by bombarding the city. This barbarous act gave to the Servian authorities ambitious of independence, and dreaming of a great Danubian Federation, an excuse to appeal to Europe and to prepare for war. But the ambition of the Prince and his advisers can hardly animate the population at large, and their military resources are not likely to avail them in a contest with the whole force of the Turkish empire, if they should be left to themselves. Europe, however, is too apprehensive of the dissolution of Turkey to leave events to take their course; and peace will probably be patched up by foreign intervention. No one wishes to see the horrors of the Greek Revolution re-enacted in Servia; and diplomatists, knowing that the Turkish Christians are even more unfit for freedom than their Moslem masters for empire, prefer continually to prop up the rottenness of the existing system, rather than to let it be broken up in the midst of crimes and cruelties that would disgust civilization and disgrace humanity.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, September 17, 1862.

Our last report left the cotton market very sick in tone, with much anxiety on the part of some holders to sell.

On Thursday the tone of the market greatly improved, the low prices quoted for American brought in speculation, and the

sales reached 4000 bales, including 1500 American, at 1½d. to 2d. above the depressed sales of the day previous; a large business was done in Surats to arrive on the basis of 17d. for Fair Dhollerah, or ½d. over the prices of Wednesday. On Friday the market was very strong, with sales of 5000 bales, at a further advance of 1d. in American and ½d. in Surats, with a very extensive business doing to arrive at ½d. and ¾d. advance. The first arrival from New Orleans was reported to day, consisting of 1200 bales. On Saturday the market opened with a very strong feeling, speculators operating freely, and the sales resulted in 7000 bales at a further advance, in both American and Surats. Middling Orleans in the afternoon worth 28½d. to 29d. per lb.

Great excitement prevailed throughout the day on 'Change, as batch after batch of the Europa's news came to hand; and it was not till after the business of the day was over, that the full extent of the Federal disasters became apparent. After several days of terrific fighting and awful carnage on either side, the Federals had been driven from every position in Northern Virginia, and obliged to take refuge within their intrenchments at Washington. Victory had also crowned the arms of the Confederates in the West, and it seemed probable that ere long the entire slave-holding States would be lost to the North.

On Monday the market was dull, with sales of 3000 bales, and the extreme prices of Saturday were not obtainable.

A feeling is entertained by some that the late crushing defeats sustained by the North may do something towards paving the way for peace. On Tuesday there was an utter absence of demand, and the sales only reached 1000 bales. The Manchester Market was also very dull, but moderately steady, and little giving away in price.

To-day our market has been extremely flat, with an utter absence of demand and some pressure to sell; the total business does not reach 1000 bales, and under these circumstances it is almost impossible to give quotations; the nearest approximation we can make is, for Middling Orleans 27d., and for Fair Dhollerah and Omrawatta 17½d. to 18d. per lb. The City of Washington's news to hand to-day report little fresh from the seat of war. Jackson was thought to be in considerable force in Maryland, but his movements were so well conducted that little definitely was known of his position.

As to the immediate future of our market, it seems probable that this period of inaction may be protracted a little longer, and in our present sensitive state, a large import of East India cotton occurring simultaneously with revived rumours of European mediation in America would produce a smart decline.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, September 16.

The principal feature in our yarn and cloth market during the past week has been a similar tameness on the part of buyers, combined with firmness on the part of holders, which characterized the business of the preceding week.

The Liverpool market having evinced a very depressed tone for some days past, seems to have damped that spirit of speculation in this market which was manifested by all classes of buyers as long as the upward tendency in the price of the raw material continued; but notwithstanding the check sustained by cotton, yarns and cloth of the best qualities continue to be held firmly for extreme rates, weakness being shown only on the part of speculators holding second-class and inferior makes. Makers of goods are the firmest holders, knowing well that at present production is reduced to a very small scale, and that there is no probability of any one who has run his machinery dry commencing again until he can see a decent profit at the end of it, of which there is no prospect at present.

The firms in this town who supply country drapers complain of the paucity of orders sent them for grey and white calicoes, knowing, at the same time, that no stocks are held by their clients; in fact, their travellers inform them that it is a very rare thing to see an uncut piece on the shopkeeper's shelf, their stock consisting of odds and ends.

It is reported here that one of the principal manufacturers in a neighbouring town, casually overhearing one of his female employees grumbling at the high price she had had to pay for a small quantity of calico, asked to see the cloth, and immediately sent out one of his men to buy up all the uncut pieces in the drapers' shops in that town, as he could sell them to the home trade houses here to a profit. His men returned in a few hours with six pieces, being the stock held by all the drapers in his town, containing about 60,000 inhabitants.

To-day our market has been extremely quiet, very little business having been transacted. Quotations remain nominally the same as last week, and, as before stated, weakness is only shown by holders of inferior qualities.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

General Butler had issued the following order relative to arming negroes, a subject which has been much agitated in New Orleans, and caused the resignation of General Phelps:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, August 22, 1862.

Whereas, on the 23rd day of April, in the year 1861, at a public meeting of the free coloured population of the city of New Orleans, a military organization, known as the "Native Guards" (coloured) had its existence, which military organization was duly and legally enrolled as a part of the militia of the State, its officers being commissioned by Thomas O. Moore, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the militia of the State of Louisiana;

And whereas such military organization elicited praise and respect, and was complimented in General Orders for its patriotism and loyalty, and was ordered to continue during the war;

Now, therefore, the Commanding General, believing that a large portion of this militia force of the State of Louisiana are willing to take service in the volunteer forces of the United States, and be enrolled and organized to "defend their homes from ruthless invaders;" to protect their wives and children and kindred from wrong and outrage; to shield their property from being seized by bad men, and to defend the flag of their native country as their fathers did under Jackson at Chalmette against Pakenham and his myrmidons, carrying the black flag "beauty and booty;"

Appreciating their motives, relying upon their "well-known loyalty and patriotism," and with "praise and respect" for these brave men—it is ordered that all the members of the "Native Guards" aforesaid, and all other free coloured citizens

recognized by the first and late Governor and authorities of the State of Louisiana as a portion of the militia of the State who shall enlist in the volunteer service of the United States, shall be duly organized by the appointment of proper officers, and accepted, paid, equipped, armed, and rationed as are other volunteer troops of the United States, subject to the approval of the President of the United States. All such persons are required at once to report themselves at the Touro Charity Building, Front Levee-street, New Orleans, where proper officers will muster them into the service of the United States.

By command of Major-General BUTLER.
R. S. Davis, Captain and A. A. A. G.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following extracts from letters, just received by a gentleman now in London, from a distinguished relative and member of the late Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, may prove interesting to our readers:—

Richmond, August 16, 1862.

The destruction of property in our State, with the slaves removed, is immense. None of my servants have gone off, but "Gleacor," (alluding to his farm in Western Virginia), has been, and is yet, I fear, occupied by the enemy.

Our city I consider safe. A battle is expected daily in the vicinity of Culpepper Court-house. A brilliant success there would relieve our State permanently, and I expect it confidently. Lee is in command, with a large and adequate force, I am sure. In a late affair, with a small force comparatively, wherein some of Pope's best troops were engaged, we gained a signal advantage.

You are, doubtless, familiar with the events of the war, and learn them as quickly as Yankee meadacity will permit. I feel assured that the crisis is past, with or without intervention. The war is conducted with insane ferocity—the fury of the enemy betrays their desperation. Humanity demands of England and France that they interpose. I hope my friend M— will illustrate his mission by leading the former in the right direction.

I write in haste, my dear J—, and with my prayers for your happiness. I am, as always, &c.

Richmond, August 14, 1862.

I have just heard of a safe opportunity to send you a few lines. I would like to write you more in detail, but I have marching orders at present, and my time is, therefore, limited.

Of course, by this time you have received the true version of the Chickahominy campaign—how General Lee defeated and, nearly destroyed McClellan's army. We had a hard fight, because we had to take the Yankees behind breastworks for twelve or fourteen miles. We lost many valuable officers and men, but the enemy's loss far exceeded ours. And this was the "Grand Army" whose mission was to take Richmond. We ran him to James River, and there left him, cowering under the protection of his gunboats. Poor McClellan's sun has set, and Halleck and Pope are the rising luminaries now. I don't think they will be luminous long. General Lee left this morning to take command of the army in front of Pope, who is in the neighbourhood of Culpepper Court-house, and soon poor Pope's sun will set, as the "Young Napoleon's" has done. Pope has, it is said, 80,000 men; Lee has, I presume, from 60,000 to 70,000.

"Stonewall" had a fight on the 9th ult., with a part of Pope's army, and defeated him badly, taking many officers and men. This is but the muttering of the storm soon to burst forth. I am in Lee's army, and leave to-morrow for Gordonsville, to resume my position as medical director of a division.

We are expecting daily to hear of a battle between General Bragg and the Yankee Buell in the neighbourhood of Nashville. Van Dorn has command of the department of Louisiana and Mississippi.

In Western Virginia the enemy has only small marauding parties, our own small force there being under command of General Loring.

I don't think that any of our particular friends have been killed in battle. Dr. Crenshaw has been very ill, but is now getting well. He has charge of a hospital in town. David Watson is in the field as surgeon, but I have not seen him since last fall. Davidson Penn was slightly wounded about two months ago, but is now well and in the field, with the rank of colonel. Bradfate and Clarence Warwick were killed in one of the engagements before Richmond.

I have endeavoured to give you a cursory, and, I know, most imperfect sketch of affairs as they stand at present.

I don't think our cause has ever looked so bright as it does now. Our army was never so large, and certainly never so effective. "Forward," I believe, is henceforth the word, and it would not at all surprise me to find myself in Baltimore in less than two months.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a friend in New Orleans to a commercial house in Liverpool:—

New Orleans, August 29th, 1862.

If at some future period our city should again resume its position amongst the commercial markets of the world, and the long interrupted course of trade again flow in its natural and proper channel, we hope that you may have an opportunity of making use of our services which we hereby tender you. In the meantime we trust that a few remarks about the actual state of things here may be acceptable to you, as hardly

any information reaches Europe now except through the magnifying glass of Northern writers, who by long practice have acquired a talent for falsifying affairs at the South, and deluding the Northern people, which is really astonishing.

When the Federals troops marched into this city it was proclaimed all over the North that the vast trade of the Mississippi Valley was once more open to the world, and the occupation of a city was magnified into the surrender of the whole State. So complete was the deception that even the Liverpool cotton market experienced a decline, and people on your side began to look forward with more hope for a supply of our great staple. How far these prophecies have been realized you are aware of by this time. It is true the Federal generals hold complete sway over this hapless city, but they have no power outside of their pickets or beyond the range of their gunboats, whilst the population in the interior is more bitter and hostile than ever. The governors of Louisiana and Mississippi have issued their proclamations forbidding all intercourse with the enemy, and so strictly has this been adhered to that no cotton has reached this place, except a few remnants that escaped destruction or were shipped from neighbouring plantations under the cover of gunboats. The people in the cotton-growing States, say Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, which principally supplied our city with their staple, are, if possible, even more bitter and fierce than those of Louisiana, and will rather sacrifice everything than let their property fall into the possession of their enemies. This is written with a full and personal knowledge of the feeling in the interior. It is therefore idle to talk of a cotton market here, or to express an opinion about the probable resumption of business as long as the Northerners are bent upon the hopeless task of enjugating the free born people of the South, now banded together man, woman, and child, fighting for their birthright "self-government." It is difficult to form an opinion about the quantity of cotton in the interior, the estimates of destruction by fire, varying from 50,000 to 250,000 bales. As regards the new crop, it is generally believed that only one-fourth of the usual quantity has been planted. The people in the interior seem to have made up their minds, that the war will last for many years yet, and begin to look within their own boundaries for the production of such necessities of life, which they formerly imported from the west and east.

You will perceive from the above that we are nearly as completely blockaded by land as we formerly were by sea.

The consumption of all import articles is, therefore, confined to this city, which is best shown by the fact, that salt is dull here at \$1 per sack.

The only trade that has been done here lately has been the shipping of the stock of sugar in our city, and such lots as could be got from neighbouring plantations.

But this business is now approaching its end. There are but few plantations left from which sugar can be shipped without risk to the owner. Hardly any boat comes down the river which does not show signs of having been fired into by guerrillas. We have under our control a crop of sugar on the river, not fifty miles from the city, which we dare not bring down for fear of exposing the life and property of the planter, and we could buy to day a crop of sugar on the river at 4 cents., to take it at the sugar house, which is worth here 9 cents.; but we cannot make use of this offer. The North has been sending us large quantities of flour, provisions, &c., and prices of these articles have in consequence materially declined.

Indian corn \$1 12½ cents. As the only article in which returns can be made for these shipments is sugar, the price of this article has advanced considerably lately, and we quote to day—fair 8½ cents, fully fair to prime 9 cents, choice 9½ cents.

We quote to-day, flour, \$8 to \$12—according to quality; mess pork, \$18 to \$19.

Freights have been very high, but are now depressed by the falling off of sugar, and numerous arrivals of vessels. Rates for sugar to New York have declined from \$18 to 20¢ per hds. to \$10, and will soon be lower still. Foreign vessels are in demand to take off the stock of tobacco principally held by foreign shippers.

A Bremen ship, the Antioette, is loading for Antwerp, at \$80, and an American ship was taken to day at \$20 per hhd., f.o.b., for France. Everybody is anxious to get his property off, fearing either confiscation by the Federals, or an attack on the city by the Confederates.

Our Exchange market may be said to be in utter confusion. Our currency consists of the notes of our Banks, part of which have sent off their specie, and have no basis for their circulation.

People here won't take to Federal treasury notes, however much the authorities try to bring them into circulation. We quote to-day—London, 60d. s. 142½ to 145; New York sight 120 per cent. premium.

Hoping that we may have the pleasure of addressing you again in better times.

The following is from a most undoubtedly reliable source:—

"Ye people of New Orleans shall either have the United States or you shall have San Domingo. I give you your choice. I have only to go to the Custom House, and hold up my finger, and you will all have your throats cut." Such were the words which General Butler addressed to a well-known citizen of New Orleans, who replied, "I know it, General Butler, and I come to you to obtain a pass to leave at once." "No one shall leave this place; I shall keep you all here." A

bribe of \$150 to one of the officers procured the permit to embark, and enabled the applicant to escape. In view of the approaching end, the Northern officers try to scrape together what plunder they can, and use every means to incite the poor negroes against their masters, thus preparing a mine which they mean to spring when they shall be compelled to leave.

The following is from a letter of a highly respectable New Orleans firm addressed to a Liverpool merchant :
New Orleans, July 24.

A Mississippi planter, who had about 250 bales of cotton stored upon a sugar plantation below the city, had entrusted the same for disposal to a factorage house at New Orleans.

After it was in their possession they were enjoined by General Butler, through the Provost Marshal (Capt. French) not to sell, ship, or otherwise dispose of the said cotton.

The planter, requiring money, was advised by the authorities to sell his cotton to Major Butler, the general's brother, at 25 cents per lb., the market value being at the time 35 cents, and if he would not do so the cotton could not be moved.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, September 2.

Although the accustomed system of mendacity was kept up by the War Department in reference to the series of battles in Virginia, ending on Friday, the 29th ultimo, the Federal reverse was so decisive the following day that it could not be obscured from public view; and we now know that the Northern army has met with very disastrous defeats, and is almost driven from "Old Virginia Shore." It is highly probable that the Confederates will invade Pennsylvania, and give the inhabitants of that State a taste of war, by breaking up the railroad connection with the West, and destroying the communication of the iron and coal regions with Philadelphia and New York; which would deprive all the Northern States of fuel, stop the foundries and workshops from making material of war, and render the Government steamers of no more avail than old-fashioned sailing craft—in fact, not so useful, as they are constructed to carry but little canvass. Such a course would make our Quaker neighbours cry for peace. Indeed, recent events have shown that there is considerable secession element in Pennsylvania; and it is doubtful whether that old democratic State would have furnished so many troops but for the influence of ex-Secretary Cameron and Governor Curtis, both of whom are charged with being largely interested in contracts.

It is a matter of surprise to the uninitiated that United States Stocks and Bonds have not declined, but the truth is that only a comparatively small amount is held in Wall-street, except as collateral security; the quotations for months past being based upon the operations of the bulls and bears. Mr. Chase is much behind hand in his payments to the troops, as well as contractors; to the latter class of creditors he invariably pays in "certificates of indebtedness" at twelve months date, which are pledged by them to bankers and money-dealers, against their own notes at four months, with a margin of twenty-five per cent. So long, therefore, as these "promises to pay" are renewed, the securities at their back cannot be pressed upon the market; but, as there is an end to all things, the contractors, who are, or who were, men of straw, may find their ill-gotten gains swept from them some fine morning. Let the moneyed men, many of whom are largely indebted to Europe, attempt to realize, and the contents of their portfolios will prove a "baseless fabric of a vision." The stupidity of the money-lenders has been most astounding; whilst they have had no confidence in subscribing to Federal loans, they have absolutely thus furnished the sinews of war. New York will suffer more than any other part of the North, as Wall-street endorses all the remaining sections. Gold and Exchange are again on the rise, and will soon touch figures that will entail heavy losses on persons remitting to your side of the Atlantic.

(From an occasional Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 30, 1862.

The news is again of the most thrilling character, but so buried in wild rumours, that it is hard to get at the exact truth.

What we do know is, that early this week the Confederates got into Pope's rear, turned his right flank, cut him off from all communication with Washington, and consequently his supplies, marched upon and captured Manassas, Centreville, Dranesville, Vienna, and Fairfax, and planted their pickets within six miles of Washington.

This portion of the army was said to be under Jackson, while another portion, under Lee, had passed

through Thoroughfare Gap, with a view of crossing the Potomac into Maryland.

That there has been an attempt to recover the important ground captured by the Confederates in the early part of the week, and to arrest them in their rapid march upon Maryland and the capital, appears quite certain, and that Manassas has been re-occupied by a portion of the Federal army, is probably correct; but that the Confederates have sustained any material reverse, I do not believe. On the contrary, they are now in as strong a position as their warmest friends could desire, and if the next forty-eight hours does not develop an important victory by their arms, I shall be much mistaken.

It is a singular fact that indirect contradiction to much, if not all, the bombastic accounts of the successes by Pope; the *Tribune*, under date of Washington 29th, one day later than the date of Pope's despatch, publishes the following:—"The enemy advanced their lines several miles last night (28th), driving our pickets before them. They burned the bridge at Fairfax, and took Falls Church (but a few miles from Alexandria), which they hold with cavalry and infantry this morning (29th).

"Jackson is in command, and an escaped prisoner reports that the General slept at Falls Church last night (28th).

"The rebels destroyed everything (millions of property), at Manassas.

"Burnside is removing the Government property from Aquia Creek, in anticipation of an attack.

"That portion of McClellan's army which joined Pope, is without supplies of any kind.

"Later.—All the evidence is accumulative as to the point of the advance of the rebel army in strength, and their purpose first to break every means of communication between the capital and Pope, then to march straight on the capital. Every bridge on the railway is destroyed—they hold every strategic point in the centre, and they are beyond all question within the mountains with their whole army."

To reconcile this entirely contradictory statement with that of Pope's "successes," is more than I am capable of doing, and I, therefore, give it as I find it. Either of to-day's steamers, if overhauled at Cape Race, will, probably, convey to you far more definite intelligence than we at present have.

The letter of Lord Russell, in reply to Mr. Seward, has not been very favourably received here, either by the press or public. The *Herald* speaks of it as "not the letter of an honest neutral, but of an enemy whose neutrality is the neutrality of compulsion." The *Times* winds up its article by saying, "the soul of honour is eaten out of the aristocratic classes in England," and other journals have each their respective flings. Indeed, not one has undertaken to speak favourably upon the letter.

Enlisting still drags heavily, despite the liberal inducements offered. In some three or four states there is a prospect of all the men being raised without a resort to drafting; but cords of money have been spent to obtain these men, as the credit of the State, in avoiding a draft, has been regarded as of more value than a few hundred thousands spent in buying the men up. The State of Maine, for instance, would always consider it an honour in after times to have it said that drafting was never found necessary; and yet, to my mind, this filling up of the ranks with *bought* men is less creditable to the State as would be the procuring of them by draft. They are certainly not voluntary enlistments, nor did patriotism induce them to take up arms, hence, I cannot see what real credit a state can claim that has filled its quota of troops with money—certainly no claim to patriotism.

The rivalry between the States is, nevertheless, great, and money is rolled out like water. In one State, however, there have been districts wherein the residents have refused to contribute a farthing towards the purchase of volunteers, but this has not caused them to escape being bled, for, in these cases, the dominant party (of course, Republican) in country or town, has held a meeting and voted to levy a direct tax upon every resident in proportion to his means! A resident with property valued at \$20,000 is assessed with a tax of \$100, and larger amounts in proportion. To be sure there is no law to warrant such a despotic proceeding, but Northerners seem to live now-a-days without law—and merely to be plucked as formerly and not to pluck. So far as the Government is concerned, it acts very strangely with regard to the draft. The original order of the War Department announced that it would commence in all the States on September 1st. Since then, however, the time has been extended in Maine, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, until the middle of the month, while to the other States this extension has been refused!

There is naturally very serious complaint at such manifest unfairness, for if one State is entitled to postpone, the others assuredly have the same right. The act, however, is like many others of the administration, past finding out.

In Indiana, too, the Governor has taken it upon himself to announce that any person conscientiously opposed to bearing arms, need not go to the war, providing said person shall pay an equivalent for exemption. In no other State is such a privilege allowed, and yet it is winked at in Indiana by the administration at Washington, although in direct violation of the original order of the War department!

We had another out-of-door War meeting on Wednesday, at which the usual amount of eloquence was expended. The result of the meeting, however, like those that have preceded it, will be nothing. Of course there were resolutions, and one admonished England, France, or any other Power, that an act of intervention on their part would be met by a declaration of war.

The appropriations of the last Congress, mainly for war purposes, have just been footed up, and are found to reach \$894,000,000. That Congress did not adjourn a moment too soon.

Gold, in consequence of the unfavourable news from the army, is up, while Government shares are flat.

(From another Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, August 30.

The same difficulty of getting any reliable information still prevails. All newspaper men are excluded from the Federal armies, and soldiers' correspondence forbidden. We manage, however, to obtain intelligence, although it is unfavourable to the Federal arms. The Confederates are now known to be across the Rappahannock in large force, and they now occupy Manassas, and nearly all the positions which they held, last winter previous to their evacuation. There has been considerable fighting throughout the week, with decided advantage to the Confederates. The latter have captured an immense amount of stores at Manassas, by valuation of United States officers, not less than \$500,000 worth, but supposed to be still more. As the position of the Union forces is not known, but it is very clear that the Confederates have got in their rear, cutting off their communications with Washington. The latest news now received announces that portions of the Confederates have reached Burke's station, a point only fourteen miles from Alexandria. This movement of the Confederates is excessively bold, and they are in peril, as the Union force are on both their flanks, and in their rear and front. They are almost surrounded by Federal armies, but the genius that has devised the boldness of this movement has probably fully estimated all the danger and the means of meeting it. We must, therefore, under the present position of the contending armies, have a very great battle within a few days.

The proximity of the Confederate forces to Washington has not caused the usual panic and alarm, because it is generally believed that they will make no attempt to take it, but it may be that the cry of "wolf" has been raised so often, that now, when the "wolf" has really come, it will carry off the sheep. A few days may decide many things.

From the West we have nothing of importance. Communication with Nashville and other points is entirely suspended, and we only hear occasionally. We know that military movements, *mainly offensive on the part of the Confederates*, are progressing, and we hear of nothing scarcely except Federal reverses. The most important of these was the surrender of an entire command under General Johnson at Gallatin. I am prepared to hear at any moment that Nashville has been reoccupied by the Confederates, and that Buell's army has been captured at Huntsville. I think the latter position is exceedingly critical.

The Federal forces are mainly under the command of Pope. McClellan's army has been broken up into various *corps*, and he is himself without any virtual command at this time. He was at Alexandria at the last accounts having been to Washington. Without actually displacing him, the Government has thus relieved him from his command. This has been done quietly, as the susceptibilities of the public might have been wounded by a bold announcement. Pope, who was the hero of an hour, has fallen into disgrace with the public.

PARIS, September 17.

It was on the Mediterranean that the French began to have steamships, and one of the few advantages which we reaped from the occupation of Algiers was that of some enterprising Marseilles people starting our first steam-packet companies. We afterwards competed suc-

cessfully with the English and the Austrian Lloyd for the steam navigation of the East. Our next step was the establishment of the fine steamships of the *Messageries Impériales* to Brazil; and I have heard some of the officers and administrators of your own Peninsula and Oriental Steamship Company frankly admit that these vessels could not be surpassed in any way; after an inspection, which these gentlemen had come to perform at Bordeaux by orders from their company. The Tampico, just arrived at St. Nazaire, from Mexico, is the pioneer of a new line; and I hope that so soon as peace is proclaimed in America, the first line of steamships between Europe and New Orleans will be established at a French port.

The news from Mexico is of little interest. The Government of Juárez seemed less inclined to a warlike policy, and the little French army was in the same position, safe from attack, and having no other work than to keep open its communications with the sea. But it seems that the *corps d'expédition* is to be larger than was expected. It is believed that General Forey's command will be reinforced to the amount of 60,000 men. That would be more than the requisite strength of a French army to occupy Mexico and avenge the reverse suffered at Puebla. One positive fact is the insertion in the *Moniteur* of an Imperial decree, giving to the general in command authority to grant commissions in the troops under him, up to the rank of major. It is further said that the Emperor's designs embrace a vast range, part of which is, of course, recognition of the Southern Confederacy, but another feature is the formation between North and South America of a Power essentially French in its organization. The number of troops sailed from Toulon was 19,000 men; from Cherbourg, 15,000. More troops have orders to embark within a short time, and added to those already in Martinique, or having sailed from there to Vera Cruz, and to the small *navy* at Orizaba, the total figure appears nearly double to that giving by *La Patrie*. That paper stated in its yesterday evening's issue, that the whole of General Forey's army would not number more than 30,000 men. My opinion is that the higher figure of 60,000 men is nearer to the truth.

Two North American ships, who tried to run the blockade of the Mexican ports, have been captured near Tampico by some of our cruisers. On the other hand, the Federals have seized a French merchant vessel, whose captain had not complied with some of Butler's arbitrary orders. Moreover, the French Government has ascertained that 30,000 muskets and a large sum of money had been received by Juárez from California, through the direct action of the Government at Washington. All these causes of complaint are not calculated to alter the Emperor's mind, which has been from the beginning in favour of the South.

The *Indépendance Belge*, a paper whose course on American affairs was always most despicable, had the following in its Paris correspondence of the 15th:—

"Conciliation would become possible, if on the other side of the Atlantic the heat of passions had begun to cool, as it has now done between Southern and Northern Americans in Paris. They begin to visit each other, to talk and argue coolly, and what is better, they begin to express common wishes that a useless and ruinous war should cease."

The *Indépendance Belge* just gives a false statement, as usual. There can be, and there is, but one feeling amongst the citizens of the Confederate States in Paris. If any North American has got honesty enough to blame and avowedly denounce Messrs. Lincoln, Seward, and Co., and is prepared to resist their tyranny to the full extent of his power, should the occasion present itself to him, then he may be entitled to a certain amount of respect, and looked upon as a subject of a foreign country who has not personally deserved any hostile feeling. But no supporter of Lincoln's policy has any chance of being treated kindly by a single Southerner, and any man who does not loathe the Butlers, Pops, Mitchells, Farragut, and *tutti quanti*, is considered an accomplice, and had better keep out of the way of the friends of their victims.

Another remarkable article on the American question has appeared in *La France*, from the pen of M. J. Cohen, under the head of "The part of the Western States in the American crisis." The writer, who so ably proved some time ago that the modern law of nations clearly entitled the Southern States to immediate recognition, and who remarks in his yesterday's article, "Nous avons démontré nous-mêmes que l'heure était venue de reconnaître la Confédération du Sud," has now for his object to inquire how both nations could find at home an influence strong enough to put an end to that calamitous war. He believes that the Western States could do so. Their origin, their manners, their opinions, their pursuits, their interests, are different from those of

New England and New York. Everybody can perceive at a glance that the West has nothing to gain by defending the egotistic interest of the Yankees, but that it has everything to lose. All those who are not ignorant of the way the questions of the navigation of the Rhine and the Danube have been settled can understand that it would be easier still to ensure the free navigation of the Mississippi. It is not enough that the West should protest, as it now does, against these unheard of taxes and unlawful conscription; they must take their own cause in hand, boldly set it apart from that of New England, offer their mediation between the North and the South, and settle the basis of an equitable arrangement; and if their voice in favour of peace is not listened to, they must loudly proclaim their neutrality.

"The Western States appear to us to have the important part to perform in the solution of the American crisis. If they hesitate the war will continue to be waged, and to bring more and more suffering on themselves and on the whole world. If, on the contrary, they understand their strength and know how to use it, they will render the greatest of services to themselves, to America, to Europe, to civilization."

"Such a solution of a crisis, hitherto without a parallel in the history of mankind, seems to us not only possible; but, having the fairest chance of success; it would suit especially those who, either rightly or wrongly, believe that an American question ought to be solved only by the agency of Americans."

Enfin, it is rumoured that recent despatches received in Paris from the English Cabinet show a far more ready tendency towards recognition. You have, doubtless, noticed that your grand paper, the *Times* itself, squarely states that England alone has, up to this time, prevented the Emperor's Government recognizing the Confederacy. Nobody could be found to deny that the succession of Southern victories since the battle of Fair Oaks have rendered almost impossible any further postponement, and I have no doubt that the formal step will be taken as soon as the Emperor returns from Biarritz.

There are no more Parisians in Paris, except the people whose pursuits do not allow them to leave, but, *en revanche*, there is plenty of foreigners. Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables" are entirely out now; half-a-dozen minor *plumitifs* have published answers to his book. Jules Janin is preparing a history of the French Revolution, which excites, before-hand, great curiosity. *La France* has politely begun a series of sketches of living great men, by M. Baudet's essay on Henry Temple, Lord Palmerston.

I would like to be enlightened on one point. I read in the papers, a few days ago,—“The Prince of Wales, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, with their suite, visited yesterday the battle-field of Waterloo.” And I saw a very interesting leader in your *Daily Telegraph* on the philosophical impressions that must have come to the mind of the future King of England in treading over that once bloody soil in company with the future amiable partner of his throne; but I read again, two days later:—

“We stated, through mistake, that the Prince of Wales had paid a visit recently to the battle-field and village of Waterloo. The Prince has not visited that spot.”

Now, I am puzzled to know whether the Prince has been there or not, and whether the talented editor of the *Telegraph* has discredited with such warmth on an event which has never taken place. If the Belgium papers are not smart enough to find it out, you English people ought surely to be capable to know whether the Prince of Wales has been to Waterloo, or not.

Garibaldi's condition is said to be slightly improved. The *Pungolo* of Milan says that “Twelve ladies, all young and very fair, have left Milan for Turin, in order to obtain permission to go to Spezzia and act as nurses to Garibaldi.” It appears that, after much hesitation, the Italian Government has decided on letting the ordinary courts of justice try the recent outbreak. That course leaves the door open to amnesty, even should a condemnation take place.

Marshal Count de Castellane is dead.

An interesting little feature of French national spirit took place last week in a village of Normandy, and it shows that our people have not lost the memory of some of our ancestors, who were the pioneers of Europe in discovering and settling numerous portions of North America. Pierre Belain, sieur d'Estambuc, planted the flag of France in the West Indies, in the beginning of the 17th century. A monument to his memory has been placed in the church of the village of Allouville, his native place, near Yvetot; and Baron de Lareinty, whose grandfather was with Belain, and who is the delegate of the West Indies to the Corps Législatif, has presided over a most interesting religious and patriotic ceremony, on the occasion. The

generosity of Mr. de Lareinty had provided for the expenses of the monument as well as of the *fête*. Such demonstrations not only show the strength of the ties between France and what provinces she still owns in America, but at the same time tighten between her people on both sides the Atlantic the bonds of friendship and common patriotic feeling.

THE LINCOLN GOVERNMENT.

(From the *Daily Telegraph*.)

Never, in the whole history of the American people, has their position been so hopelessly disastrous as it is at the present moment. We allude, of course, only to the North; but we make no exception in point of time. Brilliant in comparison was the prospect when a few statesmen first raised their voices against the illegal encroachment of Royal power within the bounds of the American colonies; when but a few more clear-headed, strong-souled patriots, banded together to withstand King George and all his might; when Washington sat down with a feigned army before Boston, waiting for the working of time as his trusted ally; when the young Republic braved the naval force of England, and asserted something like equality on the salt highway. At none of these epochs did the star of the Union shine with less power; for it was effulgent with the light of virtue, and it prevailed. At every period of the history of the republic, when it has been a conquering State, its leading men have coolly and bravely confronted the existing facts of the day; they have endeavoured to do their duty by clearly ascertaining the perils and forces which they had to encounter; and, thus instructed, they have mustered sufficient strength on their own side, have laid down an intelligent plan of action, and have won their way to their purpose at the close. It has happened, most usually, that at such periods of her history the American Union has been under the administration of those who belong to what was called the Democratic party, but which really represent the genius of the American people. For, by a peculiarity not unparalleled in other countries, the opposite section—that which was predisposed to centralising authority—was less American than foreign in its ideas; and it has been less American than foreign in the amount of misfortune which has habitually attended it. At the present day, however, almost as if blinded by some stern and chastising decree of Providence, the Democratic party, whether through bewilderment, delusion, or epidemic insanity—for almost any such notion is more probable than plain cowardice—has laid aside its wonted inside, and has committed at the calamitous policy adopted by Mr. Lincoln and his accomplices in Washington. These are the men who have destroyed the Union, not the “rebels” of the South. It is Seward, Lincoln, and their followers who have torn the Constitution to pieces, not Jefferson Davis and his coadjutors; for he remembered the Southern States simply desired to withdraw from the old federation, asking to take nothing with them, dictating no change, arresting no citizens, confiscating no property, and altering no fundamental statutes of the State by a direct breach of the law embodied in their text. These things have been done, not by the Secessionists, but by the official “Unionists.” We acquit them of all intentional high treason; every outrage which they have perpetrated upon the Federal compact was meant to promote their military success, by some oblique expedient, some trick, some dodge. Thus they have attempted to abolish the first guarantee of individual liberty by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, though they have not dared to carry it to its fullest extent, for they have released Charles Ingersoll rather than meet his writ in a court of law. They have altered the Constitution, partly in truckling to the Abolitionists, whose moral and material strength they desired to use for their military purposes. They have tampered with the laws of negro slavery for the same purpose, and to alarm the South if not to excite wholesale incendiarism. Reversing every principle of a democracy, they have concealed from their fellow-citizens all that they have been doing, their acts as well as their fears; and now, when absolute defeat has driven them back upon the metropolis, where they are hemmed in by the enemy, they are systematically endeavouring to deceive the whole country, in order that they and their faction may not be disturbed in a miserable occupation of office.

We will not stop to cull from the papers the detailed proofs of what we have just stated, respecting the deliberate and universal policy of deception; for our readers must be satisfied of the fact. The time-serving organs of the Government have hailed the partial fight of the 29th, the “second great battle of Bull Run,” as “the crowning Union victory of the war.” Even when the intelligence of the 30th had reached New York, we find them asserting “the prospect” to be “better and better.” “The result of Saturday's battle,” says one reporter, “should not be regarded as a defeat, as the contending parties held their respective positions on the battle-field at dark.” Even after the “cannonade had been heard at Washington,” there is the same insensate perseverance, with hints of splendid victories. At a meeting in Brooklyn, the Honourable Mr. B. Stanton undertook to tell the people “their duty, freely and without disguise,” and he boldly advocated two grand *coups d'état*. He advised, first, that “if slavery stood in their way,” they should “blot out the whole concern;” “drive the whole thing into the Gulf of Mexico or Central America;” and secondly, that, if necessary, they should “put half the people into Fort Lafayette to save the ‘country.’” On the strength of such energetic courses, he announced that if the President could only have 50,000 additional troops, with the *matériel* that he already had, they would be able to take Richmond in “fifty days,” or the men would deserve to be court-martialed, and have their names stricken from the army roll. Such is the language employed, not exceptionally by a wild talker here and there, but generally by the class of men who are active in promoting the interests and objects of the Government. That all of them, from President Lincoln downwards, honestly desire to triumph, there cannot be the slightest doubt; that they are exerting themselves in a manner which acquits them of indifference, indolence, or even “indecision,” in the vulgar sense of the word, no one can suspect—except a host of their deceived and disappointed countrymen. The amount of their honest zeal and earnest endeavour is, by a curious fate, only additional evidence to the political dishonesty, their personal incompetency, and their involuntary treason. They—representatives of a factions minority, charged with great national duties—have tried to evade the chastisement destined for failure by being all things to all men; and thus, in the very presence of civil war, they have pampered and encouraged faction, till each separate clique is reviling and threatening it

as if it were a perverse and idle slave; the Executive, degraded when most it should have been exalted, and the Union mocked by moral anarchy among its professed champions. To accept duties so onerous and momentous, at the very crisis, as they say themselves, of a nation's life, without possessing the personal capacity to fulfil those duties, is a form of treason as fatal as it is burlesque, since it sacrifices the State to the egotism of incompetency. And that they are incompetent they have themselves recorded in those characters of blood and fire which relate their country's ruin. They now proclaim, as the excuse for failure, that they are short of food supplies, of arms, of men—of all the essentials of war.

Have they not had the means? Of what are the American citizens made, that the question we have just asked is not thundered forth from every city that remains to the Union? They are not like Englishmen—or French—or Italians. Never has there been a Government which has had, within two years, such enormous funds as those entrusted to Mr. Lincoln and his colleagues; and what has been done with all the money? It was given them to muster, equip, and feed the soldiers; but the soldiers, we are told, are unarmed and starving. When were such immense armies mustered? With reinforcements, they are boasting that they shall have 100,000 men to defend Washington; where are all the rest? Killed, or captured, or deserted? Have the materials of war been handed over to the enemy, and the men to death or chance? Somewhere there has been such waste that the world has never yet seen or dreamed of; but is the object of the sacrifice attained? Is even Washington preserved for the Union? No; its Government sits trembling in the great buildings which adorn the High-street of that gigantic village, listening to the guns of "rebels" as they draw nearer, and waiting to receive the fearful news that "Stonewall" Jackson has come! Are we anticipating too fast? Certainly our calculations are not more rapid than the events of the last fortnight, or the forebodings of the Americans themselves; for at one of their most recent meetings, a loudly-applauded orator declared that if the enemy should cross the Potomac, "there was another river that rebellion would never cross—it would never send its hordes over the Susquehanna." Not long since, it was the Rapidan that was "impenetrable;" then "the Rappahannock had been secured;" next, Pope had retired to defend the Potomac; and now, the Susquehanna is added to the list of these daily falsified prophecies. It is not we who say it, but the members of that party which clings to the possession of "power," though conscious of its own impotency, it cajoles the citizens of the republic into being ruined rather than mortify a wretched faction by the direct exercise of its own common sense.

GENERAL BUTLER'S METHOD OF DISARMING THE PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

The *National Advocate* (New Orleans) contains the following general order, by which it will be seen General Butler offers considerable rewards to servants who may betray their masters; for certainly he does not expect to get any information from citizens:—

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, August 16, 1862.

General Order No. 60.

Ordered, That after Tuesday, 19th inst., there be paid for information, leading to the discovery of weapons not held under a written permit from the United States' authorities, but retained and concealed by the keepers thereof, the sums following:—

For each serviceable Gun, Musket, and Rifle ..	\$10
" Revolver	7
" Pistol	5
" Sabre or Officer's Sword	5
" Dirk Dagger	3
" Bowie Knife, Sword Can	3

Said arms to be confiscated, and the keeper so concealing them to be punished by imprisonment.

This crime being an overt act of rebellion against the authority of the United States, whether by a citizen or an alien, works a forfeiture of the property of the offender, and, therefore, every slave giving information that shall discover the concealed arms of his or her master shall be held to be emancipated.

II.—As the United States' authorities have disarmed the inhabitants of the parish of Orleans, and as some fearful citizens seem to think it necessary that they should have arms to protect themselves from violence, it is ordered,

That hereafter the offences of robbery by violence or aggravated assault that ought to be repelled by the use of deadly weapons, burglaries, rapes, and murders, whether committed by blacks or whites, will be, on conviction, punished by death.

By order of Major-General Butler.

R. S. DAVIS, Captain and A. A. A. G.

THE COTTON SUPPLY.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

The following letter was addressed by the Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, to C. G. Baylor, Esq.:—

Confederate States of America,
Department of State, Richmond, Va., May, 16.

Sir,—In answer to your communication of this morning, I have the honour to state that this Government has no desire to destroy any cotton belonging to neutrals, but, on the contrary, is willing to extend to it full protection while in its power, provided the like protection can be made effective when the cotton may fall into the possession of the enemy. The past conduct of the Government of the United States, and the passive attitude of neutral nations, whose rights have been violated by the United States, have satisfied us that if cotton belonging to neutrals be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy it will be seized and appropriated by them, regardless of neutral rights, and that neutral powers will fail to afford any protection to the rights of their subjects when thus violated.

If, however, as you suggest any official assurance shall be formally communicated by the Government of any neutral nation, to this nation, of a nature to satisfy us, that cotton belonging to the subjects of such neutral nations shall be effectually protected against seizure and appropriation by the enemy, if allowed to fall into his possession, this Government will have no hesitation in issuing instructions, to refrain from

the destruction of such cotton, even when exposed to seizure by the enemy. I am, your obedient servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN,
Secretary of State.

To C. G. Baylor, Esq.

Taken in all its bearings, this is perhaps the most important State paper which has yet emanated from the Department of Foreign Affairs, and has, we understand, been duly communicated to the diplomatic corps at Washington, and ere this is fully known in Europe. We propose to outline the more important features of this decision of our Cabinet as they involve the political, commercial, and financial interests of the Confederate Government and the Southern people.

The position of Mr. Benjamin is in exact accordance with the spirit of the Paris treaty of 1856, so far as the commercial rights of neutrals are concerned. Mr. Cobden, in his late communication to the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, England, has, as our readers are aware, fully elaborated this subject. Mr. Benjamin's letter commits the Confederate Government to the great principle of commercial freedom and civilization laid down at Paris, and thus takes the Southern question out of the narrow and limited position which it has heretofore occupied in Europe. By doing so, our Secretary of State has very wisely given the great Powers a basis of intervention, which enables them to act, not upon an American issue, but in the interest of all nations. That the action will be speedy and decisive, we do not for a moment doubt. The question of recognition and armed intervention is no longer an American question.

As the foremost champion of the commercial rights of neutrals during war, we make allies of England, France, Spain, Prussia, Belgium, and Holland, and the other manufacturing and commercial States, as against the blind hate and inordinate greed of the mobocratic North. Butler has most opportunely raised the issue for us in a manner very offensive to foreign nations, and the protest of the British, French, and Greek consuls at New Orleans will serve to accelerate the action of the great Powers. The cotton question has reached its crisis abroad. Seward's silly boast that he would furnish a cotton supply by conquest, has been dissipated by the action of our people in the Mississippi valley. The South now stands before the world with her capacity for political independence again gloriously vindicated on the battle-field before Richmond, and antagonizes the commercial barbarism of the North with open ports, free trade, and the commercial rights of neutrals.

Commercially, Mr. Benjamin's letter is of the first consequence to our people. The position of our Government is practically an insurance of the crop against war risk, and secures thereby an immediate convertibility of the staple. Indeed, large quantities of cotton have already changed hands on this basis, and prices are rapidly advancing. With the sale of the crop for neutral account for future delivery, the life blood of prosperity is again poured along the various channels of future trade and industry. The sale of the cotton crop enables all parties to meet their obligations, strengthens private and public credit, and stimulates enterprise.

Nor are the financial consequences the least important part of the conversion of the crop. The cotton must be paid for, and no man at all acquainted with the necessities of England and France but must realize the significant fact that London and Paris cannot possibly pay for our cotton crop in specie. It must be paid for, therefore, to an enormous amount, in goods. This necessity involves open ports as a consequence; because, without unrestricted imports and exports, the heavy debit of Europe cannot be cancelled. The exchange transactions involved in this transfer of the cotton crop for neutral account, will, as a matter of course, be made independently of New York. In fact, a new financial channel, deep and broad, is cut as it were at one blow. The basis of the financial and commercial independence of the Confederate States is securely laid if our own merchants will do their duty.—Direct importation and exportation should follow the flow and channel of direct exchanges.

CIVIL LIBERTY IN AMERICA.

The *Times'* New York correspondent, under date of September 1, observes:—

While this war of blood is raging in the South and the South-West, and in most of the Border States, it is not unprofitable to turn from the horrors of the battlefield to contemplate that other war, of a different description, which is raging through the North—a war of the Government struggling for its existence, and which it not only wages against the South, but against its own citizens and every principle of liberty on which the Republic was based. The Government, weak one day, and strong the next, sees "treason" everywhere, and runs blindly against it to crush it if possible, and, if not, to punish it. Jestling Pilate asked what was "Truth?" The Northern people, who are in no jesting mood, nor likely to be for many years, are seriously asking their Government what is "Treason?" Every day the offence increases, yet none of the smart lawyers in the Cabinet seem to be able to define it. It is treason to discourage enlistments. It is treason in a journeyman painter to say that Mr. Lincoln is a "humbug," but it is not treason in a highly accomplished orator and profound thinker to say that the President is a "tortoise"—a man without a backbone, and utterly incompetent. It is treason to say that Stonewall Jackson is a far better general than Pope or Halleck. It is treason to say that the Government is corrupt, and the public debt oppressive. It is treason to say that the *habeas corpus* ought not to be suspended. But it is not treason to say that "the Union is a league with death and a covenant with Hell;" that slavery ought to be abolished in South Carolina, without the consent of the people of that State; and that union, merely for the sake of union, is preferable to liberty of speech and action—preferable to unobtainableness, preferable to prosperity, public and private, preferable to every social blessing for which men have been accustomed to strive since the dawn of civilization. But among all the charges of treason upon which people have been lately torn from their homes and business and consigned to the horrors of police dungeons, or the more dignified miseries of Forts Lafayette or Warren, by the authority of the Government, the one upon which a working mechanic named Marx was arrested in this city last Saturday is the most surprising. If the Society of Friends in England is not aroused to sufficient activity to memorialize the Government for his release, or to send a deputation to Washington to remonstrate with Mr. Lincoln, all that can be said is that peace in Russia and peace in America are not equally dear to the followers of George Fox, or the believers in John Bright. Marx was employed in a shot and shell manufactory, and being, of course, quite familiar with the deadly nature of the articles he compounded and constructed, exclaimed to a comrade as he saw a squad of line fellows, in their new uniforms, marching down Broadway, the drums beating, the star-spangled banner floating proudly over their heads, &c., and the admiring

women and little boys surveying the 'brave spectacle,' "There goes another lot of d— fools to be shot." He was overheard by a policeman, arrested for treason, carried before the Provost Marshal, and by that awful functionary detained in prison till Mr. Stanton or Mr. Seward shall decide his future fate. Marx scorned to deny his words, but added, more in explanation than in vindication, that he only spoke the common opinion of the shop. Bating the oath, which Mr. Bright would probably not employ, there was nothing in the poor workman's opinion, backed as it was by his professional experience, that that eminent statesman would not have approved, and which he did not frequently express when his country was engaged in the Russian war. It is to be hoped, if this little incident reach his ears, and if his views upon war, the military art, and the construction of shot and shell remain unchanged, that he will admit that it is safer to say in England that a soldier and profane recruit is a fool than to say so either with or without a profane past participate in America.

But the President only punishes his political adversaries. His friends are allowed to say what they please. Besides, he avows himself to be both a Disunionist and a revolutionist, and cannot well punish his friends for agreeing with him. The right of any State to hold slaves is part of the Union and the Constitution, which Mr. Lincoln has sworn to uphold. Were a majority of the people of New York and Pennsylvania, legally convened for the purpose, to decree that slavery should be re-established in those States, Mr. Lincoln would have no right to interpose or object, but would be bound by his oath to respect the decision and enforce it. But in his letter to Mr. Horace Greeley, he says: "If I could save the Union by destroying the rights of all the States, I would do it; and if I could save it by destroying the rights of some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that." Had a Democratic leader made such a declaration with respect to the undoubted rights of any Northern State, or declared that for the sake of the Union he would extend slavery as readily as he would abolish it, there can be little doubt that he would not be allowed a second opportunity to say or write such "treason," but that he would be safely caged in Fort Lafayette at a day's notice, to consort with hundreds of similar unfortunates who pine in that prison on charges of which they do not know the nature, which may be utterly unfounded, or which have been preferred against them in secret by persons whose names they are not permitted to discover.

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE.

The following is General Lee's order issued immediately after the Chickahominy battles:—

(Order No. 75.)

Richmond, July 9.

On Thursday, June 26, the powerful and thoroughly equipped army of the enemy was entrenched in works, vast in extent and most formidable in character, within sight of our capital. To-day, the remains of that confident and threatening host lie on the banks of the James River, thirty miles from Richmond, seeking to recover, under the protection of his gunboats from the effects of disastrous defeats. The battle, beginning on the afternoon of June 26, above Mechanicsville, continued until the night of July 1, with only such intervals as were necessary to pursue and overtake the flying foe. His strong entrenchments and obstinate resistance were overcome, and our army swept resistlessly down the north side of the Chickahominy, until it reached the rear of the enemy, and broke his communication with the York River, capturing or causing the destruction of many valuable stores, and by the decisive battle of Friday forcing the enemy from his line of powerful fortifications on the south side of the Chickahominy, and driving him to a precipitate retreat. Our victorious army pursued as rapidly as the obstructions placed by the enemy in his rear would permit, three times overtaking his flying column, and as often driving him with slaughter from the field, leaving his numerous dead and wounded in our hands in every conflict. The immediate fruits of our success are the relief of Richmond from a state of siege, the rout of the great army that so long menaced its safety, many thousand prisoners, including officers of high rank, the capture or destruction of stores to the value of millions, and the acquisition of thousands of arms, and fifty-one pieces of superior artillery. The service rendered to the country in this short but eventful period can scarcely be estimated, and the General commanding cannot adequately express his admiration of the courage, endurance, and soldierly conduct of the officers and men engaged. Those brilliant results have cost us many brave men; but, while we mourn the loss of our gallant dead, let us not forget that they died in defence of their country's freedom, and have linked their memory with an event that will live for ever in the hearts of a grateful people. Soldiers, your country will thank you for the heroic conduct worthy of men engaged in a cause so just and sacred, and deserving a nation's gratitude and praise.

R. H. CHILTON, A.A.G.

By command of General Lee.

RESISTING THE DRAFT.

Father Purcell, R. C. priest in Cincinnati, has published a letter to his flock, in which, after proving them for threatening to resist the draft, he promises them the destruction of England, and the conquest of Canada as rewards for enlisting:—

We heard it said, that some Irish citizens in the interior of the State, misled by cunning politicians and other persons, have declared that they would resist the draft. We do not believe it. There must be some mistake in this. We are engaged in a war which may be said to be an Irish war—because it is a war of slaveholders against white labour. It is an Irish war, because it is every day reducing the power of England, destroying her trade, filling her cities with paupers, and threatening her with irreparable ruin.

We have captured already her best iron-built mercantile navy, and she dare not declare war. The capture of Canada will soon follow—it must follow as a necessity, and England can do nothing. And it is said that Irishmen will oppose a draft to save our country from destruction, and put us under the feet of the British and cotton aristocracy! Are you better than other men, that you assume the right to oppose the draft? Are you better than the American fathers and mothers and the Irish fathers and mothers whose brave sons have fallen on the battle-field in defence of your rights? When you talk of resisting the draft, if it should come, you make yourself not only ridiculous but criminal; and it is to save my Catholic brethren from being placed in such a very false position that this article has been written. It refers, fortunately, to very few, but it ought to be applicable to no one.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1862.

The End of the Campaign in Virginia.

On the 2nd of the present month the contending armies in Virginia were in the same positions they occupied before the Federal hosts went forward to capture the Confederate capital. The invasion of Virginia is at an end, and one great act of the drama is complete. The battle that was fought on the 30th of August, though in itself all important, was only a part of the Confederate plan of campaign, which has been carried out with unswerving resolution, and with the most signal success. Now that we know the results of the operations of the Southern army we can understand and appreciate the strategy of its commanders.

In order to comprehend the three weeks' operations which have resulted in forcing the Federal armies to shelter themselves behind the fortifications of Washington, we must glance at the movements that have taken place since the seven days' battle on the Chickahominy. When the telegraph wires informed us that M'Clellan's position on the banks of the James River was good for defence, but bad for advance or retreat, we had a very correct view of the state of affairs. M'Clellan could not advance, he could not retreat without encountering a formidable opposition, and yet every day that he remained in the peninsula his forces were weakened by disease, and demoralized by inactivity. Meantime, the Federals endeavoured to make a diversion in favour of the Army of the Potomac by the movements of the army under the command of General Pope, but this attempt signally failed, for the forces under Generals Jackson and Ewell were able to keep Pope's army in check. At length, when General Halleck assumed the office of Commander-in-Chief of the United States' armies, it was determined that the forces under General M'Clellan should evacuate the peninsula. Instead of opposing or harassing the Federal retreat, the Confederate commanders directed their attention against the so-called Army of Virginia. Their object was to defeat Pope before the junction with M'Clellan could be effected, and this object has been attained. Whilst the Federal forces were divided, the Confederate forces, being disengaged from their watching M'Clellan's army, were massed against General Pope. The last-named general, after sustaining a partial defeat at Cedar Mountain, was pressed by the enemy, and took up a position on the bank of the Rappahannock, calculating, no doubt, upon the Confederate forces being partially engaged in following the retreating army of M'Clellan. General Pope anticipated being joined by M'Clellan's army at Aquia Creek, and this junction was looked upon as so certain, that it was semi-officially announced in Washington that as soon as the two armies were united General Halleck would take the command. But whilst the bulk of M'Clellan's army was being embarked at Yorktown, Pope was hard pressed, and finally established himself at Warrenton, extending his right wing as far as Manassas, so that it might be ready to co-operate with M'Clellan, who, since the abandonment of

the position on the Rappahannock, was to land at Alexandria, instead of Aquia Creek. At Warrenton, General Pope concentrated his forces, strongly fortified himself from any attack on his front, kept a careful look-out in that direction, and announced that the Confederates had disappeared. He did not contemplate any danger in his rear, though the successful cavalry exploit of General Stuart, which resulted in the capture of his personal baggage, might well have warned him to be unusually vigilant against surprise. Whilst he was resting at Warrenton the Confederate army passed to his rear, and this was done so secretly, that the first intimation Pope had of it was finding his communication with Washington cut off. On August 26 the Federals were driven from Manassas, and the Federal stores captured by a force under General Jackson, which had been detached from the main body of the Federal army, and had marched without any other impedimenta than the indispensable ammunition and food. This march of General Jackson is one of the most daring feats in the history of war; not daring in the sense that he encountered any foolhardy risk of being defeated, but in the boldness of its conception. When Manassas was taken, it was supposed that the attacking force was a mere flying column, and a Federal corps was despatched to drive it back. General Pope, however, seems to have lighted on the truth, and acting on his inspiration or information, he judiciously resolved to leave Warrenton, and, if possible, come up with General Jackson before he could be reinforced by the main body of the Confederate army. General Pope divided his army into three parts, and on the 28th of August met his enemy, and some skirmishing ensued. The next day General Pope attacked the force under General Jackson. The Federal commander was veracious when he wrote in his despatch that the Confederates stood on the defensive. Pope knew well how much depended upon the success of his assault; it was renewed again and again, until, according to his own confession, 8000 of his troops had fallen in the deadly conflict, and yet when night closed in the Confederates were still in his front. They had fallen back during the fight for two miles, and had regained half their ground before it was over. On the eve of that day's fighting, or early the next morning, General Pope claimed a victory. He admitted his own troops were too exhausted to follow up the advantage he had gained; but he was little aware that the battle of the 29th was only the prelude of a greater and decisive battle that was to take place on the 30th, or he would never have ventured on the statement that the Confederates were retreating to the mountains, and he had despatched a corps of his army in pursuit. On the night of the 29th, or, it may be, at the early morning of the 30th, both the contending armies were reinforced. General Pope was joined by Generals Heintzelmann and Porter, and General Lee had come up to the support of General Jackson. The Federal commander was probably unconscious that, instead of a division, the main body of the Confederate army was in his front; and the fresh forces under Heintzelmann and Porter assaulted the Confederate lines, were repulsed by infantry, and as they retired were literally mowed down by Confederate artillery. Generals McDowell and Sigel brought up their divisions to support the Federal centre. McDowell's forces were the first to retreat, while those under the command of General Sigel displayed greater resolution and endurance. The second battle of Bull Run was a hotly contested combat; but at 5 o'clock in the afternoon General Pope had brought up all his reserves, and as he could no longer maintain his ground, had to give the order for retreat. The retrograde movement on Centreville, though somewhat protected by that portion of the Federal forces which constituted the right wing, was a disastrous rout, the road being blocked up with infantry, cavalry, and waggons, in inextricable confusion. The dead, the dying, and the wounded, were left upon the field. What the losses were on that day we have no means of estimating, but we may conclude that they were very great from the ominous

silence of the Federal commander. All we are told about this part of the affair is, that some days later "Alexandria was filled with the dead and the dying."

We do not pretend to offer any criticisms upon a battle so vast in its proportions and so momentous in its consequences, until we are furnished with reliable information as to its details; but judging from the facts before us, we think that the Federal commander does not deserve the censures that have been passed upon his conduct by the New York press, and that, if he is to be condemned for allowing the Confederate army to pass secretly to his rear, he did his best on the day of the battle. Nor do we think that General M'Clellan is to be blamed for not sending forward reinforcements. The remnant of the Army of the Potomac, demoralized by defeat and retreat, weakened by sickness, and probably lacking many necessary supplies, was not in a fit state to be launched against a victorious foe. It was not a strong, well-equipped army that the Confederates allowed to retreat unmolested from the Peninsula. And even if M'Clellan had regiments ready for immediate service, it must be remembered that at Alexandria he occupied an outpost of the defences of Washington, and he was bound to think of the safety of the capital; but we shall probably find that, even if he had the will, General M'Clellan had not the means of aiding General Pope in the hour of need.

The results of this great battle, as far as the Federal occupation of Virginia is concerned, may be very briefly summed up. General Pope, who had been joined at Centreville by General Banks, found that position untenable, and retreated behind the fortifications of Washington. General Buraside evacuated Fredericksburg, retired to Aquia Creek, then evacuated Aquia Creek, and also retired behind the fortifications of the Federal capital. At length, a junction of the five Northern armies was effected, but in a place and manner most dispiriting and disastrous to the Federals.

Besides their loss in men, the Federals have lost enormously in *matériel* of war; according to their own accounts, the Confederate captures have been of immense value, and to these must be added the quantities of stores and ammunition destroyed at the various places which they have evacuated.

The immediate result, then, of the battle of August 30 was the retreat of the Federal armies from Virginia, and we may say of the entire Federal forces, for even the gunboat fleet under Captain Wilks, after destroying a few buildings in the neighbourhood of City Point, left the James River and proceeded up the Potomac.

The Northern accounts say that the Confederate forces have invaded Maryland; the word "invaded" is surely out of place, for the Southern army has been received with demonstrations of hearty welcome by the citizens of that State. The Confederates have occupied Frederick City, and are advancing to Hagerstown. They have cut off the Federal communication with Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg. We will not presume to divine the future movements of the Confederates, but if, as reported in the North, they intend to carry the war into Pennsylvania, their progress is not likely to be checked by the volunteer regiments raised by the Governor of that State; and in Pennsylvania the Confederate forces will be able to do serious damage. If they should get to Harrisburg, they will have the command of the line of railroad that communicates with the Western States, of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, and of the Northern Central Railroad, and be able to cut off the supplies, both of men and food; or, by moving in a westerly direction towards the mountains, they may be able to destroy the railroad communication with the West, by blowing up the tunnels; or, if they should proceed eastward in Pennsylvania and get to Philadelphia, they could cut off the water communication of that city with Schuylkill, and completely paralyze its commerce. These may be called speculations upon possibilities; our object in suggesting them is to show that the prospect of the invasion of Pennsylvania justly makes the North anxious; and if the Confederates deter-

mine upon a war of aggression they may be able to inflict incalculable injury upon the foe.

In Kentucky the Federals have been defeated at every point. The Legislature of that State has retreated to Louisville, and even that place is not considered secure, for we hear of preparations being made for leaving it. General Buell has ordered the evacuation of Nashville, and is himself at Chattanooga, daily expecting to be attacked. The Federal dominion in Missouri is only co-extensive with the ground occupied by Federal troops. At St. Louis, the Provost-Marshal has closed the Old Merchants' Exchange, because of the disloyalty of the members. In short, it must now be evident to the North that its hold on the Border States is only that of military tenure. At New Orleans General Butler is preparing to defend himself against a threatened attack by the Confederate forces under Generals Breckinridge and Van Dorn.

Such is the aspect of the war, and it has caused the greatest excitement throughout the Northern States. The crisis in the North can only be met by unanimity, but instead of union, there is nothing but discord. Some blame the Cabinet, others the generals; and Mr. Lincoln finds it difficult to maintain his authority. Peace may be far off, but it is not impossible the continuation of the contest may involve the overthrow of the present Administration, if not the dissolution of the present United States.

"The Fortune of War."

THE abuse of words is in few instances more glaring than in the current application of this much repeated phrase. That war is full of strange vicissitudes, that the bravest may fail, and that failure implies not necessarily crime, is as true of war as it is of peaceful life, and so far the usual acceptation of the phrase is correct. But when it is made to signify, as it too often does, that war is simply a game of chance, in which generalship and brute force give an advantage, though no certainty of success, to the player, we must insist upon a higher conception of the terrible scourge with which Providence, in His wisdom, has in all ages afflicted mankind. We do not mean alone that the Ruler of our destinies directs the issues of war as He does all things, for no man above an atheist would care to deny this. In human parlance, the ordinary conception of the "fortune of war," to which we refer, holds good with ordinary wars. Where national contests, not affecting the national life, are voided by arms by each nation's trained and professional champions, the issue seems to man's narrow-sighted vision a question of generalship and brute force, largely blended with hazard. Nor can it be asserted that in such contests the right always succeeds and the wrong succumbs, no more than in individual life the good always prosper and the wicked fail. In national as in individual undertakings it would be a loose morality which accepted success as a sufficient plea of justification; but where nations are arrayed against each other, man against man, woman against woman, where a whole people becomes an army, and a whole country a camp, it does appear to us that the appeal to the Supreme Tribunal is more solemn, the decision more direct, and, in other words, that we obtain a nearer glimpse of the workings of Divine Justice.

Let us not be misunderstood. In remote ages the gage of battle was the last and approved resort of justice between individuals, as still with us between nations. Though we moderns denounce the practice as barbarous, we do not deny that a devout religious sentiment gave rise to and sanctioned it. He that was thrice armed with a just quarrel felt himself under a special protection, and his antagonist's arm was unnerved by the thought that a higher Power than the man before him was his adversary. Something analogous seems to us to be the position of a nation suddenly called upon to defend, not merely a point of honour or pride, but its very life. The professional soldier will fight

equally well for any, or even without, cause; but the man torn from his home and family, and peaceful pursuits, needs the impulse of a stern sense of duty and a deep conviction to convert him suddenly into the hero of a battle-field. A nation can scarcely be wrong of which every member is instantaneously animated and actuated by the same impulse; for error, however fanatically clung to, has not the same potency upon the human mind as truth. Such a nation would not only be unanimous, brave, devoted, and persevering, but it would instinctively discern and select its highest individual intelligences, and assign to them their proper places among its leaders. As no one requires to be deceived, truth would stamp with dignity and energy the conduct of such a nation. It would be patient in adversity and temperate in prosperity, and, therefore, it would triumph. Study, on the other hand, the interior organization of a nation engaged in an enterprise which either it knows to be wrong, or in which it errs unconsciously. If it is unanimous, it is so only in appearance, because, since error affects variously various minds and truth alone is uniform in its action, that unanimity can arise only from a temporary union of widely differing interests, motives, or passions—a union which can withstand the test of neither adverse nor prosperous fortune. In such a nation there would first be indecision of purpose, then some party or faction more violent and obstinate in error than the rest would gain the mastery, and would become, at first from distrust of the others, and afterwards from the necessity of self-preservation, a tyrant over the whole. Party interests, not the instinct of the nation, would dictate the choice of leaders and direct the public policy. Falsehood and intrigue are always the natural adjuncts of tyranny, and these would poison every fibre of the body politic. Such a nation could not permanently succeed, and must, sooner or later, learn its error from the disastrous consequences it has entailed.

We have roughly, but we think not unfairly, sketched the two nations now involved in deadly strife on the other side of the Atlantic. One of them in entering upon that strife invoked the right of might; the other humbly relied upon the Lord of Hosts. The one made its victories the theme of self-glorious exultation, and the occasion for cruel resolves; the other received its first great success on bended knees, and never since forgot to whom it owed its thanks. Shall we be accused of irreverence if we say that God has judged between the two nations, and that right, not might, has triumphed?

A Long War.

SUCH is now the relative position of the American belligerents that it would scarcely excite a feeling of surprise in this country were the next steamer to bring us the intelligence that Washington had been evacuated, or that a Confederate army had made its triumphant entry into Baltimore amid the waving of a thousand Secession flags drawn from the hiding-places of many a long expecting household. Would this end the war? We believe not. It is, on the contrary, our firm conviction that the northward march of the Confederate armies would have upon the mind and temper of the Northern people precisely the effect which the opponents of recognition ascribe to foreign intervention in any form whatever.

We have often shown that the opponents of recognition are wrong, that the moral influence of Europe is still potent to end this war without resorting to armed compulsion, and that the exertion of this moral influence could not and would not be regarded by the North as threatening or endangering its own independence. Very different is it when actual invasion of their soil by the dreaded "rebels" shall make the war in the eye of every Northern man one of self-defence. In vain that the South understands its own interests and objects too well to dream of conquest, and limits its most sanguine ambition to the deliverance of Maryland and Mis-

souri. Strategic necessity would compel its generals to the temporary occupation of places beyond the confines of these States. In vain that the first measure consequent upon such occupation would assuredly be a sincere disclaimer of any desire of conquest, or attempt at permanent subjugation. In vain that the discipline of the Southern armies, so exemplary in the trials of adversity, would not fail in the hour of triumph on an enemy's soil. The miserable faction which calls itself the Government of the United States, and which sees in peace its certain overthrow, would improve the occasion to secure for itself a new lease of power. The press, a veteran in the warfare of falsehood and slander, now that it could no longer invent victories, would invent atrocities ascribed to the conqueror, for the belief of which the Northern mind is only too well prepared by thirty years of persistent misrepresentation, by the animosity of a ferocious war, and still more by the conscious fear of retributive justice. Those men of the North who recently showed symptoms of summoning up the courage they so lamentably lacked in earlier periods—these *Girondists* of the revolution through which the North, not the South, is passing—would be silenced, as were their prototypes in the tragedy of 1793. Let it not be said that means and men would then fail the North. The French Republic was never so formidable an antagonist than when the Place de la Concorde flowed with the best blood of the land. We repeat, that in no conceivable emergency will the South drive the Northern people to a war of self-defence. But the Northern people will so regard it, and months, perhaps years, of bloodshed will be needed to undeceive them. While the delusion lasts they will fight like Anglo-Saxons, for the genuine American element will then, and only then, be roused, and the men who shirked the conscription which was to send them to the slaughter-pens of a foreign country will need no coercion when they believe themselves to be defending their homesteads, wives, and little ones.

We, therefore, unlike most of our contemporaries, look forward to a long war—a war, in fact, which has no other period to its duration than the patience of the European Powers, for the resources of the combatants will not be exhausted sooner. As for the present we shall probably stand almost alone in this opinion, we may remind our readers that amid the vicissitudes which have marked the war during our as yet brief existence, we have never ventured upon rash predictions; we have never overestimated or underrated the strength or prospects of success of either of the contending parties, and we have never misled any one in regard to their relative positions. As we have endeavoured to allay causeless alarms, so would we now prevent unfounded hopes. The conquest of the North by the South is as impossible as the conquest of the South by the North. Such a conquest we *know* the South will not attempt. So soon as it has secured the freedom of Maryland and Missouri, it will pause, though it were in the high tide of triumphant fortune. But the motive for this pause the North will not soon learn to understand. Wherever the Confederate armies will refrain from advancing, there the North will consider them as repulsed. The Susquehanna, instead of the Potomac, may separate the rival hosts, but the war will still go on—on a lesser scale, perhaps, but with not less injury to the world's prosperity. The North, wedded to its delusions, firmly believes that it has not yet tried its last weapon, the most formidable of all. It, or rather the mad faction to whom it has blindly entrusted its destinies, will next proclaim the emancipation of the slaves. The greatest trial, then, according to European ideas, still awaits the South. She is prepared for it, and confronts it with the same serene confidence in the issue with which she did battle for her political life. This is the last proof she has to give, and she is ready to give it, that she is not the criminal before God and man which her traducers for a generation back have represented her. Instead of the accursed persecutor of an inferior race she will appear before the world as its truest benefactor; and as her white sons and

daughters have immolated themselves in her defence, so her black children, of a younger intellectual growth, will trustingly cling to her for protection from false friends, and no parricidal hand will be raised against the common mother.

A long war! To mankind, wearied and sickened with this horrible tragedy, these are sad words. They are sad to the South, to which every battle costs what is dearer than treasure—the youths on whom rest the promises of the future. But are they not sadder still to the North, to which the future holds out no promises, to which even victory itself can no longer bring the hoped-for success? Are they not sad, also, to Lancashire, which is no actor in this blood-drenched stage, and cannot even intoxicate itself with its maddening excitement. To the South alone the bitter cup is not without sweetening compensations. The South alone has heretofore gained by the war, the South alone has yet to gain by it. By the war the South has learned much, and more than it has learned it has taught its despisers. There are still those who prefer to believe in the miraculous transformation of a people divided between luxurious drones and marauding vagabonds into a nation of heroic race, rather than confess that their life-long opinions were prejudices; but there are none who now refuse to the much calumniated people their tribute of admiration for qualities which, whether innate or acquired, entitle the possessors to the world's esteem and to the favour of the Ruler of all. The South is practically recognized as a member of the family of nations, for throughout Christendom she is known as a nation geographically, morally, and historically distinct for all time to come, and the business of the Foreign Office as regards her is reduced to a mere formality. These are great gains, and the war, instead of diminishing, can only add to them. Besides, the odds are turned in her favour. The enterprize which she began without resources she now continues with resources superior to those of her antagonist. Her ordnance and quartermasters' stores are swelling with the spoils of many battle-fields, and what she does not obtain from the enemy she is now able to supply herself. It required eight months to launch the first "Merri-mac;" half that time afterwards sufficed to replace her by nearly a score of others. A year ago a gentleman, admitted to the workshops of the celebrated Tredagar Works at Richmond, was struck with the machinery for a gigantic powder mill then in process of casting. "Why," said he to his conductor, a personal friend of President Davis, "do you undertake such works in a moment of such critical emergency? It will take twelve months before this mill can give you powder. Why not rather make it by hand, or in any other more expeditious manner?" "We do all that," was the reply, "but the President expects a long war, and is preparing for it." The incident serves as an illustration of a thousand facts. There was neither sulphur nor saltpetre when the war broke out. The pyrites of a copper mine, in Alabama afford the one, and a mine of natural saltpetre discovered in South Carolina yields an abundant supply of the latter. Muskets as good as any that can be purchased in Europe are made by the Harper's Ferry machinery, removed in the earlier stages of the first campaign, and in vigorous operation in a safe place in Virginia. Every gunsmith rifles fowling-pieces, and every foundry casts cannon. There is not, and never can be, a lack of meat and bread, and soldiers and civilians are clad in homespun by the cloth factories of Georgia, North Carolina, and other States. It may be said, without figure of speech, that the Confederate resources are just developing, when those of the Federals are becoming exhausted.

It cannot, therefore, be from ill-will to the South or friendship to the North, that recognition, which alone can end the war, is longer withheld. The South, never clamorous to obtain it and patient under its refusal, will probably make no second demand without previous invitation. But if Mr. Seward were an able diplomatist, or if that cold mind were capable of an inspiration of patriotism by which it

might rise over selfish considerations, he would lose no time in opening secret negotiations with those Powers who alone, by timely interference, could save the wreck of his unfortunate country.

The Wheat Trade of Great Britain, France, and America.

THE course of the business in wheat for the past two years is without a parallel in the history of commerce. Under the benign influence of Free Trade the extraordinary wants of Western Europe have been supplied at moderate prices. The usual annual importations from all places into Great Britain and Ireland, of flour and wheat, are equivalent to a little under 5,000,000 quarters, but the bad harvest of 1860 necessitated a draft from other countries of 10,000,000 quarters, and the short crops of 1861, with the 1,000,000 quarters exported to the continent early in the season, have demanded about 9,000,000 quarters to be brought from abroad; this latter quantity would have been much increased but for the economy in consumption in the manufacturing districts, and the smaller stocks than usual held by the middle men that furnish those neighbourhoods. We begin the commercial year with a less amount of old wheat on hand than ever before; the harvest of 1862, however, owing to the additional breadth of land sown with that grain, will, no doubt, be over an average; the drain from other countries, for the year ending August 31, 1863, will therefore probably not exceed the usual quantity, 5,000,000 quarters. The annual consumption of these islands is 22,500,000 quarters, with 3,000,000 quarters taken for seed, making 25,500,000 quarters; the usual production is 20,500,000 quarters, leaving 5,000,000 quarters to be received from other sources. In addition to wheat, the importations of Indian corn are generally about 500,000 quarters, but they reached 3,000,000 quarters last year. The population of the United Kingdom is 30,000,000.

Prior to the year 1775, each one of the three divisions of the United Kingdom produced more grain of every kind than was required for its people, oftentimes exporting to foreign parts. After that date a reverse current set in, and the consumption outstripped the quantity grown. The annual deficiency up to 1825 was about 50,000 quarters wheat; in 1835, 750,000 quarters; in 1845, 2,500,000 bushels; in 1851, it had reached 5,000,000 quarters. The average production per acre is twenty-five bushels.

The wheat crops of France, including Savoy and Nice, average 37,000,000 quarters, of which 6,000,000 quarters is retained for seed, 29,500,000 quarters consumed, and 1,500,000 exported. The harvest of last year, however, was deficient, 6,000,000 quarters being brought from other parts. The growth of this season is said to be much larger than usual, and it is expected that there will be a surplus of 3,000,000 quarters. The cultivation of wheat in recent years has much increased; in 1850, 14,700,000 acres were occupied with that grain; in 1862, 18,000,000 acres. The average production is seventeen bushels to the acre.

France is the largest bread-consuming country in the world; her population is about 37,000,000; besides wheat she requires 10,000,000 quarters of rye, which is mostly produced from her own soil; also considerable quantities of maize; chestnuts, too, are an important article of food, it is said that 2,000,000 of her inhabitants subsist upon them.

In ordinary years the exportation of wheat from all the American States does not much exceed 1,000,000 quarters, sometimes not over 150,000 quarters; the exceptions have been for the period ending August 31, 1847, when 3,000,000 quarters were shipped; for that closing in 1854, 2,000,000; in 1856, 2,750,000; in 1857, 2,250,000; in 1858, 2,000,000; in 1861, 5,000,000; and in 1862, 6,000,000 quarters. The vast surplus production on these occasions can readily be accounted for. For several years prior to the expiration of the Charter of the Bank of the United States in 1836, there had

been great speculations in America, so much so that the people in the West had become consumers instead of producers; the consequence was that agricultural pursuits were neglected to such an extent that large importations of grain were made from the Mediterranean in that year to supply the deficiency. The panic of 1837 caused the people to return to their regular occupations as farmers, which enabled the States to meet the slight European demand for cereals that existed in 1839, and was the means of causing an accumulation of wheat for the year 1847, which helped to balance the short crop here in 1846, known as the Irish famine year. With the exception of a moderate business in 1853 and 1854, the wheat trade with America was very trifling; its production being very little beyond the consumption. None of the Northern Atlantic States grew enough for their own wants, and their populations had to be supplied by Virginia and the West. The Russian war intervening, cut off the usual supplies from that quarter, and America was called upon for an increased quantity in 1856, at high prices, which stimulated large shipments the following year, with disastrous results, peace having restored the commerce with the north of Europe. The extravagant quotations of 1856, caused much speculation in the West, and gave a fabulous value to land; people rushed to the new States by thousands, and wheat fell from \$2½ to 80 cents a bushel; cities that were constructed upon paper were swept from the map; railways partially completed were left unfinished; and the bubble burst in 1857. Large tracts of country were thus opened to the husbandman, who was then joined by the speculators, that were obliged to resume their calling of tillers of the soil, and hence the very large crops of 1860, and the full crops of 1861; the exports against the former year being 5,000,000 quarters, while those of the latter were greater by 1,000,000 quarters, in consequence of the withdrawal of the Southern States, the grain coming eastward instead of going southward, the people of the Cotton States having ceased to be purchasers. Although the shipments of wheat for the two seasons, closing August 31, 1861, and 1862, have been so large, they have yielded little profit to the farmer; prices have not been high, and the gross proceeds at the seaboard were eaten up by the heavy expense of inland transportation, commissions, &c. No inducement has, therefore, been offered for a continuance of such extensive cultivation. In fact, the land is being worn out, no manures are used, and as the agriculturist moves farther west to break virgin soil, he is subjected to increased expense in getting his supplies from, and his produce to, market. So the limit of production has not only been reached, but the increased price of labour, caused by the scarcity of hands, is another obstacle to the planting of large crops. It must be borne in mind, too, that the winters in the north-west, where the grain is principally produced, are so severe, that the seed is committed to the ground in the spring, and not in the autumn, as in most countries. The seasons of 1860 and 1861 happened to be unusually early. The harvest of 1862, as far as known, is not as large as its two immediate predecessors, and with low quotations on this side of the Atlantic, it cannot be moved forward to the shipping points.

The commerce in breadstuffs between the American States and the West Indian and South American ports, has been carried on with flour made from wheat grown in the Southern States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, on account of the superiority of the grain; in fact, the large cities on the Atlantic have for the same reason also been fed by the product of these States.

The average number of quarters of wheat grown in all the American States is computed at 28,000,000, of which 5,000,000 are retained for seed, leaving 21,000,000 quarters for consumption, (13,000,000 quarters in the North, and 8,000,000 quarters in the South), and 2,000,000 quarters for exportation. The average production per acre does not exceed thirteen bushels.

In the rural districts of America, Indian corn is a leading staple of food; so is rye; the exportations

of the former are very large, while those of the latter are occasionally of considerable moment. The joint population of the North and South is 30,000,000.

It will thus be seen that the United States, unlike Russia, is not naturally a grain-exporting country, and that the business in wheat, the past two years, has been an exception and not a rule; that the boast of the Northerners that "England cannot get on without our bread-stuffs," is most idle in its character, every intelligent corn-merchant being aware that Northern Europe has at all times an almost inexhaustible supply of cereals, which can be brought to these shores, should the price be high enough to pay for the inland transportation.

The grain crops in the South this year are very much greater than formerly, in consequence of the hands being employed in that description of agriculture, instead of cotton, tobacco, and sugar. Indeed, it is estimated that the Confederates have now two full years supply; if so, they will, on a cessation of hostilities, be enabled to export 8,000,000 quarters of wheat, a larger quantity than has ever been shipped from America. This surplus produce can be forwarded to the ports much more cheaply by their natural water communications, than can that of the West, which is subjected to the enormous expense, consequent upon artificial means of transportation.

In order to give an idea of the production of food in the Confederate States, the following has been compiled from the last census:—

The little State of South Carolina produces five-sixths of the rice crop of America, and more wheat than all the New England States together. She grows as much Indian corn as New York, and more than all the New England States. In 1860, her production of corn was 20,000,000 bushels. Her potato, bean, and pea crops are very large, usually exceeding by 1,000,000 bushels that of Maine. She raises more peas and beans by 180,000 bushels than all the Northern States together, New York alone excepted; more beef cattle than Pennsylvania by 1740, and almost as many as all the New England States together; more sheep than Iowa and Wisconsin by 10,699, more hogs than New York by 17,254, more hogs than Pennsylvania by 25,137, and 86,000 more than all the New England States, and New Jersey, Michigan, and Wisconsin together. She produces 10,000 more horses and mules than Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island combined. Virginia and North Carolina furnish 241,000 bushels of wheat more than the great wheat-growing State of New York. Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee grow 115,471,593 bushels of wheat, a quantity exceeding by 300,000 bushels the aggregate production of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. Tennessee alone produces 16,506 more hogs than all the six New England States, along with New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Iowa, and Michigan; for that State produces 3,104,010 hogs, while the eleven above-mentioned Northern States produce but 3,087,504. The whole number of hogs raised in 1860 was 30,316,608, of which the slaveholding States furnished 20,770,730, or more than two-thirds of the entire quantity. The Cotton States produced in 1860, more beef cattle than the six New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin together. In that year the Southern States furnished 20,770,730, or more cattle than all the non-slave-holding States, and 260,000 more horses and mules. The crops of Indian corn in the Southern States are generally twice as large as those in the West, and one third greater than the quantity grown in the whole region of the North and West. There is now stored in the State of Louisiana, according to Federal authority, enough sugar to supply all the States for a year.

In the minds of Europeans the South, commercially, has hitherto been associated only with its cotton, tobacco, rice, naval stores, &c., while it should really have been regarded as the great agricultural portion of the United States. Its

grain-raising advantages, particularly for winter wheat, are unsurpassed; possessed of a climate which keeps the meadows always green, and obviates the necessity of providing hay for winter keep in any considerable quantity, there is, practically, no limit to its live-stock-producing power. This same equability of climate is moreover assisted by a steadiness of the most skilled agricultural labour in the world, and hence the great regularity in the increase of the growth of all its productions. The Southerners are not constantly changing their occupations, as has been the habit of the Northerners; but they have ever exhibited the same persevering energy in all their civil affairs that they have shown in their military movements since the struggle against Northern tyranny commenced. A people that is always being led off by speculations, and not content with legitimate employment, is like a man who frequently changes his business—he gains no real wealth—this applies to the North. A nation that pursues the even tenor of its way undisturbed by the visionary schemes of the hour, is comparable to a good merchant, who, although he may be considered somewhat "slow," in the end is sure to reap a success—this applies to the South.

It has been a mistake to suppose that the Confederate States were dependent upon the North or the West for food; not over one-seventh part of the land is employed in the cultivation of the leading staples—cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice. No country has such self-sustaining power, as has been proved by the experience of the last eighteen months, and no country is capable of giving such benefits to other nations, as will be proved when its ports are opened to the free commerce of the world.

Mediation: a Northern Notion.

WHEN the Northern States first entered on the war, which was in thirty, sixty, or ninety days to crush out rebellion, and restore to the Union the humbled, penitent, and conquered South, much prospective indignation was lavished on foreign Powers whose subjects had dared to express an opinion on the probable issue of the quarrel, or whose ambassadors had been instructed to notify to the Federal Government that their respective sovereigns had a policy, and had determined on a line of conduct, in reference to the "unhappy contest" which had broken out. "What have France and England to do with the matter? We are putting down sedition and riot, not making war; and our domestic troubles are no concern of theirs." Mr. Seward threatened unheard-of pains and penalties against any country which should dare to interfere. Time made it evident—first, that the Confederate States were in very fact a belligerent Power, and that the United States' Government was not suppressing insurrection, but waging a desperate war upon a nation determined to be independent; and, secondly, that there was not the slightest chance that the "rebellion" would be crushed, and that the war might very possibly continue for years, an intolerable affliction to Europe, and a fearful scourge to America. Then first was heard in Europe the whisper of mediation, which awakened at once a burst of frenzied indignation from the Northern press, pulpits, and platforms. "Mediation between rebels and their Government! What would England have said had we offered to mediate when she was engaged in crushing the Indian mutiny or the rebellion of Smith O'Brien?" The parallel excited some laughter on this side of the water, but it was admitted as proof of the inveterate persistence of the North in its original view of the Southern rebellion, and of the hostility with which any foreign intervention, no matter for what purpose, or in what direction, would be received, at least by the dominant faction there. It was not—so it seemed—merely that a mediator would probably pronounce in favour of separation; it was that the offer of mediation between a lawful Government and its rebellious subjects was an insult to the former. A series of defeats, impending bankruptcy, a threatened conscrip-

tion, have lowered the haughty tone of the ruling party in the Northern States. And the *New York Times* the organ of the sober and respectable section of the Republicans, and one of the few New York journals that Englishmen can read without a feeling of contempt and disgust, now ventures to hint that mediation might not be wholly unacceptable. Of course, it must be mediation on Northern terms; the South to lay down its arms, and be received back into the Union, with adequate guarantees for the security of the individual States against Federal encroachment, or unauthorized aggression. To hint at any other issue would consign the editor of the *Times* to Fort Lafayette, and condemn his journal to suspension. But it is something that a respectable American journal should dare to admit that the case of the North is so bad that it would welcome European interference in what it has hitherto treated as a purely domestic quarrel; that it should almost invite that mediation between the United States and "their rebels" which, while McClellan's army still occupied its camp before Richmond, was scouted as an insult and an impossibility.

The present mood of the party represented by the *New York Times* is certainly more rational than that which lasted as long as the onward march of the invading armies. Mediation between sovereigns and rebels, though a task which few prudent Governments would care, in general, to undertake, is neither unreasonable nor unprecedented. Where subjects make a demand not inconsistent with subjection, and sovereigns are content to make concessions which will not impair their sovereignty, it is possible for a third party to mediate with good effect between them; especially if the mediator possess either the cordial goodwill of both, or a strength to which both must inevitably submit. Of such a kind was the interference of England, while Murat reigned at Naples, between the Bourbon king and his Sicilian subjects. A precedent still more distinct and important is afforded by the intervention of the Four Powers—France declining to act—in the war between the Porte and Pacha of Egypt. But in neither case was there a claim of independence on the one hand, set up against a claim of sovereignty on the other. Where the conflict is of this nature; where the pretensions of the belligerents are totally and fundamentally irreconcilable, mediation is practically impossible. Interventions in such cases there have been in abundance. England interfered between Spain and the Netherlands. France interfered between England and the American colonies, and gave to the latter the liberty which they had failed to win for themselves. Austria interfered to restore dispossessed princes in Italy; Russia crushed the nascent independence of Hungary. On the other hand, the interference of the great Powers wrested Belgium from Holland, and Greece from Turkey. But we believe that in no case did any Power ever attempt to mediate between unrecognized rebels and a claimant of sovereignty, where the rebels pretended to absolute independence. To render such mediation possible, one party or the other must be prepared to forego the very object of the war. When exhaustion or defeat has brought one party to this point, a mediator may very well be called in to settle minor differences and arrange satisfactory terms of peace. But it is simply ridiculous for a Power claiming sovereignty over provinces in revolt to talk of mediation. If it cannot reconquer its lost dominions, they must be relinquished; if they are to be retained, they must be recovered by force. Between a nation resolved on freedom and a Power obstinately bent on conquest, the sword only can decide. The opinion of the civilized world has long since settled the duty of foreign nations in such a case; to interfere only when the sword has clearly decided the main issue of the war, and the contest is prolonged from the desperation of the conquered, or the savage ferocity of the would-be conqueror, without hope of finally changing the judgment which has been already passed by the God of Battles; and then to interfere either to obtain for the vanquished terms on which they may reasonably submit, or to

compel the baffled aggressor to desist from a hopeless enterprise. If the South had taken up arms to obtain a modification of the Constitution, or any other political object, either party might reasonably invite the mediation of Europe; but as the South is fighting to obtain, and the North to prevent, its independence, such mediation can only be invoked by the North on the ground that, being ready to concede that point, it desires the aid of impartial Powers to arrange the conditions of the compact; by the South only after confession of defeat, in order to obtain terms, or after the clear manifestation of its power to maintain its independence, in order to close a contest perfectly useless, exhausting to the belligerents, and scandalous to humanity. If, despairing of conquest, the aggressor asks the intervention of Europe, he must be prepared to abandon his aggression. Europe will not conquer the South for the Federal Government; and if she mediates at all, must mediate to arrange a peaceable separation.

Mediation, perhaps, does not *imply* recognition; for, as we have said, European Powers have mediated to make terms for subjects with their admitted sovereign. But in a quarrel like the present, mediation *involves* recognition; and the mediators would never dream of acting on any other supposition. England could never assist in reimposing a hated government on a people which has proved its right to liberty by its prowess in the field; Democratic and Imperial France must respect the *plebiscitum* which destroyed the Union, as she respects those which installed the Empire and united Italy. Again, the mediators will look at the position of affairs from an independent standpoint, and not through Northern eyes. And what is the political and military situation which they would be compelled to perceive? Is the North mistress of the field? Is the South vanquished, ready to make peace on any terms which will not make her subsequent fate absolutely intolerable? The grand army of the Federalists is driven back upon the Potomac; their army in the West is surrounded and kept in forced inaction; their very capital is in danger; after eighteen months of preparation and of war they are in a worse position than on the day when they first invaded Virginia. Is this a time to dictate terms? To declare that mediation on the basis of separation would be an act of hostility? To demand that Europe shall give them what they have proved themselves unable to take? The South, again, is not only victorious, but resolute. Without mediation, she might at any time have returned to the Union on her own terms. In her darkest hour, even after the fall of Fort Donelson, even when her capital was beleaguered, New Orleans lost, and Charleston threatened, she disdained the idea of reunion. How would she receive the proposal now, whether tendered by the North or by Europe? And would it not be a mockery of mediation to offer to a nation victorious in its own cause the self-same terms which, if every one of its cities were in the enemy's hands, if every one of its armies had been beaten in the field, if every one of its States were occupied by an overwhelming force, would be willingly granted by the conquerors for the sake of peace? It is absurd to say that mediation on the basis of separation would be hostility to the North, because on that basis, sooner or later, the North must treat. But it may reasonably be held that to offer to negotiate a re-union would be an affront, if not an act of enmity to the South, which none of the great Powers could sanction. The Confederate States are *de facto* independent; independence is the one object for which they are fighting, and they could not be asked to resign that object unless the fortune of war had rendered its attainment hopeless.

But though the proposition of the *New York Times* is simply absurd, the fact that such a proposition has been made is itself significant. When a Power waging a war of aggression thinks of appealing to mediation, it is pretty clear that the tide has turned against it, and that invasion is likely, in the invader's opinion, to be not merely repelled, but retaliated. When a Government claiming to be engaged in suppressing rebellion so completely fails

that its own warm friends begin to talk of welcoming foreign intervention, it is plain that the final triumph of the "rebellion" is anticipated. A change has evidently come over the spirit of those Northern dreams which were lately filled with visions of victory, glory, and dominion. May it not be possible that ere long that large section of the Northern people to whom peace, and mediation as the best means of peace, would be welcome on almost any terms, will find courage to make their wishes heard above the noisy clamours of fanaticism, the cant of pretentious patriotism, and the discordant cries of self-seeking ambition. Once heard, we doubt not that their voice will prevail; for we believe it to be the voice of the majority, as we know it to be the voice of common-sense, of reason, and of justice.

American Indians.

THERE is more in a name than modern philosophy dreams of. It is true the rose, if called "the onion flower," would smell quite as sweet, but those who knew the onion and not the rose, save from report, would be apt to think that with regard to fragrance, the one was like unto the other. Even with those who were acquainted with the Queen of Flowers, as well as with the savoury vegetable, the confusion of nomenclature would, to some extent, produce confusion of ideas. The rose, called by a less sweet name, would seem to smell less sweet; for if Locke had lived in the nineteenth century, he would not have had occasion to modify his declaration as to no man being free from prejudice. The blunder of Columbus and his contemporaries and successors with respect to the geography of America has led to considerable misapprehension. We are wiser than our forefathers, but though we are aware that the native American tribes are not Indians, they are popularly supposed to be people of an Oriental type; whereas, in their manners, customs, and physical traits, they are unique. We do not here enter into the question of ethnological classification, but simply refer to practical distinctiveness. The American Indians are not only, like most savages, fond of war, but they are peculiarly hardy, daring, and enduring warriors. Thus the people of the Confederate States will be glad to learn from President Davis that his Government is on friendly terms with the Indians; and the people of the United States have ample cause for uneasiness, when, in their present position, they are told that some of the tribes have revolted, and that it is supposed a general Indian war has commenced. In England a Maori insurrection, or even an Indian war, does not disturb the public tranquillity, for our colonies and our Eastern Empire are distant; but the colonies and uncivilized dominions of America are in her midst.

In 1776 there were about seventy recognized native tribes, and not one of these has become extinct. In 1837, when the small-pox attacked the Indians—one of the most fearful visitations that ever afflicted a people—the Mandans were reduced from 1600 to thirty-one persons, and the survivors were captured by their enemies and sold into slavery; yet the Mandan tribe has survived, though its numbers are insignificant. Clanship, which was in Scotland, and is in China, the foundation of Government, and which is, indeed, under various forms and denominations in all countries, the primary source and strength of the social compact, is a ruling passion with the American aborigines. But, besides the tribal bond, there is a political organization of defined propositions, and constituted for the performance of specific functions. The seventy tribes were divided into groups and confederacies, and these associations have proved lasting, because they were not the fruit of political intrigue or accident, but the natural result of similarity of race, concurrence of interest, and general fitness for union. Deportation and other events have scattered the various confederacies, yet the old unions are not dissolved. If any tribe enters into war, its confederates, distant as well as near, embrace the first opportunity of rendering assistance. Thus

hostility with one tribe involves war with several tribes. The form of government of the American Indians has been very little changed by contact with Europeans, and may be described as patriarchal and republican. As is usual with savage nations, old age is peculiarly venerated, not so much from natural instinct, as that where experience is the only educator, wisdom, if it exists at all, is associated with length of years. The old men of their tribes rule by virtue of their seniority, and they also form the confederate council. This council, though only assembled upon the emergency of war, is a perpetual institution.

In 1776 there were three, or at most, four, groups or confederacies; a fifth—the Shoshonee or Snakes—has been added by the territorial extension of the United States. These groups are variously designated. Sometimes European names, such as the Mohawks and Delawares, are employed. Different writers name the groups after different tribes. In a return made in 1847 to Congress of the number of Indians within the settled territory of the United States, they were designated as Iroquois, Algonquin, Dakota, and Appalachian. At present there are about 20,000 to 25,000 Indians within the settled States and territory of the late United States; or what are officially called tax-paying Indians; and the total Indian population is estimated at not less than 400,000.

It was soon discovered that Europeans and Indians could not live together. The political fusion of diametrically opposed races is a chimera. The United States tried the experiment, and, of course, failed. There was no security for white people whilst the native Indians were their immediate neighbours. Two courses were open to the United States—they could either exterminate the natives, or bribe them to loyalty. The first plan was not only cruel but costly, and, therefore, the second was adopted. Several tribes, including the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, were induced to emigrate to a considerable distance beyond the then frontier of the settled and even explored territory of the States, upon agreements to receive certain annual bounties or annuities. Similar treaties have been made with tribes who have not been deported, but whom extension of dominion has brought the United States into contact. An annual bounty is cheaper than an Indian war, and, let us add, more just and humane. These bounties, which are paid in money and kind, are represented by \$2,251,000 invested in stock, and \$5,273,000 on which Congress stipulates to pay interest. These bounties, which have been more than compensated by the sale of Indian lands, are only an item in the charges of the American Indian Administration.

The Department of the Interior in the United States might have more appropriately been called the Department of the Exterior, since the main business thereof is to manage the Indian bureau. The Indians are, both in theory and practice, placed in a very anomalous position with regard to the United States. They are supposed to owe fealty to a Federation, in the Government of which they are in no way represented. The claim of sovereignty over the Indians is no doubt valid and indisputable, but it is in opposition to the letter of the Constitution of the United States; for the rule is that even the territories have a voice, though not a vote. Again the lands inhabited by the Indians were a portion of the United States' domains, yet commissioners were sent by the Washington Government to the Indian tribes, whose functions were nearly analogous to those of ministers accredited to foreign Powers. The total cost of the Indian Department in 1851, an exceptionally favourable year, was, including the annuities, \$2,420,722. This is a serious outlay, when we consider that the trading relation of the Indians is of little value, and the then small aggregate Government expenditure of the United States. But even this sum does not embrace the whole cost of the Indian Department.

The ambassadors or commissioners have not been able to insure peace. The bounties have been made dependent upon the observance of treaties, yet war

with the Indians has been chronic. Before the dispute with one tribe could be adjusted, another was in revolt, though the outbreaks were at some periods far more important than at others. The army of the United States was mainly needed for operations against the Indians, and therefore a considerable share of the Federal military expenditure should have been charged to the Indian account. We do not mean merely when war was actively raging on the frontier, as in the case of the Seminole revolt; but at all times, because a standing army was the only possible guarantee for the safety of the country from Indian incursions. The causes of this continual hostility are, the jealousy with which the Indian beholds the advance of the white man, the natural inclination of the savage for warfare, and the hope of extorting larger annuities; for with the American Indians, as with all other nations, a bought peace is a hollow truce. The money given encourages hostilities, by holding out a certain prize for obstinately contested warfare. We are not preferring any charge against the United States. The expedient of annuities, though not thoroughly efficient, was nevertheless vastly better than extermination; and the Washington Government, until lately, has rigidly observed the terms of the treaties, and even construed them liberally.

Upon the dissolution of the late Union and the establishment of the Confederate States, the allegiance or friendship of the Indians was divided between the two Governments. We have no means of exactly defining the numbers that have ranged themselves on either side. All the slaveholding Indians have gone to the South, besides several non-slaveholding tribes. It is here worthy of remark, that though some of the Indians own slaves, it has been found utterly impossible to reduce the Indians themselves to a state of slavery. President Davis has succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with the Confederate States' tribes, but we need hardly add, the only thing he requires of them is that they observe a strict neutrality and not take any part in the war. The tribes adhering to the United States, so far from being neutral, have revolted, and a general Indian war has commenced, or is imminent. The alleged reason of the outbreak is the non-payment of the annuities, and if this complaint is well founded, it shows the careless and imprudent administration of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet; for whatever had gone unpaid, the Indian annuities, especially at this crisis should have been discharged. Possibly the allegation is false, and the motives of the insurrection are the same as usual. The most menacing feature in the affair is the simultaneous revolt of the Sioux and Chippewa tribes, who are hereditary and bitter enemies. If the immemorial hate of the savage is forgotten, or, at least, laid dormant for the sake of attacking the common foe, the United States will have to encounter an Indian revolt of unprecedented proportions.

The expense of these Indian wars is larger than may be supposed. The Seminole war cost \$25,000,000, or about £6,000,000; yet the Seminole war would be small compared to a war with the Sioux, Chippewas, and their kindred and confederate tribes. The number of Indians at present in revolt against the United States is about 55,000 souls. The fighting element in the Indian population is far above the average. Every man capable of bearing arms is a warrior, and the pursuits of peace are never allowed to hinder the prosecution of war. Out of 55,000 it is a moderate estimate to say that there are 7000 warriors. But what of 7000 warriors? What is it more than a *corps d'armée*? If the 7000 warriors would mass together, and meet the United States' army on the open field, the affair would not be so very menacing. The carnage would be great, but the Indians, outnumbered and outgeneraled, would inevitably be annihilated. It happens, however, that the Indians will not mass themselves together, but conduct their wars in a manner that greatly multiplies their aggressive power, and makes it extremely difficult to decimate, much less annihilate them. The United States' officers who have been engaged in Indian warfare all testify to this; but that the Indian warfare is so perpetual is very striking proof of its formidable

character. It is well known that the Indians who fought for the English in the first War of Independence were a source of great trouble and danger to the colonists; yet it is stated by James Maddison that not more than 770 Indians were on the English side. We need not dwell on the significance of this fact.

We have no desire, and it is needless, to exaggerate the last but not the least of the difficulties with which the United States has to contend. As this war rolls on, the clouds and darkness become more gloomy and intense. It is already a terrible, heart-sickening record, but who can predict the horrors that will intervene between now and the era of peace? The Indian in his wigwam sniffs the carnage from afar, and hastens to take part in the fray. The Federal commanders and authorities have endeavoured to transform the docile negro into a savage, and turn him against his master, and meantime the Indian war-whoop proclaims savage warfare against the United States. The Northern press and the fanatics and clergy of New England have gloated over the prospect of Southern desolation; but it seems as though their own borders are to be desolated, and that their impious curses are coming home to roost.

THE Northern hatred of the negro is daily increasing. What would have been the sufferings of the coloured race if it had become subject to Federal rule, may be gathered from the following, and which is not a solitary instance of such cruelty:—

"On Sunday morning, the 24th inst.," says the correspondent of the *New York Express*, "within ten yards of King-street, Alexandria, while hundreds of Union soldiers were in the neighbourhood, a cold-blooded villain, out of sheer hatred to the negroes, deliberately aimed a shot at one who happened to be passing. The ball passed clear through the man's head, instantly killing him. I was near by at the time, but noticed that the event created no particular remark. There lay the body on the side walk, a purple stream running to the gutter, and a small crowd looking on. No effort was made to arrest the murderer, though a man present said he knew who he was, but he would be — if he told anybody. A moment afterwards," continues the same writer, "an infuriated crowd pursued an aged negro up King-street, his daughter following, shrieking 'Murder! Save my father!' The fate of the old man might have been hard had not the Provost Guard arrived in time to prevent further violence. An officer rode up at the time and asked me what the matter was. Telling him of the murder just below, he said, 'Oh, that's nothing. I saw two dead niggers a few blocks lower down.' This may or may not have been so, but I have no doubt of its truth. On Sunday the darkies kept pretty well out of sight. What the original cause of the trouble was, or whether any trouble existed, could not be ascertained. Certainly, there was no justification for such cold-blooded murder. That soldiers do not like the blacks is patent to any one who has been in the army. Whether they are to be allowed such limits to their hate, or not, probably the military authorities of Alexandria can tell us."

Reviews.

WASHINGTON IRVING.*

PETS, whether young or old, bipeds or quadrupeds, even when intrinsically valuable, are generally nuisances; and what makes the matter worse is, that pets are often spoiled and always injured by excessive fondling. Look at my lady's lap-dog, daintily fed and treated by the six-foot lackey with apparent solicitude and deference; what a snappish, discontented creature it is. Fatness and a well-trimmed coat do not produce happiness. It is evident that the lowly, roughly-used street cur has no reason to envy my lady's pet. We need not refer to spoiled children, since they are denounced by everybody, except their doting mammas, and are, it is well known, as miserable as youth and freedom from the world's cares will let them be. Or take the case of the pet parson, of the unmarried curate, for whom spinsters of uncertain ages esteem it a privilege to work slippers and braces. These "gifted" successors of the fishermen of Galilee are a dead weight in society. They may always be distinguished at evening parties and elsewhere by the manifestation of an uneasy sense of their own importance. Many a stalwart and promising soldier of the Cross has, from the system of petting, degenerated into a foppish nonentity. But of all pets the most tiresome are literary pets. We trust

the race is dying out, and that the petty vanity of ruling at pic-nics, and being lionized in drawing rooms, is no longer associated with genius, or the showy talents that are so designated. Who can read the life of "Tom" Moore without a sentiment of regret, mingled with a feeling of disgust, at the way in which his powers were wasted in social frivolities, and how his domestic happiness was destroyed and his manliness and self-respect lost by fulsome adulation? If Byron had not been a pet, can there be any doubt that he would have left behind him nobler and more enduring monuments of his genius? With regard to Washington Irving, we do not mean to say that he was spoiled, as Moore and Byron were, but it is clear, we think, that he did not pass through the fiery ordeal unscathed, and that he would, perhaps, have done more for his own fame and for mankind, if noble lords and ladies had not treated him as a fashionable and season pet. Not that this feeling is the peculiar vice of the English aristocracy; it has been practised by the mobocracy of New York and New England to a marvellous extent. And this partly explains the coldness and ill-will with which European writers on the manners and customs of the late United States have referred to the South. In the North they were the idols of the hour; but in the South they met with no lionizing, and construed the different conduct to be a sign of want of due appreciation of their abilities.

Washington Irving, it must be admitted, had a substantial and deserved success in this country. He not only obtained a high price for his works, but Murray offered him "£1000 a year to conduct a monthly magazine, and to pay liberally besides for any original articles he might insert; offers 100 guineas an article for contributions for the *Quarterly Review*." The proposal to conduct the magazine was refused, because he would not bind himself to fix his residence out of America, and in this Mr. Irving displayed highly creditable patriotism, but his refusal to contribute to the *Quarterly* does not appear so well founded. "As for the *Review* itself (the *Quarterly*), it has always been so hostile to our country, I cannot drive a pen in its service." Mr. Irving was, of course, not asked to write a line that could be offensive to the United States, and it occurs to us that he might have done good service to his country by contributing to the *unfriendly Review*; had he lived to this time he would have confessed that the *Quarterly's* criticisms were equally faithful and severe.

This is still more curious, as afterwards he contributed two articles—one on the "Conquest of Granada," and one to help a literary fund. These articles, we are expressly told, were gratuitous; but if the *Quarterly* might be written for gratuitously, there could be no impropriety in giving paid contributions.

It may seem, at the first glance, somewhat curious that a thoroughly English publisher should have offered the editorship of a magazine to an American author, but Washington Irving, both in style and ideas, was an English writer. He did not cultivate "the American language" and literary bunkum. And this remark applies not only to him, but to all American authors of reputation. The American author has the same models before him as the English author, and as much right to reverence Shakspeare, Milton, and the English classics as we have. Unfortunately for the United States, a new species of literature has been in vogue for many years. The masses have been fed with the most unwholesome mental food. It is impossible to give an adequate conception of the reading of the million. *Harper's Magazine* and periodicals of that kind, not content with pirating the works of English authors, have produced several new novels of a grossly demoralizing character. Seductions, murders, and wholesale bigamies [are the mild incidents of these novels. A free press, where a mob is dominant, may do incalculable harm. We do not advocate the Lincolnite despotism, but rather point out the need of a law somewhat similar to that useful Act of the late Lord Campbell, which, without restraining the liberty of the press, makes the production of a certain species of immoral publications criminal.

This second volume of Washington Irving's life abounds with anecdotes, some grave, some gay, and all told with considerable spirit. By being appointed Secretary Legation, and especially by being *Charge d'Affs*, at the Court of St. James's, he had an opportunity of seeing very much of men and manners, for at the age of his official responsibility (1831) there was much excitement in Europe, and in England the question of form began to assume a menacing aspect. He sketches William the Fourth:—

"The King keeps all London agog; nothing but sights, and piques, and reviews. He is determined that it shall be merry in England once more. Yesterday morning there was a solid review in St. James's Park, at which all the world was present. Then a royal breakfast at the Duke of Wellington, attended by the dignitaries of the court and several of

* *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving*. Edited by his Nephew, Pierre M. Irving. Vol. II. London: Richard Bentley.

the foreign ministers, Mr. McLane among the number. In the afternoon there was held a chapter of the order of the Garter, for the installation of the King of Württemberg. Then a grand dinner at the palace, at which Mr. and Mrs. McLane "assisted." Mr. McLane and the King became so thick that some of the *corps diplomatique* showed symptoms of jealousy. The King took to him especially when he found he had begun the world by being a midshipman. The King and Mrs. McLane also had some pleasant discourse. In the evening there was a brilliant dress ball at the Duke of Wellington's, at which I was present. The King was there in great spirits, notwithstanding the busy day he had been through. He spoke to everybody right and left in the most affable manner, and I observe he has an easy and natural way of wiping his nose with the back of his forefinger, which I fancy is a relic of his old middie habits. Upon the whole, however, he seems in a most happy mood, and disposed to make every one happy about him, and if he keeps on as he is going, without getting too far out of his depth, he will make the most popular king that ever sat on the English throne.

It seems that thirty years ago Lord Palmerston was noted for his pleasantness. The King, in course of conversation,

Alluded to Lord Palmerston, who was present, and said he believed we found him a very pleasant man to transact business with. I assented to the observation fully, but added that we might testify in the same way to the members of His Majesty's Government generally.

What business the United States' Minister could have had with all the members of the King's Government we cannot conceive, but Mr. Irving's answer was quite as sensible as His Majesty's question. Mr. Randolph, who was accredited to Russia, must have been, as Irving calls him, "a rare bird." Mr. Pierce Irving tells the following capital story:—

Randolph, however "well informed on points of etiquette," had his own notions about doing things, and I have heard Mr. Irving give an amusing account of his presentation at court in London, as it came under his own notice. Mr. McLane and Mr. Irving called for him in a carriage, and they found him prepared to accompany them with black coat, and shoes small clothes, with knee buckles, white stockings, and stockings with gold buckles, a sword, and a little clack hat. They looked wonderingly at his dress, so likely with his odd figure to attract observation. He pointed to his gold buckles. "No sham about them. Randall and Bridge, by—!" To some observation as to the propriety of his dress, "I wear no man's livery, by—!" "But," said Mr. Irving, "the object of a court costume is to avoid awkwardness and challenge; there is a convenience in it, and, at all events, you don't want a sword."—"Oh now, Irving, as to a sword, you need not pretend to teach me about that; my father wore a sword before me, by—!" Mr. Irving explained that the sword belonged to a different costume, but was out of place in that dress. This seemed to strike Randolph, and he unbuckled his sword afterwards, and left it in the carriage. As he was about to enter the antechamber, where the foreign ministers are in waiting, he was, as Mr. Irving had feared, stopped by the usher. Mr. Irving immediately explained who he was, and he was permitted to pass. "There now, Randolph," said he, "you see one of the inconveniences of being out of costume." In the antechamber, the foreign ministers eyed him curiously. Admitted to the presence-chamber, he preceded Mr. Irving, made his bow to royalty in his turn, and then passed before other members of the Royal family. As he went by the Duke of Sussex, the latter beckoned Mr. Irving; "Irving," said he, with his thumb reversed over his right shoulder, and moving it significantly up and down, half suppressing a laugh at the same time "who's your friend, Hokey Pokey?" Mr. Irving, jealous for the honour of his country, replied with emphasis, "That, sir, is John Randolph, United States' Minister at Russia, and one of the most distinguished orators of the United States." Some time afterwards, Mr. Irving was dining with the Duke of Sussex, and he inquired after McLane, who had returned to his own country; then, pursuing his inquiries, he added, with a significant smile, "and how is our friend Hokey Pokey?"

The present volume concludes with Mr. Irving's return to America. He was cordially received, and, amongst other honours, was invited to a banquet in his native city. In the course of his speech in return for his health being drunk, he said:—

I come from gloomier climes to one of brilliant sunshine and inspiring prosperity. I come from countries opening with doubt and danger, where the rich man trembles and the poor man frowns—where all repine at the present and dread the future. I come from thence to a country where life is life and animation, where I hear on every side the sound of exultation; where every one speaks of the past with triumph, the present with delight, the future with growing and confident anticipation.

How changed is the aspect of America! Yet, when the words were spoken, just thirty years ago, he causes were at work which ultimately brought about the dissolution of the Union—but a dissolution that could not have involved ruin had it not been for the attempt of the North to conquer the South.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, lately discovered in the Portuguese Language, by Baron Kervyn Lettenhove. The English Translation by Leonard Francis Simpson. (Longman and Co.)

Reminiscences of the Life and Character of Count Camille de la Rive. Translated from the French by Edward Gifford. (Longman and Co.)

Memoir of a Chequered Life in both Hemispheres. By Charles Shelton. (Bentley.)

Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw, of Mitrowitz: at the same in the Turkish Metropolis Constantinople, experienced his Captivity, and after his happy Return to his Country devoted to writing in the Year of Our Lord 1599. Literally translated from the original Bohemian, by A. H. Wratislaw, M.A. (Grand Dair)

Canada and the Crimea, or Sketches of a Soldier's Life, from the Journals and Correspondence of the late Major Ranken, F.R.S. Edited by his Brother, W. Bayne Ranken. (Longman and Co.)

Memoirs of John Venning, Esq., with numerous Notices from Manuscripts relative to the Imperial Family of Russia. By J. S. Henderson. (Knight and Son.)

LONGFELLOW in that pretty string of commonplaces which he calls "The Psalm of Life," says we are reminded by the lives of great men that—

"We can make our lives sublime,
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sand of Time."

Whether this be true or not, it is certain that every man, from the king upon his throne to Soyer the cook, and Blondin the acrobat, can render himself immediately or posthumously ridiculous, notorious, or infamous, as the case may be, by writing his life or causing it to be written by some friend who glories in toadyism. A great craving to know the private lives of public men is not indicative of a healthy tone of mind, but is the sign of a puerile curiosity; yet the rage for autobiography is still less excusable. Of what value is self-testimony? Granting when men sit down to write their own lives they wish to write fairly, is it possible they can see themselves as others see them, or know themselves as they are known? An autobiography may be light and amusing reading, but so far as it relates to the subject thereof, it no more deserves credence than a novel.

As for people keeping a diary without any view to its future publication, we have some doubts—we speak of an elaborate diary; for if it is not intended to be given to the world, we cannot understand the motive of the labour; but admitting there is no expectation of "rushing into print," the record is coloured by that innate vanity that makes each one in his heart of hearts think himself in some respects better than his neighbours. We are not inclined to dispute the genuineness of the autobiography of Charles the Fifth, for the external and internal evidence of its authenticity is very strong, but it does not influence our opinion as to the character of that monarch. He left it behind him as a vindication of his Catholicism, and this vindication includes the admission of his hypocrisy to Protestantism. Is it not possible that the imperial hypocrite was as false in his writings as in his acts? The only use the historical student can make of this volume is to accept those facts that are supported by collateral evidence, and to reject the rest. So that it does not add to our stock of knowledge, unless we are to believe the testimony of one who thought statesmanship and duty involved continual deception.

M. de la Rive is a kind of friend from whom great men may pray to be delivered. In his book the Count Cavour is ridiculously caricatured. M. de la Rive is such a hot-headed partizan that he is not contented with saying his idol's faults tend to virtue's side, but he declares his foibles to be absolute virtues. Cavour was too illustrious to deserve such treatment, and it is a comfort to reflect that when the passions evoked by the struggle in which he was engaged have died out his life will be fairly portrayed.

It is pretty well agreed that whether auricular confession is good or bad for the penitent, it does not improve the confessor. No one is better for listening to tales of corruption. In a "Chequered Life" we have a work that is sure to prove attractive to a large class of readers. It professes to be the history of a man who, from his youth upwards, has been a spendthrift and a heartless deceiver; and who, when he can no longer corrupt in *propria persona*, does what he can to injure his fellow-creatures by the publication of an insidious and immoral novel. We say novel advisedly; for though Mr. Shelton may have been capable of doing all the harm he parades, we may be quite sure he would not write his life without exaggerating his vicious triumphs. It is, moreover, pretty sure that the deceiver was sometimes deceived. We have a suspicion that on more than one occasion, when he was rejoicing at having brought some of his many female victims to ruin, the supposed victims were enjoying a quiet laugh at his expense, at having so cleverly beguiled and robbed him. The best part of the book is that which describes his adventures out of England.

The last three works in our list are, though in different degree, deserving of commendation. The adventures of Baron Wratislaw give an admirably graphic account of the Turkish Empire at the end of the sixteenth century. The narrative of the sufferings of the Ambassador and his suite is simple and pathetic. The experience of the late Major Ranken in Canada and the Crimea is instructive, as well as pleasantly told. The record of Mr. Venning, who was a merchant in St. Petersburg, deals mainly with the benevolent objects in which he was engaged, and gives some interesting anecdotes about the Russian Court.

MR. LEECH'S SKETCHES.

Probably the most entertaining exhibition in London, both for the Englishman and the foreigner, is the gallery of Mr. Leech's pictures, in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. They tell their story so well, there is so much genial humour, such a

nice discrimination of character, and, with all this, such a kindly and gentle handling of the wonderful powers of satire the artist undoubtedly possesses, that the lessons he conveys on the foibles of the day provoke only a good-natured smile—laugh we should rather say—for it is impossible to look at these admirable drawings without a good hearty laugh. We were glad to see the subscription book for the engravings, of a selected portion of them, is well filled, and as they have been entrusted to good hands, we have no doubt all parties will be well satisfied. Painter and engraver, with the well-earned profits of the speculation, and the buyers with an inexhaustible supply of fun and amusement for a leisure hour, or a wet day. Where all are so excellent it is almost invidious to point out especial favourites, but the delineation of the agony of the elderly gentleman, irritated by a blue bottle, seems to us to unite all the excellences of the artist's inimitable style with very great powers of drawing. A severe critic might object to the eccentricities of the details—the top pane of glass broken, and such minor extravagances; but the whole design is so charmingly carried out, that one is ashamed to be severe in smaller matters. Again, the old coachman's futile endeavour to stop Miss Ellen's frolic on Joey, by taking him off the hard road, is a splendid piece of drawing, independently of the exquisite fun of the action.

What can be more carefully drawn than the boatman's legs appearing as continuations of the fair damsel's voluminous crinoline, crossing the perilous plank from the bathing machine, or Annt Fanny, in spectacles, peeping round the corner at the lay figures she takes, from their red coats, to be soldiers on the beach. His boys, too, are thorough English boys, such as one never sees outside the shores of Great Britain—even the sturdy little wretch whose agonized face gives the most expressive and ludicrous lie to the bathing woman's cry. "Bless his dear heart, I know'd he'd take to it kindly," to the fierce young Briton proclaiming to Collins, "he is going to take a header." He has a wonderful eye for a horse, too, from the broenck-pl-ek hack to the lordly hunter, and the swinging gallop is as free and even careless as the well-adjusted seat of the Leicestershire sportsman is the height of Melton Mowbray dandyism. In fact, we may say of Leech, "*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*," and the man who has the chance and misses it of seeing these sketches deserves to eat thistles to the end of his days.

NORTHERN ANGLING FOR SYMPATHY.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR.—It is an old and trite saying that "a man may tell a lie so often that he comes in time conscientiously to believe it true," and we suppose some such feeling must have actuated the reverend gentlemen who, at the Sunday School Convocation lately in London, expressed their belief that the Northerners had carried on their suicidal war with the one idea to abolish slavery. We last week called attention to the President's remarkable exposition of his views on the subject; but even that, plain as language could make it, has failed to convey any meaning which the sense of the words can bear to the understanding of the enthusiasts who ventured to become the mouthpieces of the North at that meeting.

The Rev. J. H. Vincent, of Illinois, from what he had learned of President Lincoln, knew that he was opposed to slavery; and though the telegram that had been referred to was susceptible of two readings, he would explain the one which he thought was meant. President Lincoln states "he is emphatically for union, and that he would retain or destroy slavery, either wholly or in part, if Union could be obtained by either means." His meaning was, that he was prepared to abolish slavery at once, or he would retain it for the present, having destroyed the political character of slavery, and leave it for time to work slavery out.

The Rev. J. Graham, in a lengthened address, said that all along his sympathies had been with the North. He believed that they had been animated with the one desire to abolish slavery, and he trusted the result would prove it to be so.

The Rev. Dr. Waddington went at some length into the history of slavery, and gave it as his most deliberate opinion that the only cause of the war was slavery, and that the North was true to its principles.

Is it possible that these men are really honest in the convictions they express? Can they seriously misconstrue every fact and every argument which shows that the idea they boldly announce is a barefaced lie, cunningly devised to humbug the honest Briton? In vain.

Mr. Daniel Pratt contended the North would not be right until they looked upon their coloured brethren as equal in every respect with themselves. Such certainly was not the case at present. In America there was a system of negro-tickets. He assured them that such was the case. The President only recently called about him a number of black men, and asked them what they required, and ultimately recommended them to leave the country, in order that he might avoid a difficulty. He had always avowed that he would sacrifice the question of slavery to preserve the Union. That was not the principle which England could sympathize with. Let them boldly state that at all risks they would abolish slavery, and this country would then assist and pray for them.

But what are we to think of the statements of the other advocates of British sympathy with the Yankee war against the independence of the South.

The Rev. Dr. McClintock, of New York, said that some three years ago the only point of dispute between England and America was the cause of slavery; and now that America was willing to declare the abolition of slavery, England held

aloof from her. There was no reason why they should not have the sympathy of England, for during the Indian mutiny England had the sympathy of America. He had been told that, if the States were separated, it would be for the benefit of the world, for they would be two large military powers, and would not be able to attack other nations. If the separation took place, what would be the result? The South would take Mexico, and would also include a great deal of the territory on the south of the Mississippi, and there would be a field for slavery. If that separation took place, they would both be great naval and military powers; they would keep up great armies and navies to protect themselves from each other; but whatever might be their own feelings towards one another, they would both be willing at any moment to join together to fight against England or France.

Mr. Albert Woodruff, of Brooklyn, proceeded to detail what he deemed to be the first cause of the estrangement between the Northern and the Southern States of America. There were in America two parties—the republicans and the democrats. The republicans, when they were in the majority, said that they would not allow the increase of slavery in the South, but that they would not interfere with their rights as secured by their Constitution. The democrats joined with the South, and they declared that they would import slaves without hindrance. Upon this the contending parties took issue, and President Lincoln was elected. They felt that they had a right to expect the sympathy of England when they took up that ground. He was not now speaking politically, but on the ground of Christian brotherhood. The first act that the Northern States performed was to abolish slavery in Columbia. They also offered rewards to the States that would gradually abolish slavery, and had in their hands \$800,000,000 to distribute to those States that would carry out these views. The Government had done much for the abolition of slavery, and had done what no other country had done in this cause—they had taken a notorious slave-trader and had hung him for that crime, and they had, therefore, a right to claim and expect the sympathy and moral support of England. The entire object of the war was the abolition of slavery and the freedom of the world.

There is no one single proposition brought forward by these gentlemen that ought not at once to be contradicted flatly, as not only untrue, but the very contrary of honesty and truth. Is America "willing to declare the abolition of slavery?" Had England "the sympathy of America during the Indian mutiny?" Would both North and South be "willing at any moment to join together to fight England and France?" Dr. McClinton knows better in every respect. And whence does Mr. Woodruff draw the information he vouchsafed that the republicans "would not interfere with rights secured by the Constitution;" and "democrats declare they would import slaves without hindrance." Where does he find "this as the issue on which Lincoln was elected?" Again, was abolition of slavery in Columbia "the first act of the Northern States?" and when were "\$800,000,000 offered to the States to abolish slavery gradually?" This audacity of unfounded assertion is properly capped by his calling British sympathy for the judicial murder of that wretched drunken captain, whose execution, with all its horrible tragi-comic adjuncts, filled all Europe with disgust. Really one feels ashamed of being betrayed into notice of such barefaced falsehoods; but the fact that clergymen can, at this date, stand up on a public platform in London, and state in uncontradicted facts and arguments so undeniably contrary to the voice of history, and the knowledge and experience of every man who has even read the newspapers, shows that there are still people here whom nothing but the disgrace of being exposed will turn from their mischievous and wicked delusions. It has often been pointed out, the use that is being made by the unscrupulous promoters of this war of aggression, of the religious sentiment of this country—a sentiment which deserves all the honour and all the respect which the feelings of honest and honourable men can accord. We do not hesitate to attach most, if not all, the moral superiority of Englishmen to this firm conviction of religious principle. But when such a sentiment is allowed to pander to such a cause as now seeks to ally itself, it ceases to be even respectable, and it is the duty of every honest man to denounce it. Every day shows the utter fallacy of any sympathy with the negro in the North. The wholesale and uncontrolled murders of the negroes by drunken brawlers, recorded in the very latest accounts of the *Times* correspondent, are but the natural development in a time of unbridled licence of the feeling which has induced State Legislatures absolutely to forbid the residence of negroes within their borders; and all individuals, irrespective of rank or station, to refuse to ride in the same carriage, to sit on the same seat, or receive a plate or a cup from a negro's hand. The negro whom these men dare to assert has been the cause of this war between brethren, and for whose sake alone the North has expended millions of treasure and thousands of lives, I am quite aware that argument is useless with such minds, but it is a duty to protest against the semblance of believing that Englishmen can listen with patience to such advocates of the most monstrous despotism which has been seen since the Committee of Public Safety in 1793, and which it was reserved for an unbridled and rampant republican party again to show to an astonished generation.

AN ENGLISH SYMPATHIZER.

THE FIGHT AT BATON ROUGE.

(From the *Grenada Appeal*, Aug. 11.)

Camp on Comite River,
Thursday, Aug. 7.

On Sunday, the 3rd inst., General Breckenridge advised General Van Dorn that he would be prepared to attack Baton Rouge at daylight the following morning. General Van Dorn replied that the Arkansas would not reach a position where she could participate in the fight until Tuesday morning. It was then definitely determined that the attack should be made at daylight on the morning of the 5th, the ram Arkansas, of whose steady and uninterrupted progress down the river we had been constantly advised, co-operating with the troops.

At 10 o'clock on Monday night, August 4, the troops, about 2400 in all, advanced from their camp on Comite River. The men were in the finest spirits, and confident of accomplishing their purpose before breakfast time. The march of ten miles over a smooth sandy road, between well cultivated plantations, was conducted with quiet and order.

General Clark's division occupied the right, and that of General Raggles the left. The advance was made in four lines, that of the left over a rough country, across ditches, through sugar cane, over fences—a very fatiguing and exhausting march. It was ten minutes to 5 o'clock when we first brushed the enemy. They were in good position, under cover, and opened out upon our advance with considerable precision and effect. It was, however, but the work of a moment to dislodge them. Like so many coveys of partridges, they started up and flew rapidly before our advancing columns, the boys giving vent to exulting cheers, as with fixed bayonets they followed the retreating Yankees. The morning was quite foggy, and a heavy mist hung over the entire landscape, rendering it difficult to plant our batteries so as not to operate either upon one or the other of our wings. Our lines were then converging towards a common centre, the enemy fleeing towards his camps. But it was not without loss that we thus drove them in. They sought every possible covert place, and, rallying, gave a peppery salute to our men. Their batteries were also admirably handled, and belched forth devastating columns of canister, grape, shrapnel, shell, and solid shot. One by one, however, they were forced to give back. Limber up and to the rear march was the constant order, and had it not been obeyed all their guns would have fallen into our possession. As it was, the 4th Louisiana charged a battery twice, each time at considerable loss, and were finally forced to lose their trophy, their commander, Col. Allen, falling, shot through both legs. This somewhat demoralized the regiment, which had already been distinguished for its good conduct. Captain Hughes, commanding the 22nd Mississippi, fell dead while leading a charge; Colonel Boyd, of the Louisiana battalion, was severely wounded in the arm; the gallant 31st Mississippi, while charging ahead, lost its colours; but the battle flag was immediately grasped by a lieutenant, who, bearing it aloft, was shot down, and a third man seizing it, received a death wound. But onward went the left. General Raggles was conspicuous for daring, and his aide, Col. Charles Jones, of Louisiana, while delivering an order, was struck down by a shell and seriously wounded. Our troops were now in the camps, and though tempting enough, none stopped to pillage. The 3rd, 6th, and 7th Kentucky regiments were going ahead like a hurricane. Nothing could stop their fearful and determined progress. The more obstinate the resistance, the fiercer their onsets. Overwhelming as were the odds against them, they pressed forward, mostly at a "charge bayonet," yelling like madmen. Colonel A. P. Thompson, of Paducah, fell, wounded severely through the neck, and Adj. R. B. L. Soery was wounded dangerously. Other officers went down, but the men marched on.

While the left was thus forcing the enemy into town, the right wing, under General Charles Clark, did not lag behind. General Breckenridge was himself with this division, and his presence had a magical effect upon the men. There was no danger he did not share with them. His tall form seemed ubiquitous—here, there, everywhere, where there was peril, where there was an enemy to drive or a position to gain. Of the gallantry and noble bearing of his young son Cabell I should not speak were it not that he is as modest as he is meritorious—a worthy scion of a noble stock. General Breckenridge led personally several charges, and towards the close of the action, coming up to the Fourth and Fifth Kentucky, who had fallen back utterly exhausted, he drew his sword, and with one appealing look said, in his clear, musical tones, "My men, charge!" This charge is described to us by an officer who participated, as one of the most signal and effective acts of the battle. The men rushed forward in no particular order, firing at and pursuing the enemy with a determination that could not be thwarted, driving them further than they had yet been driven.

We had already driven the enemy one and a half miles from the position where he was first encountered. We had seized all his camps, and forced him through the suburbs of the town. Then came the last charge, and right nobly did our exhausted soldiers discharge their duty. Way-worn, covered with dust and consumed by the heat of battle, the gallant boys plunged headlong into the fight, and before them fled the Yankees. In vain did they bring up their reserves. We drove them all in quite to the river completely under protection of their gunboats, many of them taking to the water.

It was then that General Breckenridge ordered a recall. He had received a message that it would be impossible for the Arkansas to participate then in the engagement, but that by 2 o'clock she could take a part. Slowly and with reluctance our troops fell back, although exposed to the heavy firing of the gunboats. About one mile and a half from town they were halted, and the poor, wearied, jaded fellows threw themselves upon the ground to rest.

It was at this last charge that General Clark had his hip badly shattered, and at his own request he was conveyed to a house in town. Captain Yeager, his aid, remained with him, and both were afterwards made prisoners. Throughout the whole engagement General Clark's conduct was notable for its intrepid daring. He could have been easily removed, but he knew that the wound was a fatal one, and preferred remaining behind.

Upon the fall back, General Breckenridge ordered the various camps and stores of the enemy to be destroyed. This was accordingly done, and a vast amount of property was burned. There were huge piles of pork, beef, bacon, flour, whisky, molasses, and sugar, quantities of clothing, at which our troops looked wistfully, all given to the flames. The encampments were those of the Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Michigan, and Indiana Regiments.

General Breckenridge entrusted the delicate and important duty of holding the field to Captain John A. Buckner, his adjutant-general. This officer, who had, during the morning,

rendered himself a conspicuous target for the enemy, remained behind with a battery and seventy-five men. With this small force he maintained his position until near sundown, when the whole army was withdrawn.

A TRIBUTE TO THE SOUTH.

(From the *Times*.)

The people of the Confederate States have made themselves famous. If the renown of brilliant courage, stern devotion to a cause, and military achievements almost without a parallel can compensate men for the toil and privations of the hour, then the countrymen of Lee and Jackson may be consoled amid their sufferings. From all parts of Europe, from their enemies as well as their friends, from those who condemn their acts as well as those who sympathize with them, comes the tribute of admiration. When the history of this war is written, the admiration will doubtless become deeper and stronger, for the veil which has covered the South will be drawn away and disclose a picture of patriotism, of unanimous self-sacrifice, of wise and firm administration, which we can now only see indistinctly. The details of that extraordinary national effort which has led to the repulse and almost to the destruction of an invading force of more than half a million men will then become known to the world, and, whatever may be the fate of the new nationality or its subsequent claims to the respect of mankind, it will assuredly begin its career with a reputation for genius and valour which the most famous nations may covet. Within a period of eighteen months a scattered population, hitherto living exclusively by agriculture, and accustomed to trust for every product of art and manufactures to the North, has been turned into a self-sufficing State, able to raise an immense army, and conduct what is now an offensive war. But a year ago it was the boast of the Federals, and those who echoed them, that the Southerners could not make a gun barrel or a cart wheel,—indeed, hardly a screw or a teapenny-nail, and the conclusion drawn from this alleged incompetence was that a people so ignorant and helpless must soon fall before the superior genius of the North. And the assertion was not far from the truth, though the reasoning based on it has been so conspicuously refuted by events. When this struggle began, the Southern people were in many things indolent and unenterprising. They had been accustomed to lean on others in a manner which gave some excuse to the confidence of the Federals in their own superiority. They had so long relied on their one staple, and looked upon English cotton-spinners and New York merchants as their tributaries, that they could hardly have appeared even to themselves capable of organizing the military and political system which is now in force. Courage we all knew they possessed, and those who were best informed believed that, with the spirit they showed, the conquest of their country was impossible. But certainly the placing in the field of complete armies, with full military equipment, and capable of driving the enemy before them in a campaign hardly equalled since the days of the First Napoleon, was an achievement which was not expected even by those who gave most credit to their energy and to their latent intelligence.

But how has this great display of popular strength been called forth? The answer is plain. Nothing but necessity could have made the Confederates what they are. Nothing but the knowledge that they must fight for themselves, work for themselves, manufacture for themselves, and, in short, depend entirely on their own untried brains and sinews, could have roused the Southern people. Their energy and inventiveness have been those of a race cut off from the world and threatened with ruin by a hated foe. The South has been a kind of national Crusoe. The Confederates have found themselves face to face not only with the wilderness, but with an enemy from whose hands only a desperate effort could deliver them. From their own soil they must obtain everything which the smuggler or the blockade-breaker could not introduce. They must, in the hour of a gigantic invasion, turn their hands to new industries, or perish politically for ever. They must either substitute corn for cotton, make rifles, cannon, shells, gunpowder, waggons, and every warlike store, or see their States become a subject territory of the North, and their own families driven from their lands to make way for German and Irish mercenaries. The consequence has been another verification of the saying that men do not know what they can do till they try. The Southerners have done wonders, far more than we expected—evidently far more than they expected themselves. These men, who were represented as too wild for discipline, have become the most patient of soldiers, and are moved by their generals with the precision of the chessboard. This people, accustomed to pleasure and indulgence, has endured privations unknown in modern times, and, while taunted by its enemies with ignorance of useful arts, has exhibited in its iron-plated vessels the only original conception of the war.

We do not repeat these things for the mere purpose of sounding the praises of the South. It is rather with a view of showing how wise was the policy of the British Ministry and nation when they declined to interfere prematurely in the strife. It may truly be said that the Confederates owe their present successes to our "masterly inactivity." It is because England, and, through her persuasion, France also, determined that the Southerners should fight out their own quarrel, that they have fought it out with such unexampled heroism. They owe it to us that their whole population has risen to defend the soil, that they have abandoned every pursuit which does not conduce to the success of the war, and that their stern unanimity contrasts so strongly with the divided counsels and smouldering discontent of the North. It cannot be denied that there was a time when the Confederates had less confidence in themselves and looked to foreign nations a great deal more than was dignified or safe. The belief that England could never allow a cotton crop to be diverted from her shores was universal, and formed a dangerous obstacle to self exertion. The alliance of England and France was, probably, looked upon as certain by most Southern politicians during the early days of Secession, and we may fairly believe that the necessity of such an alliance was admitted by the leaders, and formed a chief element in their calculations. The disappointment of the South at our resolute inactivity was, no doubt, bitter; but it is greatly to the credit of the people that the feeling was only disappointment, and not despair. Whatever the Southerners may have thought and felt, and however they may have expressed themselves in private, neither the Government nor Congress, nor any public body, allowed any signs of anger or fear to escape them. Seeing that help from without was not to be expected, they set to work with one mind and will to fight their own battle, and the result is before the world.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOOD, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Ten-
nessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

RED AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Ramford-place,
Liverpool.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
JOS. T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; P. RIMAILHO AND NEYREY,
New Orleans.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE and NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BLESLEY, Cotton Broker,
by Royal-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

On Friday next, the 10th inst., in 1 vol. 8vo.
THE SOUTH VINDICATED:

Being a Series of Letters written for the American
Press during the Canvass for the Presidency in
1860, with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the
John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of
the Presidential Contest, and its consequences.

BY
THE HON. JAMES WILLIAMS,
Late American Minister to Turkey.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN BAKER HOPKINS.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY

WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANLEY BISS. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somerly bound, 5s.

POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDNAP. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE WEARMOOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition).
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.

PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 3d.

THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. BEALE. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.

DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.

HOW THEY GOT THERE. By Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.

JESUS, OUR ARMY. (Second Edition).
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. F. WILLIAMS.

London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and the trade for the man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
trade, our Southern Editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which
proceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you to the necessary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of ad-
vertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We must see to it that our
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.

Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Regent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chausée d'Antin in Paris).

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.
A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 10 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a SALESMAN,
also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice-
President.
Dr. Jamison.
A. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.
M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, juv.
Cesaire Olivier.
A. Bobn.
Numa Angustin.
Omer Gaillard.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE.—78, Camp Street.
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,903 68
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
to redeem the Scrip of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHUR, President.
JAMES H. WEBER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of premiums for the year end-
ing 25th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
25th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
25th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1861.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June 1861.
R. P. JANVIER, President.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly.
John Pemberton.
P. Maspero.
P. Poutz.
C. Honold.
G. Miltenberger.
J. N. Nevins.
S. O. Nelson.
C. H. Scomb.
B. P. Voorhier.
B. O. Vignaud.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... 531,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,442,359 35
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1861, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRAIT, Secretary.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Sundays and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 6 per cent.
primage.

PARTIAL PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods to be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evading
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America, by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquavit, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person shall so carry on board any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship who shall refuse to take on board
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact,

The Index,
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS.
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.
Published every Thursday Evening.
PRICE SIXPENCE.
Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.
Nos. I. to XXI. NOW READY.
Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Enrolled in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to be
by the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the slipshod and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, re-
presentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the peys of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Fleet-court, Fleet-street; and Published for the
Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E. C.—September 18, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

VOL. I—No. 22.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 25, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	PAGE
America	337
England	338
Europe	339
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	340
Manchester Letter	340
TOBACCO MARKET	340
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letter	340
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	341
Paris	341
LEADERS—	
What Constitutes the "South?"	344
The Confederate States' Navy	344
India and the Cotton Supply	345
National Thanksgiving	346
"Mason and Dixon's Line"	346
Editorial	348
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY ..	
My Messmates	348
Soldiers' Duties	348
REVIEWS—	
A Southern Statement	349
Short Notices	350
ADVERTISEMENTS	352

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The American Mail, thirty-six hours overdue, had not arrived up to the moment of going to press.

THE advance of the Confederates into Maryland caused immense excitement in the North, which was not allayed by the amusing fiction put forth, that "General Sigel's division could have prevented the Confederates crossing the Potomac, but the Federal policy favoured the Confederates entering Maryland, for strategic reasons." To say nothing about General Sigel's division being too much weakened by defeat, this excuse is untenable, because it is evident, even to the most gullible Northerner, that the raising of Maryland—an event sure to follow the presence of the Southern army—could not possibly strengthen the Federal position. In whatever direction the Confederates operate it is manifest they will interrupt the communication between the capital and the West, and, if they carry the war into Pennsylvania, will be able to inflict an immense amount of damage. In Maryland they are deliverers, not conquerors, and private property is quite as safe, if not much safer, than under Federal rule. Mr. Lincoln and his adherents perceived that they could not impose upon the public with such a transparent "strategic sham," and so they announced that General McClellan had gone forth to meet the enemy, leaving General Banks in command of the defences of Washington.

The indignation of the mob has been stilled to some extent by the punishment of unsuccessful generals, and the resignation of Mr. Stanton, who is succeeded by General Halleck. The immediate cause of Mr. Stanton's leaving office was the re-appointment of General McClellan; and without entering into the question of the military ability of the Young Napoleon, it must be confessed that he has proved a complete failure. We will not predict his future fortune. He may redeem his laurels; but, judging from the past, the case does not seem very hopeful, and the late Secretary of War had some ground for his objection. If General McClellan has ability, he is singularly unfortunate, and ill-luck in a Commander is a crime. If he is not marvellously unlucky, he is devoid of ability, and an incompetent commander is not desirable. One recommendation General McClellan has that ought to have excused a series of failures in Mr. Stanton's eyes, as it will

do in General Halleck's estimation—he has written despatches which for daring and unscrupulous falsehood have not been excelled even by the compositions of Generals Halleck and Pope. As a specimen of unblushing mendacity, his address to the remnant of his army after the Chickahominy defeat is altogether unrivalled. Perhaps General McClellan has gained wisdom from experience; at all events, his general order on assuming the command of the army at Washington was unusually modest, and so far from threatening to annihilate the Southern army in so many days, it was confined to directions to his officers.

General Pope has been sent to the North-West, and he cannot complain that his command is circumscribed. It includes Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the territories of Nebraska and Dakota, but he may reasonably complain of being appointed to a command without an army. We are told his forces are "the troops raising and to be raised therein under his command." If the Indians were quiet, the office would be a species of honourable banishment from active service, but Minnesota, Nebraska, and Dakota are in a disturbed condition. The Indians are preparing for a great war, and have even commenced their operations by capturing Government stores. Remembering General Pope's proclamation in Virginia, we do not dispute his fitness for the conduct of warfare with savages, but he will do well to bear in mind that the Indians punish, as well as make reprisals, without warning.

General Pope's official account of his campaign is worthy of this reputation—we cannot better describe it. He pretends that his forces were not only inferior to the enemy, but that he was to menace the North of Richmond with 32,000 men, and that after his retreat from Cedar Mountain, upon being joined by McDowell he only mustered 40,000 men. What has become of the army 700,000 strong? We believe that the campaign has been inconceivably destructive to the Federals, but not so as to reduce the numbers to the extent inferred by General Pope. When Federal commanders report a victory, they always exaggerate the numbers of the enemy to enhance their triumph and when they admit "a strategic movement," they usually represent their own force as wonderfully small in order to excuse their failure. But it is not the statement as to numbers that entitles General Pope's despatch to a passing notice. We are used to these Federal romances as well as to the kind of accusations that Pope brings against Generals McClellan and Porter. If these had done their duty all would have been well. The charge against General Griffin is somewhat original. He, we are told, looked on with his brigade, and spent the day in "making ill-natured strictures on the General commanding the action, in the presence of a promiscuous assemblage." This is rich, but not so funny as the explanation of the loss at Manassas. Be it premised that Pope knew all about General Jackson's movements from first to last, though he was careful not to communicate his knowledge to any one, or to make any use of it. "This movement of Jackson was well-known to me, but I relied confidently upon the forces which I had been assured would be sent from Alexandria, and one stray division of which I had ordered to take post on the works at Manassas Junction. I was entirely under the belief that these would be there, and it was not until I found my communication intercepted that I was undeceived." The General commanding depending upon a stray division is inimitable. General Pope, of course, claims to have done well. "To confront a powerful enemy with greatly inferior forces, and fight him day by day without losing your army; to delay and embarrass his movements, and to force him by persistent resistance to adopt long and cir-

cuitous routes to his destination, are the duties which have been imposed upon me. How far I have been successful, I leave to the judgment of my countrymen." In reference to this passage we cannot do better than reproduce the comment of the *Morning Post*: "The mixture of mendacity with assurance contained in this extract has, we venture to say, never been surpassed."

General McDowell, who is charged with treason by the populace, has been granted a leave of absence for fifteen days, which he may probably find it advisable to extend. General Blenker has received an indefinite leave of absence, and has retired to his farm. Captain Wilkes has been appointed to the command of a flying squadron on the West India station. The partisans of Pope, McDowell, and Blenker are indignant. They assert, and there is some truth in the assertion, that these generals have not done worse than Halleck, McClellan, and Banks, who are neither banished nor dismissed. But the partiality of the Washington Government is unavoidable. Some unsuccessful generals must be punished to appease the mob; and it was impossible to dismiss all the unsuccessful generals; for then the Northern army would have been without a commander.

The indignation against Pope and McDowell was increased by the publication of the subjoined letter and comments in the *New York World*. The friends of Pope and McDowell aver that the letter is a fabrication got up to injure those generals:—

The following is an accurate copy of the letter written by Colonel Brodhead in his last moments to his brother and sister:—

Dear Brother and Sister,—I am passing now from earth, but send you love from my dying couch. For all your love and kindness you will be rewarded. I have fought manfully, and now die fearlessly. I am one of the victims of Pope's imbecility and McDowell's treason. Tell the President, would he save the country, he must not give our hallowed flag to such hands. But the old flag will triumph yet. The soldiers will regild its folds, polluted by imbecility and treason. John, you owe a duty to your country. Write—show up Pope's imbecility and McDowell's infamy, and force them from places where they can send brave men to assured destruction. I had hoped to have lived longer, but I die amidst the ring and clangour of battle, as I could wish. Farewell! To you and to the noble officers of my regiment I confide wife and children.

THORNTON.

The above was addressed by Colonel Thornton F. Brodhead, 1st Michigan Cavalry, when dying from wounds received in battle, near Centerville, Saturday, Aug. 30, to his brother, John M. Brodhead, and wife, Washington city. It was written within the Confederate lines, in pencil, upon a piece of discoloured paper, apparently torn from an old account book, and was stained here and there with drops of blood from the mortal wound in his left breast.

The letter does not read like the composition of a man bleeding to death, and the "drops of blood" is an evident flight of imagination, and further detracts from the credibility of the story.

General Sigel, who is admitted to be a brave man, and to have done much better than most of the Federal generals, is not promoted. Why? The Germans say on account of his nationality, and they begin to feel indignant that they are excluded from all chance of promotion and high command.

In face of the approaching elections, or under the impression that the anger of the mob may next be directed against the members of the Government, "the stringent war orders, in reference to drafting and volunteering, have been withdrawn. Restrictions on travellers are removed." We do not suppose these concessions will produce much effect. The people submitted so patiently to the loss of their liberty, and to the despotism of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, that the present policy of the Government will be regarded as a sign of weakness, and induce the various factions to press their several interests. The Abolitionists are making strenuous efforts to gain ascendancy; they call upon the President to issue a decree of Emancipation, promising in

that case to raise an army. If they can persuade Mr. Lincoln that any benefit to the Federal cause can result from Emancipation, he will doubtless, in accordance with his letter to Mr. Greeley, cast his lot with the Abolitionists.

Mr. Enoch Lowe has been appointed Provisional Confederate Governor of Maryland. He occupied the position of Governor a few years ago, is a gentleman of great personal popularity, and his appointment will be very acceptable to the Marylanders.

The reports of the number of the Confederate troops who have entered Maryland are conflicting. The Federal Governor has ordered the citizens to organize bands to resist the Confederates, who are styled "invaders;" but by this time the North must be convinced of the Southern character of Maryland.

Some idea of the demoralization of the Federal army may be gathered from the fact that whilst the last battle of Manassas was being fought, a large number of officers were in Alexandria. This statement comes from Northern, not Southern, sources. The following is the account given in the summary of Northern news:—

Washington letters of the 8th state that the Provost-guard has arrested and sent to their regiments 1600 stragglers, most of whom are worn-out men. A correspondent, writing on the 8th, says:—

"In my last I alluded to the great number of officers that had busied in Alexandria last Saturday and Sunday, while the fighting was going on in front. From the books at the Marshal-House and City Hotel alone I learn that on Sunday last 155 officers registered their names for dinner. Recollect this is only the number at two hotels, while there are hundreds of smaller hotels and boarding-houses that were besieged by them. The number of soldiers that straggled into and were scattered around the city last Sunday could not have been less than 6000 or 8000. To-day only seven officers registered their names at the two hotels above mentioned."

President Davis ordered the 18th of September to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the late Confederate victories; the following is his proclamation:—

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

Once more upon the plains of Manassas have our armies been blessed by the Lord of Hosts with a triumph over our enemies. It is my privilege to invite you once more to His footstool, not now in the garb of fasting and sorrow, but with joy and gladness, to render thanks for the great mercies received at His hand. A few months since, and our enemies poured forth their invading legions upon our soil. They laid waste our fields, polluted our altars, and violated the sanctity of our homes. Around our capital they gathered their forces, and, with boastful threats, claimed it as already their prize. The brave troops which rallied to its defence have extinguished these vain hopes, and, under the guidance of the same Almighty hand, have scattered our enemies and driven them back in dismay. Uniting these defeated forces and the various armies which had been ravaging our coasts with the army of invasion in Northern Virginia, our enemies have renewed their attempt to subjugate us at the very place where their first effort was defeated, and the vengeance of retributive justice has overtaken the entire host in a second and complete overthrow.

To this signal success accorded to our arms in the East has been graciously added another equally brilliant in the West. On the very day on which our forces were led to victory on the plains of Manassas, in Virginia, the same Almighty arm assisted us to overcome our enemies at Richmond, in Kentucky. Thus, at one and the same time, have two great hostile armies been stricken down, and the wicked designs of our enemies set at naught.

In such circumstances it is meet and right that, as a people, we should bow down in adoring thankfulness to that gracious God who has been our bulwark and defence, and to offer unto Him the tribute of thanksgiving and praise. In His hand is the issue of all events, and to Him should we, in an especial manner, ascribe the honour of this great deliverance.

Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, do issue this my proclamation, setting apart Thursday, the 18th day of September instant, as a day of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the great mercies vouchsafed to our people, and more especially for the triumph of our arms at Richmond and Manassas; and I do hereby invite the people of the Confederate States to meet on that day at their respective places of public worship, and to unite in rendering thanks and praise to God for these great mercies, and to implore Him to conduct our country safely through the perils which surround us, to the final attainment of the blessings of peace and security.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the Confederate States, at Richmond, this 4th day of September, A.D. 1862.

By the President,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ENGLAND.

Mr. Laing, ex-Minister of Finance for India, addressed a special meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on Thursday last. The principal topics with which he dealt were the supply of cotton from India, and the maladministration of Indian affairs by the Home Government. On the first point he considerably checked the ardent expectation of those sanguine men who have looked to our Oriental Empire to succeed or supersede the Southern States of America as the cotton-field of the world. It cannot, he assures us, furnish a substitute for the annual 4,000,000 bales withheld from us by the blockade; even if all the railways were completed and the means of transit perfected. As it takes five or six acres to produce a bale of cotton, 4,000,000 bales would require 20,000,000 of acres under cultivation, and these in addition to the acreage now cultivated to produce the supply required for the Indian

markets and for export. We must look solely to America for a solution of the present crisis. As regards the future, India had one great disadvantage in the production of cotton—a disadvantage which no skill, ingenuity, or capital applied by man can remove—its climate. "For six months in the year it rained in torrents, and for the remaining six there were extreme heat and great drought, interrupted only by a few precarious showers. The consequence was that the indigenous cotton plant, to stand the drought, required to strike its root deeper into the subsoil for moisture. A shorter and more scrubby plant, with deeper roots, and fewer fibres and balls, and producing a less quantity per acre, was the result." This, was not, however, the case everywhere. There were districts—especially the Dharwar—where the American seed was largely sown, and he believed the districts where this kind of cotton could be grown were very numerous. In the other districts, doubtless, where American cotton could not be grown, by a careful selection of seed, and by careful cultivation, the Indian cotton could be gradually and largely improved. It was quite clear that in India there was a great extent of country where cotton of every quality, especially Egyptian, could be grown, always provided that the price was sufficient to warrant the diversion of the land from other tropical products. But it was questionable whether cotton would ever maintain a sufficiently high price after the present scarcity was at an end. He had some doubts on that point himself, and also as to cotton being largely cultivated on an extensive scale by European planters. In India cotton was more on a level with ordinary agricultural produce, such as rice or linseed. The cultivation of tea, for instance, and other products might be made more profitable by the ordinary planter; but where cotton was grown and would be grown in India was more on the small farms of the ryots than by European planters on a large scale. The ryot possessed his own bullocks and plough, his own labour; he did the hoeing himself, his wife and children were there to do the picking, and the consequence was that he could produce cotton at an exceedingly low price. If the prices of cotton could be kept at a tolerably low range, at anything like 5d. or 6d. per lb., he believed it would be found that an increasing quantity of cotton would come from India year after year; that every year ryots would take to the cultivation of cotton as a rotation crop; that they would get the best seed and grow American cotton where it could be grown, and cultivate their own where it could not.

We believe that experience has shown that, even in the favoured districts of which Mr. Laing speaks, the American seed rapidly degenerates. The Indian variety seems to be the product of the climate and the soil; and the American, in becoming acclimatized, loses its peculiar perfections, and is assimilated to the indigenous plant. In no case is India ever likely to produce more cotton than is required to clothe her own enormous population. That population may indeed be clothed in Indian cotton manufactured in English mills; but for the consumption of the rest of the world our manufacturers must still depend on America. The Government of India, bad in other respects, exercises also a retarding influence on the promotion by European agency of cotton cultivation by the natives. In denouncing the system by which he has himself been a sufferer, Mr. Laing waxed eloquent. He pointed out the absurdity of pretending to govern India from England, and the aggravated absurdity of subjecting the first-rate men sent out as Governors-General to the third-rate men usually selected for the office of Secretary of State for India (or, as formerly, President of the Board of Control) in this country. The Governor-General is surrounded by men who are thoroughly acquainted with India; who have spent their life there; who are selected with very impartial regard to their merit from the best set of civil servants in the world. He has the benefit of their experience and ability; he is on the spot; he knows all the circumstances; and when his decisions have been announced, and are about to be carried out, they are liable to be reversed at the will and pleasure of the Secretary at home, acting with or without the advice of the fifteen retired East-Indians who form his council. Mr. Laing gave three notable instances of such reversal—all of recent occurrence. Lord Canning, he said, was a great statesman, a good and great man, with the most perfect conscientiousness, the highest sense of honour and duty, and the greatest moral courage; slow to form a judgment, which was pre-eminently "safe" when he had formed it. Lord Canning, with the advice of his Council, had passed a law for the better enforcement of contracts—the inefficiency of the existing law on that subject being both disgraceful and disastrous. The law so passed was rescinded by Sir Charles Wood. Lord Canning had enacted a measure for the sale of waste lands, which would have opened a vast and valuable

field to European enterprise, and introduced for the improvement of India the energy and the capital of England. And that law was rescinded by Sir Charles Wood. The descendants of the Royal family of Mysore had preferred certain claims against the Government of India. Two successive Governors-General had heard and adjudicated on those claims, and their judgment was decidedly against the claimants. The representative of the Mysore family came over to England, and obtained from Sir Charles Wood a reversal of that judgment, and an order that his demand should be satisfied. The moral effect of such a system was exceedingly bad. The prestige of British rule was bound up with the dignity of the Governor-General; to weaken his authority was to shake our own empire. Further, the natives believed in the perfect integrity of the local Government; they had had irresistible demonstration of it. But they had no similar conviction in regard to the Government in Downing-street; and, however absurd the notion might appear to Englishmen, who know that all English statesmen are equally above corruption, when the Hindoos saw a Bengalee Prince go over to England, and obtain there a reversal of the decree of the Governor-General in his case, the impression left on their minds was that the Home Government was open to the influence of bribery. He urged the men of Manchester to use their influence to obtain the abolition of the Home Council for India, and the limitation of the absolute control over the local Government of India now vested in and exercised by the Secretary of State. The feeling of the Chamber appeared to be strongly in favour of the speaker's views, particularly in regard to the sale of waste lands and the law of contracts, questions in which Manchester conceives itself to have a strong and immediate interest. Mr. Laing has since made a speech much to the same effect at Glasgow.

The Cotton Supply Association held its meeting on the 23rd. Both the report of the secretary and the leading speeches made were full of severe censure on the Indian Government. But it was not very easy to understand what were the sins of omission or commission which provoked those censures. The speakers complained, indeed, that the growth of cotton had not been officially encouraged, and that they had been told by the Indian Board to grow it themselves; but they did not indicate what encouragement ought to have been given, or who it is that should undertake to supervise and stimulate the growth of this important crop, if those who are most interested in the matter decline the task. The only charges to which the Indian Government seems really liable are those preferred by Mr. Laing. Lord Canning gave to Europeans who might be disposed to undertake the cultivation of cotton every facility which they could expect. Those facilities have been withdrawn by the Home Government, and to that extent Manchester has just ground of complaint. Mr. Bazley mentioned that three bales of cotton of first-rate quality, fully equal to American, had been received from Calcutta, and inferred from this that India might afford us a sufficient substitute for the supplies hitherto received from the Confederate States. But the fact hardly seems to warrant the conclusion. It is one thing to raise on one occasion, in a favoured spot, from imported seed, a small sample of splendid quality; it is quite another thing to supply in ordinary years and at ordinary prices the millions of bales that are needed to feed the enormous consumption of Lancashire. Because the first has been accomplished there is no reason to suppose that the second would, under any circumstances, have been possible. Mr. Haywood, the agent sent out to India, reports that there is not in that country any large stock ready of export. The quantity produced is probably as great as in the Confederate States. Three-fourths of this amount are at present consumed in India; the remainder, manufactured in England, does not more than balance the amount of cotton cloth exported thither. A greatly increased facility for internal communication might perhaps double our imports of the raw material, and our exports of manufactured goods to India.

The Association, with a not unnatural prejudice, is disposed to exaggerate the fitness of Indian cotton for the finer kinds of yarn and the better qualities of cloth. They have exhibited a collection of East Indian yarns up to No. 70's, and cloth bleached, dyed, and printed, which is said to be scarcely distinguishable from American. We should like to know whether these yarns and cloths are made from such sample bales as those mentioned by Mr. Bazley, or from the ordinary Surat cotton. In the former case they prove nothing, in the latter they certainly seem to prove too much.

Some new "substitute for cotton," which is to cost nothing, to make the fortune of the inventor, and to re-open the mills of Lancashire, is discovered every week. The inventors are mostly persons who know nothing of cotton spinning; and they forget, invariably, that a material which costs nothing when

supposed to be useless, and gathered by handfulls, might become almost as dear as silk if there were a manufacturing demand for hundreds of millions of pounds weight of it. The following remarks, by a "Medallist in Botany" deserves notice:—

I have obtained samples of most of the fibres proposed, and I have submitted them to careful examination under the microscope. I find them all to be varieties of woody fibre, more or less split up and divided, varying in the length and thickness of the fibrilla. The fibres of all the specimens I have seen are nevertheless uniform in the following particulars:—They are all solid and inelastic, or brittle, with joints and rough edges, showing where the bundle of fibrillae have been torn apart. Having some practical acquaintance with cotton spinning and a weaving, I assert that the above qualities render woody fibre unfitness to be used as a substitute for cotton without a considerable modification of our machinery. The fibres which have been exhibited may probably be useful as substitutes for linen, if they can be largely produced at a cheap rate; but the woody fibre (from which all the proposed substitutes, I feel confident, are drawn) can never be a perfect substitute for cotton, which consists of vegetable hairs, hollow, elastic, riband-shaped, and spiral, with smooth edges and surfaces. If we want a substitute for cotton, we must not look for it in woody fibre.

The number of paupers in the cotton districts increased last week by 5410, of whom 1200 are in Preston, and 990 in Ashton-under-Lyne. The condition of the people is frightful. Persons are daily applying to the Relief Committees for food to save them from absolute starvation, who until lately filled responsible situations. The case of the overlookers and others of the highest order of working-men is peculiarly hard. They have exhausted the savings of a life-time; they are as helplessly dependent on charity as the poorest of the operatives, but they feel with intense misery the degradation of applying for it. Their employers really might take pity on them, and save them from this humiliation. The class is not numerous, and the preservation of its character, influence, and self-respect, is of the highest importance to the manufacturers. The operatives have, in one place, held a meeting to protest against the refusal of the Relief Committee to assist people in receipt of a parish allowance. The rule is stern, but we fear it is necessary; the result of its repeal would probably be to diminish the parish allowance, and, by limiting the power of relief, to throw many who are now supported by the Committee upon the Union. Proposals have been made to collect the cast-off clothes of London for the benefit of the operatives; and the Lord Mayor has suggested to the Committee over which he presides, a scheme for the organization of such a collection. This Committee have received altogether about £55,000 (£7000 last week) and distributed above £30,000.

Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Henley, and Lord Stanley have all made public speeches this week, the two first at agricultural meetings, the last at the opening of a mechanics' institution. Nothing of political interest is contained in any of the speeches.

The Stoke election has resulted in the retirement of Mr. Sargeant Shee and the defeat of Mr. Hope. It was said, some days ago, that the result depended on the amount of money spent; and liberal, indeed, must have been the expenditure which would induce any English constituency to return a candidate who has disgraced himself by such behaviour as that of Mr. Grenfell.

William Roupell, late M.P. for Lambeth, was yesterday arraigned at the Central Criminal Court on the charge of forgery. He pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life. The facts of the case will be fresh in the recollection of our readers. The culprit was the eldest but illegitimate son of parents subsequently married. He enjoyed the full confidence of his father, and availed himself of it to get possession of and make away with much of the property, which the elder Roupell had amassed, he also forged a will by which, on his father's death, the whole property, chiefly in land, was transferred to his mother; and with her consent he alienated it, and spent the proceeds in unsuccessful speculations. Subsequently, after his bankruptcy he came forward in a civil court to give evidence that the will was a forgery; thereby, of course, invalidating the title of the alienees, and enabling his legitimate brother, as heir-at-law, to recover the whole of his father's estate. It appears that the alienees were apprised before this of his intention; but they chose to disbelieve his assertion, and imagined the story of the forgery to be concocted purely for the purpose of restoring the fortunes of the family. The evidence against Mr. Roupell consists solely of his own confession, and a mystery not yet fully cleared up hangs over the whole case. The prisoner, before sentence was passed, made an earnest, and almost eloquent speech, explaining the causes which had led him into crime, and protesting the sincerity of his repentance.

Belfast has been the scene of a disgraceful riot. A great Orange demonstration was held there, attended by some 70,000 persons, with the object of protesting against the policy of the Government, which is held to be too favourable to the Catholics. Lord Palmerston has the singular ill-fortune to have

alienated all the partisans of one religion by his foreign policy, while the conduct of his subordinates has enraged all the extreme supporters of the other. The Orangemen seem at first to have behaved well, except in holding the meeting at all. But the Roman Catholics took fire; a mob assembled, and proceeded to smash the windows of the Presbyterian chapel of Dr. Hanna, a vulgar and violent anti-Papal declaimer, and one of the worst of those theological mischief-makers who are the curse of Ireland and the disgrace of Protestantism. The Orangemen retaliated by a series of similar outrages; large bodies of police were brought into action, but in vain; the mobs had it all their own way, yielding where the constabulary or troops appeared, and re-assembling elsewhere, to do more mischief before they could again be reached and dispersed. The most influential Catholic gentlemen of the vicinity met, under the presidency of their coadjutor Bishop, and issued a remonstrance to the co-religionists. The town is still in possession of the mob; and though a military and police force of 1000 men is there, only three of the rioters have been arrested.

EUROPE.

ITALY.—The health of General Garibaldi appears to be better than was expected. Mr. Patridge has reported that the ball has not entered the wound in the ankle, but fractured the bone by its impact; and the wound is going on favourably. Several medical comforts, thought necessary for the sufferer, have been ordered from England. He bears his confinement, and the pain of his wound, with admirable serenity of temper. His companions have contrived to make their complaints heard, and, in a letter to the Premier, speak very indiguantly of their treatment, which probably results from the limited accommodation at the disposal of the Government. Ports are not adapted to contain whole regiments of captives. They declare that they are confined, thirteen in one small room, with the strictest vigilance; that they have neither beds nor washing apparatus; that they are allowed no exercise, and are not permitted to receive letters from their friends. They demand of M. Ratazzi "light, air, room, motion; permission to obtain necessities at their own expense, and to make known to their relations and friends where they are and how they are." In conclusion, they bid the Minister "cease to tell lies, and to deceive their families and country." This not very courteous letter has received no public reply.

"It is a pity," one of our ablest contemporaries lately said, "that a hero should be a fool." That so great and so genuine a hero as General Garibaldi should be so great a fool as he shows himself, is not merely pitiable but perplexing. He has been again asked—this time by an American Consul—if he will give his services to the Federal cause; and we are sorry to say that he has returned a favourable reply. When released and cured, he will be happy to tender his aid to the great Republic, "which is fighting for universal liberty." As an American citizen, the General has, of course, a right to do so; but we think he might as well inform himself first as to what the Federal Government is really fighting for. He is not the man to save the failing cause of the North, even if he could hope to recover and reach the scene of war in time. He never showed any strategic capacity on a great scale; his great victories were triumphs rather of moral influence than of military skill; and were won against enemies far inferior to the Confederates, with the very flower of the Italian youth. We remember to have heard it said of Garibaldi by one who at that time held a higher influence than his over the mind of Italy, and who had known, trusted, and employed him, that there was no such leader living for 1500 or 2000 guerrillas; but that for the command of a great army engaged in regular warfare he was wholly unfit. This was said before the Sicilian expedition; but nothing that has happened since has in any way contradicted this view of Garibaldi's peculiar capacity. For the sake of his own reputation, we trust that the General will not have the opportunity he desires of drawing his sword in a bad cause which he does not understand, with which he has no practical concern, and in which he can win no laurels. But if he should do so, so much the better for the South. It will enhance the glory even of "Stonewall Jackson" to have beaten Garibaldi.

General Durando, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has addressed a note to the Italian representatives at the principal European Courts in reference to the Garibaldian enterprise and the occupation of Rome. He claims credit to Italy for the resolution and vigour which has been shown in enforcing the law against the most honoured subject and chiefest benefactor of the Italian Crown, and for her entire acquiescence in the action of the Ministry on an occasion so critical and so painful. But he asserts that the cry of the volunteers only echoed the deliberate will of the nation; that Italy demands her capital; and that

she confides in and obeys her Government only because she fully believes in their determination to win Rome for her. The situation is, no doubt, full of peril for any Italian Government, and above all for that of M. Ratazzi, who enjoys far less of the national confidence of which his colleague boasts than either of his predecessors. But no action of their own can affect the issue of the question; and it is probable that the note was intended not to produce any practical effect abroad, but to influence opinion at home. In American phrase, it is addressed "to Bunkum."

The state of siege in Naples seems to give satisfaction to the respectable inhabitants, as it has enabled the Government to get hold of the Camorristi, who have been summarily tried and shot with scant ceremony. These ruffians, who had supporters even among the police, and exercised a despotism of terror even in the prisons, may possibly be put down by this late display of vigour. But against brigandage no progress is made. The country people are rather cowardly or lukewarm in the cause of order, and the banditti rob, burn, and murder at their pleasure. These agreeable pursuits acquire an additional zest, no doubt, from an occasional brush with the Piedmontese troops, in which the latter never seem to gain any advantage worth having; the brigands, even when defeated, carrying away their wounded. It is quite clear that this "brigandage" is of no common kind; and while the Italian Government fails to repress it, the King of Italy can hardly consider himself secure in the loyal affections of his Southern subjects. The authorities now threaten to deal very severely with all who may harbour or assist the brigands; and thus the frightened inhabitants of the infested country are placed between two fires. If they refuse the demands of the marauders, they are likely to be murdered; if they comply, they are liable to summary punishment from the Piedmontese. The National Guard is frightened out of its wits.

Victor Emmanuel, in replying to a deputation which presented to him an ordinary loyal address, is reported by a semi-official journal to have said that Rome would be in the hands of the Italians before the expiration of the year. The *Official Gazette* of Turin contains a strong and indignant protest against the suggestions of *La France* for the dismemberment of the kingdom, and the substitution of an Italian Federation.

GERMANY.—The constitutional system of Prussia, if not exactly "on its trial" is certainly passing through a grave and perilous crisis. The Crown and the Chamber of Deputies have been brought into angry conflict on a point on which the King is understood to feel strongly, and on which his Ministers have expressed themselves with unbecoming and almost menacing vehemence. The Chamber, as is the case under almost every form of constitutional government, has the right of voting or refusing supplies; has, in fact, the exclusive control of the national purse, and through that control is enabled, if not as in England to command, yet at least to check and modify the action of the Executive. The latter has undertaken the reorganization of the Prussian army. By law, every young man is bound to serve for three years in the regular army; he is then enrolled for two years in the reserve, and then passes into the Landwehr, which is never called out except on such great occasions of national exigency as occurred during the Napoleonic wars. The three years' service in the line has always been felt as a very oppressive burden on the youth of the higher classes in Prussia, cutting short their education and interfering with their advancement in life; and it had, up to 1859, become practically shortened to a term of two years. The Government thought fit to revert in 1860 to the old system, and further to enrol the retired soldier in the reserve for five years instead of two. These and other steps taken for the reorganization of the army have led to an extra expenditure this year of nearly a million sterling. The Chamber, which conceived that measures so important ought not to have been taken except in pursuance of an act of the Legislature, seized the occasion afforded by the presentation of the Military Budget to enforce its views upon the Ministry. The Select Committee to which, according to the usual rule, the Budget was referred, presented a report striking off all the additional items of expense necessitated by the reorganization, and recommended the Chamber to vote the Budget *minus* those items. On this recommendation a very long and angry debate took place. The Minister of War took high ground, and refused to submit to the wish of the House, intimating that if the deputies did not know their duty, they had only themselves to blame for the consequences. The result was that on the first item the Government were beaten, in a pretty full house, by a majority of four to one. They then endeavoured to effect a compromise; the Budget of 1862 was to be accepted, and that of 1863 was to be coupled with an act of the Legislature for the reorganization of the army, reducing the regular term

of service from three to two years. But the proposal seems to have fallen through; the report of the Select Committee has been adopted and acted upon by the Chamber, and it is reported that the Ministers of War, of Finance, and of Foreign Affairs, will resign.

A curious incident occurred during the debate, forcibly illustrating the very different character of the Prussian and the English Parliament. One of the ministers used very offensive language, and the party insulted called on the President to enforce order. As the ministers, though they have seats and the right of speech in the Chamber, are not members, the President doubted his power to call them to order; and the little debate on this knotty point wound up with the declaration of the minister that, if he had been called to order, he should have paid no regard to the authority of the President. It is plain that the Prussian Chamber is very far indeed from having attained the power and privileges which, even, 200 years ago, would have made such a defiance of the most servile House of Commons that ever sat at Westminster too daring an act for the boldest minister of the British Crown.

PORTUGAL.—A serious military revolt has occurred at Braga; how, or why, or to what end, we cannot yet judge. The King has issued a proclamation offering pardon to those who shall lay down their arms within three days.

TURKEY.—The rebellion in Montenegro and the Herzegovina seems to be at an end. The Prince of Montenegro has tendered his submission on the terms accorded by the Porte; and it is reported that Omar Pacha will leave that region for Serbia, where the insurrection still continues, though the European Powers have agreed in recommending, and Turkey has accepted, terms of accommodation which differ very little from the *status quo*. It is difficult to understand what the hope of the Servians can be. Meantime it is said that the British Minister at Athens has formally notified to the Greek Government his knowledge of its complicity in the intestine troubles of the Ottoman Empire.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Sept. 24.

The past week has been the most lifeless we have experienced in our cotton market for months; a total want of animation has characterised the business from day to day; buyers have held aloof, the trade have bought from hand to mouth, and speculators have been tempted to operate only at a heavy reduction in price. Sellers, however, have shown great firmness, withdrawing nearly all their cotton from the market, and whilst those disposed to buy are few, those determined to force off their cotton at the late decline are also few in number.

Our last report left the market extremely dull on the basis of 27d. for Middling Orleans, and 17½d. for Fair Dhollerahs. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, there was a little more tone, but no improvement in prices, with sales of 2000 to 2500 per day. The Persia's news, which was looked forward to with interest, proved to be no later than that received by the City of Washington, and left matters in the same critical state at the seat of war. Jackson was in considerable force in Maryland, but his destination was uncertain, while McClellan, at the head of a large force, had gone to meet him.

On Monday the market opened with a very languid tone, and a general disinclination on the part of both buyers and sellers to operate freely until receipt of further American news; the sales reached only 2000 bales.

On Tuesday business was quite stagnant, and at one time it seemed probable that there would be no sales at all; as the day advanced, however, they were with some difficulty raised to 450 bales!—about the smallest business ever known in our market.

To-day there is no improvement in feeling, and the sales are only estimated at 1000 bales. Yet there is no great anxiety to sell, and our market, during such a state of utter stagnation, has rarely been so well-supported in prices.

The North American and City of New York, with several days later dates, both over due, through the prevalence of easterly winds, are anxiously looked for.

A large import of East India cotton is probable before long; there are now 150,000 bales that have been afloat over 120 days, and 100,000 more upwards of 100 days, and their arrival cannot be delayed much longer.

The last business done to arrive has been on the basis of 16½d. for Fair Dhollerah and Omrawatee, June shipment. On the spot, Middling Orleans are nominally worth 25d., and Fair Dhollerah 17d. per lb.

MANCHESTER, Sept. 23,

Our cloth and yarn market continues to exhibit that quiet but firm tone which has been its chief characteristic during the two previous weeks, and very little business of moment has been effected.

All classes of goods are held for extreme rates, and very little disposition is shown on the part of holders of the better qualities to yield at all to offers under their quotations.

There have been inquiries for India and China shirtings, and offers made at 1s. to 1s. 6d. per piece under the extreme prices asked, but no business has resulted from them.

Green-end mulls 16×15 might be disposed of in quantities at a little under quotations, but makers refuse to listen to a concession.

In export yarns there has been a small business done in 20s, 24s, and 30s, water twist in bundle, at prices almost equal to the highest point reached during the late excitement.

Some trade yarns are little inquired for, consequent upon the rapid closing of weaving sheds, it being quite impossible for manufacturers to realize for cloth more than they give for yarns.

To-day has been the flattest market day on record, next to no business being reported, the quiet state of the Liverpool market being the principal cause of this. Their total sales of cotton to-day amounting to only 350 bales, out of which 200 are taken for speculation and export.

TOBACCO.

We have to report a very firm market, although the sales to the trade have been quite limited. The late advices from America have caused more attention to be turned to Maryland and Ohio leaf, and from 1000 to 1500 hogsheds have been taken since the beginning of the month almost entirely on speculation, and prices for these descriptions may be quoted ½d. to ¾d. higher.

There is some little business doing for export, and we may soon look for larger orders in this market.

The accounts from the Western States are unfavourable for the growing crop, so that under any circumstances the quantity must be small, and with a continuance of hostilities in the tobacco districts great difficulty will be found in securing it in proper order. Some parcels of the new import have been sampled in Liverpool, and the quality is reported to be fine.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

THE BATTLE OF CEDAR CREEK.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

The following is a list of casualties in the 31st Va. Regiment in the battle near Cedar Creek, Aug. 9th, 1862:—

Lieut.-Colonel Alfred H. Jackson commanding, wound in hip severely.

Company A.—Wounded: Privates B. K. Martin, shoulder; Robert Henderson, hand.

Company B.—Wounded: Privates Baxter Maleom, shoulder; George W. Sheffer, arm.

Company C.—Wounded: Private George M. Cookman, shoulder.

Company D.—Killed: Private Israel Marks. Wounded: Captain J. S. Kerr McCutchen, arm.

Company E.—Killed: Private William Hamilton.

Company F.—Killed: Private John M. C. Lewis. Wounded: Lieut. O. H. P. Lewis, thigh.

Company G.—Wounded: Privates George W. Phillips, arm; John B. Thomas, shoulder.

Company H.—Wounded: Capt. George Thompson, arm; Privates Joshua Lunsford, side; Emanuel Stone, leg.

Company I.—Killed: Lieut. Hiram M. Marsh. Wounded: Corporal Nathaniel Clark, ankle; Private William P. Roan, thigh.

Company K.—Wounded: Corporal John H. Wilt, arm. Total—killed, 4; wounded, 16.

This is the first list of our casualties that we have sent for publication, thinking that they would be published from headquarters. The 31st Virginia Regiment is composed entirely of troops from the North-west, and until May formed a part of that army, being actively engaged in the battles of Greenbrier River, Alleghany, and McDowell, and since then in those fought in the Valley and in front of Richmond. Our loss in the various battles has been about 275 in killed and wounded, including officers. In the battle of Port Republic we took into action 226 men, and lost in killed and wounded 100—missing 17.

Colonel John S. Hoffman being absent sick, the command devolved, in the present battle, upon Lieut.-Colonel Alfred H. Jackson. He was severely wounded while gallantly encouraging his men in front of the enemy's centre. Our loss in this battle was comparatively slight, but from our advantageous position our execution was very great.

JOHN G. GITTINGS, Adjutant.

FIRST TENNESSEE REGIMENT.

Company A.—Killed: Private Samuel M. Kelley. Wounded: Capt. Joseph A. Lusk, gun-shot, arm; Private Thomas S. Goodman, gun-shot, chest, penetrating.

Company B.—Killed: Private S. Scruggs. Wounded: Private Geo. W. Vaughan, gun-shot, knee joint; Moses Purcell, gun-shot, chest, penetrating.

Company C.—Killed: Private Elisha Meredith. Wounded: Lieut. Alfred H. Johnson, gun-shot, ankle, slight; Private M. Bradberry, gun-shot, foot.

Company D.—Wounded: Private Joseph Bolin, gun-shot, ankle.

Company E.—Wounded: Privates Burwell H. Babo, gun-shot, leg, mortal; J. Hoard Braadon, gun-shot, leg, slight, Sergeant J. A. Hobbs, gun-shot, leg, severe.

Company F.—Wounded: Lieut. James H. Thompson, gun-shot, hip, slight; O. Sergeant P. D. Boyce, gun-shot, leg, severe; Private David Bridges, gun-shot, fore-arm.

Company G.—Wounded: Privates James Cashion, gun-shot, arm, severe; James C. Kelso, gun-shot, elbow-joint; William W. McClellan, knee, slight.

Company H.—Killed: Privates Wm. Cooper, Thomas Harper, gun-shot, leg.

Company I.—Wounded: Privates William Rogers, gun-shot, arm, slight; Samuel Mulligan, gun-shot, little finger.

Company K.—Wounded: Private Francis D. Epps, gun-shot, foot.

The regiment carried into the fight only about 100 men, and they were almost completely exhausted from the excessive heat and the march; but never did men fight more to the purpose.

Col. Turney, after leading his men gallantly through every charge, fell exhausted on account of over-heat, but soon rallied.

THE TENTH VIRGINIA REGIMENT.

Company A (Stasburgh Guards).—Killed: None. Wounded: Private Luther Grove, slightly; Orderly Sergeant George M. Spengler, stunned by the concussion of a shell. 2 wounded.

Company B (Rockingham Rifles).—Killed: Private J. K. Ryan. Wounded: Lieut. S. M. Jones, slightly in arm; Private J. H. Austin, mortally; J. R. Gaither, slightly in hand; William L. Palmer, slightly in hand; J. Ashbury Payne, severely in leg; Joseph Watkins, slightly in leg; James Williams, severely in head. 1 Killed, and 7 wounded.

Company C (Southern Guards).—Killed: None. Wounded: Orderly Sergeant Lucius Cammuck, mortally; Private John Niswander, very slightly in thigh. 2 Wounded.

Company D (Bridgewater Greys).—Killed: None. Wounded: Lieut. F. Linbess, severely in ankle; Corporal B. F. Harmon,

severely in leg; Private William H. Stinespring, slightly in shoulder. 3 Wounded.

Company E (Peaked Mountain Greys).—Killed: Privates Stewart Harner; Albert Newland, died from wounds. Wounded: Joseph L. Royer, leg broken; Franklin Michael, severely in neck and jaw; Sergeant Charles E. Hammon, severely in elbow; Corporal E. H. Leap, slightly in head; Stewart Shifflet, flesh-wound in arm; Corporal W. Wyant, stunned by the concussion of a shell; Isaac Wyant, also stunned. 2 Killed and 7 wounded.

Company F (Muhlenburg Rifles).—Killed: Private Edward Kendricks. Wounded: Private E. M. Bushong, flesh wound in thigh; W. Bair, stunned by the concussion of a shell; John Alison, also stunned; John S. Loder, also stunned. 1 Killed and 4 wounded.

Company G (Valley Guards).—Killed: None. Wounded: Private Jas. A. Wilson, severely in ankle; John H. Simmers, flesh wound in thigh; James M. Murphy, slightly; Gabriel Shank, very slightly; Wm. S. Rohr, stunned by the concussion of a shell; Wm. C. McAister, also stunned. 6 wounded.

Company H (Chrisman's Infantry).—Killed: None. Wounded: Capt. James P. Ralston, flesh wound in arm; Corporal A. F. Hopkins, stunned by the concussion of a shell, and slightly wounded by two spent balls, one in breast and one in foot; Private Isaac Keister, flesh wound in thigh; A. S. Kieffer, stunned by the concussion of a shell. 4 wounded.

Company I (Riverton Invincibles).—Killed: None. Wounded: Sergeant Philip M. Seerist, in breast, arm, and thigh; Private Miles G. Grove, severely in right shoulder; Lewis S. Lamb, severely in left shoulder; Noah W. Frazier, slightly by the concussion of a shell. 4 wounded.

Company K (Page's Volunteers).—Killed: Lieut. John W. Mauck; Sergeant James O. Wood; Private Henry H. Lucas. Wounded: Lieut. David C. Grayson, severely in side; Lieut. Wm. E. Pittman, leg shot off; Corporal F. H. Lauck, slightly in thigh; Private James E. Beasley, leg shot off; John J. Berry, severely in arm and side; Andrew J. Kibler, severely in both legs; Nehemiah Atwood, slightly in thigh; Thomas D. Walters, slightly in knee; Tilman S. Wearer, leg shot off; Jas. M. Baker, badly in hand; Jas. C. Wood, Wm. H. Price and Thomas Price stunned by the concussions of shells. 3 killed and 13 wounded.

Company I (Jeff. Davis Guards).—Killed: Private E. M. Ewell, died on the field from sunstroke. Wounded: Lieut. J. C. Crigler, slightly in hand; Private C. E. Jenkins, mortally; Jas. Thomas, slightly by the concussion of a shell. 1 killed and 3 wounded.

The casualties in the 37th Va. amount to 125 in killed and wounded.

THE TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT VIRGINIA VOLUNTEERS.

(Lieut.-Col. R. H. Cunningham, Jr., commanding.) Field and Staff—Lieut.-Col. R. H. Cunningham, killed; Adjutant Man Page, hurt side and back, horse shot.

Company A (Lieut. D. W. Harvey commanding).—Killed: Sergeant Joseph T. Rainey; Privates James J. Shelton, Wm. Farmer, Wm. A. Turk, Richard E. Ellington, Jas. S. Farrar. Wounded: Jno. T. Hunter, since dead, Jas. L. Price, L. A. Armistead, Jas. A. Sublett, John M. Taum, Geo. W. Ramsey, Ed. J. St. John, Benj. C. Jordan, A. W. Manton. Missing: Corporal Jas. S. Daniel; Privates H. M. Hill, Samuel B. Sims.

Company C (Capt. T. S. Ames, commanding).—Killed: Sergeant Samuel J. Coleman, Corporal W. A. Oliver, Privates A. B. Lipscomb, Wm. M. Oliver, John S. Crouch. Wounded: Sergeant Ben. W. Tisdal; Privates Wm. B. Coleman, Richard C. Coley, Thaddeus P. Webb, Thos. W. Byass.

Company D (Capt. A. C. Page commanding).—Killed: Privates James Dowdy, John Price. Wounded: Lieut. W. E. Booker; Privates Samuel Garbrett, Thos. Hubbard, H. W. Griffith, John Morgan, W. Cook, E. B. Brown, Daniel Baughn, John E. Hazlegrove.

Company E (Capt. W. P. Mosely commanding).—Killed: Corporal Geo. W. Jones; Privates Thomas Morris, Thomas Newton, W. E. Pawin, Jas. H. Webb. Wounded: Lieut. A. M. Cosby, since dead; Sergeant Richard T. Cobb, Corporal P. A. Dorson; Privates Jos. C. Adcock, Jas. M. Austin, W. H. Day, Jas. Guill, Jno. T. Scruggs, Wm. A. Webb.

Company F (Capt. W. H. Morgan commanding).—Killed: Capt. W. H. Morgan, Corporal E. L. Lindsay; Privates H. V. Anderson, John G. Powell. Wounded: Sergeant W. G. Pollard, since dead; Corporal Jas. H. Nunally; Privates R. H. Gilham, C. E. Taylor, E. G. Tompkins, C. M. Redd, J. Peter Wren, Acting Sergeant-Major H. H. Watkins.

Company G (A. D. Kelley, commanding).—Killed: Corporal B. G. Watson; Private J. T. Brasswell. Wounded: Capt. A. D. Kelley; Privates A. C. Archer, A. Bathe, James H. Finch, J. J. Mosely, C. H. Kidd, T. J. Claig, W. Mosely. Missing: J. R. Nance, supposed to be wounded.

Company H (1st Lieut. John A. Younger, commanding).—Killed: 1st Lieut. John A. Younger; Sergeant Joel Y. Shelton, colour bearer; Privates W. J. Dove, W. A. Dove, A. C. East, Samuel Templeton, John P. Shields. Wounded: James Angel, since dead; W. J. Walker, since dead; Christopher Saunder, since dead; H. E. Bell, J. G. Dove, H. Hall, Lieut. Samuel T. Adams, Sergeant D. D. Owen, Zachariah Irby, P. Irby, A. K. Williams, John R. Shields, A. W. Jones, taken prisoner; James L. Moore.

Company I (Captain W. A. Witcher, commanding). Killed: Privates James Witcheer, Moses Mitchell, Jos. Dunu. Wounded: Sergeant A. P. Wagant, since dead; Privates E. B. Eanes, since dead; 1st Lieut. V. W. Swanson, 2nd Lieut. L. D. Minter, Corporal Jno. Riddle; Privates Samuel Gibson, V. Gibson, W. Wallace, Thomas Cooper, James A. Eanes, James A. Gibson, R. Edwards, Darling Allen, Jackson Riley, Lee P. Francis.

Company K (2nd Lieut. T. W. Brown, commanding, taken prisoner and killed by the enemy).—Killed: Private S. A. Elliott, Wounded: S. C. Douglass, James P. Craigue, W. T. Flowers. Robert Hood. Missing: J. Dunnivant.

THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS.

GENERAL LEE'S LETTER AND THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Headquarters of the Army,

Grovetown, August 30, 10 p.m.

The army achieved to-day, on the plains of Manassas, a signal victory over the combined forces of Generals McClellan and Pope. On the 28th and 29th each wing, under Longstreet and Jackson, repulsed with vigour, attacks made on them separately. We mourn the loss of our gallant dead in every conflict, yet our gratitude to Almighty God, for His mercies, rises higher each day. To Him, and to the valour of our troops, a nation's gratitude is due.

(Signed)

ROBT. E. LEE.

To President Davis.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS.

I have the gratification of presenting to Congress two despatches of General Lee, commanding the army of Northern Virginia, communicating the result of the operations north of the Rappahannock line. From these despatches it will be seen that God has again extended his shield over our patriotic army, and has blessed the cause of the Confederacy with a signal victory on the field already made memorable by the gallant achievements of our troops. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the skill and daring of the Commanding-General who conceived, or the valour and hardihood of the troops who executed, this brilliant movement, whose results we now communicate. Our tired and worn troops advanced to meet another invading army, reinforced not only by the defeated forces of McClellan, but by the fresh troops of Burnside and Hunter. After forced marches, with inadequate transportation, and across streams swollen to unusual heights, by repeated combats they turned the position of the enemy, and, forming a junction of their columns in the face of greatly superior forces, they fought the decisive battle of the 30th, the crowning triumph of their toil and valour.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

WOUNDED CONFEDERATE PRISONERS.

The Richmond papers of August give the subjoined list of wounded Confederate prisoners at Newport, Rhode Island:—

L. W. Heagefeth, Company I, 12th North Carolina Volunteers; Colonel L. V. Latfen, Company C, 12th North Carolina Volunteers; R. Loftin, Company B, 12th North Carolina Volunteers; M. W. Williams, Company C, 12th North Carolina Volunteers; Corporal J. A. Roberts, Company G, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; T. C. Blankinship, Company I, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; George Bell, Company A, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; Joseph Hightown, Company B, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; William J. Hinson, Company A, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; Wm. Semth, Company A, Latham's Artillery; William Andron, Company F, 26th Alabama Volunteers; John Hoornor, Company A, 18th North Carolina Volunteers; A. L. W. Rae, Company F, 18th North Carolina Volunteers; John W. Teddor, Company A, 18th North Carolina Volunteers; Captain Thomas V. Anderson, Company F, 23th North Carolina Volunteers, wounded at Hanover Court-house on May 27, 1862; H. C. Page, Company K, 28th North Carolina Volunteers; John M. W. Langhlin, Company F, 18th North Carolina Troops; John F. McLane, Company F, 18th North Carolina Troops; James A. Cromarier, Company K, 18th North Carolina Troops; A. B. Rooks, Company E, 18th North Carolina Troops; William Hall, Company A, 18th North Carolina Troops; Sergeant Thomas H. Chatman, Company G, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; R. C. Rutledge, Company G, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; Philip H. Paysour, Company G, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; Peyton S. Rhyne, Company G, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; John B. Nicholson, Company I, 37th North Carolina Volunteers; Corporal Zephaniah W. Burgess, Latham's Battery, North Carolina; W. J. Vaughan, Company I, 7th Tennessee; John Peter Merch, Company G, 27th Georgia; Second Sergeant John W. Murchison, Company C, 27th Georgia Volunteers; W. A. Collins, Company C, 4th Virginia Cavalry (Stuart's); Joseph F. Watts, Company B, 49th Virginia; Hubisk Dierkes, Company B, 5th Tennessee; C. Stokes, Company A, 5th Tennessee; Sergeant James Gubbins, Company F, 5th Tennessee; W. M. Davis, Company I, 5th Tennessee; Corporal J. W. Murphy, Company B, 22nd North Carolina Volunteers; Sergeant Albert Renaldi, Company K, 18th North Carolina Volunteers; Sergeant John S. Willis, Company K, 18th North Carolina Volunteers.

The following address appeared in the *Richmond Examiner*.

MARYLANDERS:—More than a year ago you were driven from your homes by the ruthless tyranny of the usurper at Washington, and with a zeal and gallantry worthy of your State, you rushed to arms in defence of constitutional liberty and Southern independence.

Untoward circumstances, to which it is not now necessary to make special reference, have conspired to impair your influence in the great army of Freedom; but we rejoice to see that the patriotic and generous statesmanship of the Confederate States' Government has at length assumed direct control of the difficulties by which you are surrounded, with a fixed determination to remove them all in the most efficient manner. You are now invited by the Government to enrol yourselves into a "Maryland Line," selecting your own officers, and modelling your organization under the same laws which regulate the volunteers from all other States. You are placed upon the high ground occupied by your brethren of the whole South, and it will now be your fault, nay, your unpardonable dereliction of duty, should you refuse or fail, through inactivity or want of harmony, to attain to a position of power and influence in the Southern army, which shall secure for your down-trodden State the respect of the Southern Government, the sympathy of the Southern people, and a full participation in the hopes and benefits of this struggle for independence.

You will see the published order from the Adjutant General's office inviting you to organize without delay; and we are assured that steps will be immediately taken to enable you to do so. Marylanders! dear friends! remember the wrongs, the sufferings, the dangers which are thickening around the loved hearthstones in old Maryland, where sit in deepest affliction and anxiety your fathers, mothers, wives, sisters, and subjugated brethren, awaiting with inexpressible solicitude the gleam of your avenging steel, and the victorious salutations of heroes, who are to break their chains and put arms into their hands to strike for freedom.

In God's name, lose not a moment in preparing to rescue our bleeding State, whilst we have cause to hope for, and time to accomplish, her redemption.

JNO. H. WINDER, FRANK BUCHANAN,
WM. HENRY NORRIS, E. LOUIS LOWE,
E. GRISWOLD, T. S. RHETT,
H. CLAY DALLAM,

PRIVATE LETTERS.

Charleston, July 23, 1862.

Since I last wrote to you (March 12) we have had eventful times. Our condition was never better than it is now—it was never worse than it was then. The battles before Richmond have been glorious victories for us; and so completely unexpected by the enemy were Jackson's movements that only the day before those battles commenced McClellan announced to his army, in a general order, that Banks had whipped Jack-

son miles off. "Stonewall" is the terror of the enemy, and will yet do more than he has done; he will completely out-general, and, perhaps, annihilate Pope before he has done with him. Our men seem to care for nothing—only give them a chance, and they rush into a fight, either singly, by platoons, or in regiments.

The Federals have exhausted their stock of Irish, Scotch, Germans, and French, who have been doing their fighting for them, and now know of no other direction in which to look than to the negroes of the South, and you will see that they are proposing to raise negro regiments. One of their members of Congress, a loud-mouthed Abolitionist, proposes, in a speech in Congress, to put them in the front of the battle, and thus to save the lives of their white mercenaries.

You will see Butler's explanation of his "woman order" in the Northern papers. It hears the lie on its face.

When I last wrote to you I was chaplain of the Greenville Regiment, but circumstances forced me leave that position on May 1, and since that time I have had so much business to look after that I have not been able to return to it. But I will be in service again in a short time, although I think of attaching myself to some hospital, or of doing missionary service in the army. Yet I would not be surprised if I go into regular fighting service. I have thought often of raising a company and leading them forth. *I cannot remain at home.* The men not in the war are going to be marked men hereafter. Almost everybody is in vigorous active service. Even B. F. Perry, who, you know, was as earnest a Union man as myself, and as bitterly opposed to the Secession of South Carolina, ran for colonel of one of the regiments, and is now Confederate District Attorney for Greenville District.

I trust we will soon have recognition from abroad, but no intervention, which I am afraid will be offered upon a proposition for a reconstruction of the Union (which will never, never be submitted to), or upon some other proposition which will be equally objectionable. We will be glad of arms, if any nation will furnish them, or of goods of any kind; but let us fight it out ourselves. We have, however, a fearful struggle before us. We have not yet begun to see the efforts they will make. If we invade them they will have out all their militia, and I think they will do it any how; and, if so, then there will be fighting such as the world never saw. Our men are anxious to be up and at them. If Kentucky rises we will soon show them an army in Ohio, perhaps in Illinois, and I think we will have one in Maryland before you get this letter. One thing you may say to friends abroad—that our people are ready to live on bread and water, to lose everything we have in the world, to come out of this war with nothing but liberty, but not to come out without it. Alexander H. Stephens thinks the war will last beyond this generation, yet he shrinks not. I know no man of foresight who expects less than two or three years more. The truth is, one party or the other must be badly beaten before we can settle the many questions that arise—the mouth of the Mississippi and its trade, the right to fortify it, the Florida forts, the status of Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, the possession of Washington City, the complications from the new State they are trying to make out of Virginia, the arrangement of our commercial relations, the Confiscation Bill (North), and the Sequestration Bill (South), these and many other points will make it very difficult to get peace unless we whip them badly or they annihilate us. I say annihilate, for, if they conquer, they will not have man, woman, or child, left to rule over.

How I wish you were here! Your heart would leap with joy to see the glorious determination and to join in the glorious deeds of your countrymen.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent).

New York, September 2.

Wall-street at present is in a Mieswiler-like condition—waiting for something to "turn up;" the chances are that everything will turn down, unless a short period of extraordinary inflation should follow the forthcoming issues of Mr. Chase, who has been holding his emissions back against the clamours of anxious creditors, paying only in the twelve months' certificates of indebtedness. The quotations for gold and exchange are again advancing; it is likely that the former will touch 30 and the latter 40 per cent. premium by October 1. The low rates for money in Europe keep the bankers and importers from making remittances, but they are committing a mistake in not taking advantage of the eagerness that now prevails.

A sense of truth is beginning to pervade the community, and it will be folly in Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, and the other vulgarians at Washington to attempt to deceive the people any more. The inhabitants of this city, too, are beginning to see the condition in which they have got themselves, and the majority are disposed to make friends with the South, the recent battles having demonstrated that the remedy advised by Greeley and others in the following resolution cannot be put in force—"That inasmuch as property in the loyal States is valueless should the rebellion succeed, we call on the moneyed and other corporations to contribute largely to

the recruiting fund, and to every effort for suppressing the rebellion." The funds have stopped, the recruiting has fallen off, the drafting is postponed, and taxation has not commenced.

New York is ruined, but she will be buoyed up as long as the war lasts by the vast Governmental expenditure. So soon, however, as hostilities cease, it will be found that "trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay."

PARIS, September 24.

There has been further controversy going on in several papers, about the number of troops that are to be collected in Mexico under General Forey. The Administration alone could give the exact figure, by stating how many men and horses were shipped on each of the ships that have sailed from our ports. Yet those journals which have taken the trouble to sum up either the officially admitted, or the reasonably supposed numbers, cannot but have come to a pretty correct conclusion, and you may rely on the truth of my last statement that the total will reach 50,000 men. Whether such a large force, and the contingent expenditure, have no further object than to enforce on the feeble Government of Mexico a due regard for the rights of French citizens in that country, or whether the Emperor, in view of the American complications, deems it expedient to provide for all possible emergencies, is a question which every one must judge for himself. The Southern States, however, may rest assured that the French in Mexico will be most friendly neighbours, and even more, I hope that the friendship will be eventually cemented by a close alliance.

We have just received advices from Mexico to August 24. Two thousand infantry had arrived, besides a company of cavalry, and a large amount of military stores. The troops embarked at Algiers on July 5, and were detained a fortnight at Martinique, as directed by the French Government, for the purpose of resting and acclimatizing men and horses. They arrived in fine health and condition at Vera Cruz, and were started instantly on their way to Orizaba.

Speaking of health in a region so much subjected to the regular visitation of the terrible "Yellow Jack," reminds me that a perfect antidote to "black vomit" has been recently discovered. By crushing the leaves of the verberna, a juice is extracted, which, taken in small doses, proves a prompt and perfect cure in almost every case. The verberna is a bush that grows abundantly in many parts of the West Indies and America, especially in low and damp spots, and if there is any truth in the reports of its value as a remedy for yellow fever, it could not be too much known and tried in every country visited by that fearful scourge.

General Forey himself was expected to arrive at Vera Cruz about September 10. He has issued an order of the day dated from Martinique, which terminates as follows:—"We are not going to Mexico to wage war against the Mexican natives, but against those men who are her tyrants and are debasing her in the eyes of civilized nations, amongst whom we invite her to come and take her place." General Forey mentions, rather touchingly, the combat at Puebla, and it is said that his proclamation was drawn up at Vichy, with an approval of the very highest order. It is again reported that the greatest discouragement prevailed among the members of the Mexican Government.

The Northerners in Paris seem to be less sanguine about "crushing the rebels." They have given up Baltimore, they look upon Philadelphia as lost to the armies of the defunct Union, and cannot but entertain great fears for New York. They have still got some friends, though, among newspapers more respectable for the number of their readers than for the principles which they defend, and especially their veracity. The *Independence Belge* is a conspicuous one. It is much read, because it is published in Belgium. To give you an idea of its unfairness in regard to American affairs, I extract the following:—"General Pope has gained a victory at Bull Run"—"The French Consul at Richmond, having arrived in Washington, announced that the rebel capital was so bare of troops, that one or two brigades could easily take it"—"The telegrams sent to Europe are always got up in favour of the rebels, and people in Europe ought to receive them with caution." I might fill a whole page with such specimens as these.

As I suspected, when I first heard of the capture by the Federal cruisers of the French merchant ship *La Manche*, the French Minister at Washington has declared that its capture is in defiance of all principles of international law, and has energetically requested its immediate release.

The Emperor and the Empress are expected to return from Biarritz on the 6th of next month. The weather

has been very wet for several days, but it has not prevented their Majesties from enjoying their daily walks and drives. It is asserted that the Emperor will remain some time at St. Cloud before going to Compiègne, and that he will make known his will on more than one important question during his stay at the former place. It is whispered in some well-informed quarters that recognition of the Southern Confederacy may be decided upon.

If the American war is not brought speedily to an end, the Federals, who are asking in vain for a leader, for "one man," will have a fair chance of being relieved, through the smartness of the Consul of the Washington Government at Vienna. Of course, you will gratify your readers with the correspondence exchanged between M. Canisius and Garibaldi, and I abstain from any comments on the subject.

The French papers are taking notice of the Garibaldian meetings in London. What will your journals answer to the following from *La Patrie*?—"If Garibaldi had landed at Malta, he would have been denounced in London, in Dublin, in Newcastle, in Birmingham; and again, he would have been denounced all through England, if sailing towards Greece, he had brought the aid of his valiant sword to the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands."

Paris is very dull at present; nearly all the news I can give you is an obituary. Madame Gressier, whose father, M. Chaix d'Est Ange, is one of our most celebrated lawyers; and the daughter of Litz, the wife of Emile Ollivier, also a remarkable lawyer, and one of the five liberal members in our House of Representatives, both young and charming women, died most unexpectedly, at the same time as the Duchess of Polignac, aged eighty-seven years. This week the poet Count, Jules de Rességuieras, has died, one of the *romantiques*, when Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Paul de Rémusat, M. de Lamartine, Alfred de Mallet, created romanticism; Count de Gasparin, the eminent agriculturist; General Richepouse, and Count de Castellane, Marshal of France, have died also; the last named volunteered at sixteen as a private, and has served in the army for fifty-eight years, ever faithful to the noble motto of his house, *honos ab armis*.

La France was the first French paper which published Victor Hugo's speech at Brussels, on the liberty of the press. In its issue of last Sunday it contained an article on American affairs, from which I will quote a few sentences, regretting that the want of space does not allow me to give it in full:—

The territory of the Confederate States, so boisterously invaded by those immense Federal armies, of whom it was boasted that they would crush everything before them, is free. McClellan and Pope have fallen back behind the fortifications of Washington, with the mutilated remnants of the splendid army of the Potomac. The North is invaded in its turn; Washington is in danger; President Lincoln and his generals have to defend themselves in their own capital, and if the Confederates progress further North, the Federal Government, entirely surrounded, will have no other resource but to take to the water.

That Government, which spoke so pompously of putting down in a few months the so-called Southern rebels, has now for its support nothing but raw recruits, undrilled, dubiously faithful, collected laboriously by means of large bounties, which will soon have to be followed by the hated draft, an army of mercenaries which is to meet well-disciplined and well-tried soldiers, with their courage heightened by their last success, full of confidence in their leaders, and composed of homogeneous elements, of determined patriots, who are fighting for their independence, for their families, for their property.

The Washington Government maintains itself in such a perilous situation only by despotism—by the overthrow of all liberty and public rights—by the reign of terror. Unable to overpower the South in fair fight, it employs means of warfare in violation of the practice of civilized nations; it threatens its enemy with the horrors of a servile war—but the threat is vain, for it is proved that the slaves refuse to listen to the instigations to rebellion which have been offered to them, for the last eighteen months, by those Abolitionists who have to offer them nothing in exchange for their present condition but the loathing of the Northern whites, starvation, and transportation.

And, lastly, "secret societies, an unheard of thing in free America, are organizing themselves for protection against the oppression under which the Federal States are moaning, and it is feared that the disasters of an internecine war may soon be added to the disasters of the war against the South."

Such is the situation. The South has gallantly defended its independence; it has hunted the enemy away from its territory, and it is the North that is now invaded and vanquished.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

THE SENATE.

Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, presented the following series of resolutions:—

1. *Resolved by the Senate of the Confederate States of America*, That the war which is now being waged by the United States, for the avowed purpose of subjugating the people of the several States of this Government, to the dominion of the Government of the United States, is, in the opinion of the Senate, a war as well upon the people as upon the Government of the Confederate States of America; and that the principle upon which this Government and the Government of the several States which compose it are founded, justify each citizen thereof, when the invading enemy enters upon the soil of his State in taking up arms to defend

his homestead and liberties, and in attacking the invader, either by individual action or in organized bands.

2. *Resolved*, That where any of our citizens shall exercise this sacred right, and shall, by the fortunes of war, fall into the hands of the enemy, they are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war, and if they shall be treated otherwise, it is the duty of this Government to extend to them all the protection which may be within its power, or to retaliate for injuries done them.

3. *Resolved*, That in the event the enemy shall, in revenge for any such patriotic defence of their State by any of its citizens, seize upon and imprison or otherwise injure other of its citizens, not implicated in the particular acts for which such revenge may be taken; or shall pillage or destroy the property of any of our citizens, it will be the duty of this Government to take prompt notice of such acts of cowardly barbarity, and, as far as may be within its power, to punish the perpetrators thereof, or to retaliate in such manner as may be most likely to deter the enemy from the repetition of such deeds.

4. *Resolved*, That the Senate has learned with lively satisfaction that the President of the Confederate States has already given serious attention and grave consideration to the subject of several gross violations of the laws and usages of civilized war by the military authorities of the Government of the United States, and has already initiated measures tending to prevent their recurrence. And while the Senate responds with sympathy to the regret expressed by the President at the stern necessity which the enemy seems ruthlessly to force upon this Government, of protecting its citizens by the bloody law of retaliation, it will give the President its unflinching support in the prompt execution of measures devised for the complete protection of our citizens in the exercise of the inalienable right of self-defence.

5. *Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs are instructed to inquire and report whether any further, and if so, what legislation may be necessary to clothe the Executive with the amplest authority to act upon and carry out the intent and principles enumerated in these resolutions.

The object of the resolutions were explained at length by Mr. Yancey, and they were debated upon by him and Messrs. Wigfall and Semmes.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE CONSCRIPT ACT.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, objected to the extension of the Act, because it was, in his opinion, needless, and not in accordance with State rights. He said: Our people were as willing as ever to volunteer. The Governors of the States were willing to co-operate with the President, yet some gentlemen thought there was a necessity for the bill, and the twelve months' men were consequently kept in camp. The President now says there is no present necessity for the extension of the Conscript Law; so says the Secretary of State. Yet some members of the House thought there was still a great necessity to extend the law. He believed the law was unconstitutional; he was not for interposing any obstacle in the way of the Government; he was prepared to vote 250,000 men, whether the President wanted them or not. He alluded to that part of the President's message which says that Congress can best devise the means to prevent collision between State and Government authority. He said we were struggling, shoulder to shoulder, against the most despotic power on earth, and we ought therefore to unite in a spirit of brotherly love to adopt some conciliatory measure. The old mode of raising troops by our fathers was effectual, and would be effectual now. He was proud of our President—he thought he was full of patriotism—he was a sage. His name will go on the pages of history as a pacificator of trouble; it was gloriously inscribed in history. As some objection had been made to some of his remarks by members of the House, he said he hoped none of them would be offended, as he certainly meant no offence to any one; and if he said anything in the excitement of the moment calculated to hurt the feelings of any member he would take the remarks back. He intended no admonition to the Government. The Secretary of War was a patriot; the grandson of Thomas Jefferson could not be otherwise. Nothing that he had said was meant in the spirit of factious opposition. Some persons thought his resolutions were unreasonable, but he desired to allow the members to know his views upon the subject.

Mr. Mills, of South Carolina, thought the resolution was premature at this time; it was not the time to discuss the merits of the bill. As far as his knowledge went, the people were willing to support the act. The strong arm of the people alone could carry us through a successful termination of this revolution.—It was a question of life and death. He yielded to one on the sovereignty of States' rights; but the country must be saved. The Conscript Act was a measure to sustain the Government, and must be submitted to; France had to resort to conscription. Our country was invaded, and it was the duty of the States to yield to any measure which was designed to serve the country. They should have no selfish motives. The Government was bound to call out troops if they were needed. He was willing to take State troops if he did not know they would not be half so effective as they would be under the existing law. Many regiments were decimated and should be filled up; the State ought to be glad to fill up those regiments, which had covered themselves with glory on the battle field. It was his duty to counteract the effect upon public sentiment by making these remarks; he had no idea of discussing the merits of the case; was rejoiced to hear so much praise for John C. Calhoun from nearly every quarter of the Confederate States; it was only a few years since his name was vilified in nearly every State in the old Federal Union.

Mr. Dargen, of Alabama, said that a short time since our armies were compelled to fall back from the mighty hosts of the enemy; different points had to be evacuated, and the enemy were likely to cross over the country even to the Gulf of Mexico; but the Conscript Law saved the country; it kept the army together and increased them; that was the necessity which compelled him to vote for it. He had only heard of one man in Alabama who had any doubt about the law; every one approved of it, including all from thirty-five to forty-five if necessary. He reluctantly voted for it, because he was opposed to the necessity of raising armies, but that law had protected our troops, our wives, our daughters, and our firesides; thought every man who was raised by the law, when he went back home would be received with universal outbursts of gratitude. He said Mr. Foote having made some remarks about conscripts being marked as such, he thought if the country was saved by conscripts that mark would be the greatest mark their country could place upon them. [Here there was some applause in the galleries, which was promptly suppressed by the Speaker.] Every man should be placed subject to the order of the President, in accordance with the Conscript Act. He hoped the Committee on Military Affairs would frame

a bill to permit the President to call into the field every man who is capable of bearing arms, if necessary.

VOTES OF THANKS.

Mr. Bonham, of South Carolina, offered the following joint resolution:—

Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States, That the thanks of Congress are due, and are hereby tendered, to Colonel Thomas G. Lamar, and the officers and men under his command, for their gallant defence of Secessionville, in the State of South Carolina, against a superior force of the enemy, on June 16, 1862.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, offered a resolution of thanks to General Earl Van Dorn and his command, together with the citizens of Vicksburg, for their gallant and heroic defence of that city.

The resolution was passed.

Mr. Moore, of Kentucky, offered a resolution, which was adopted, tendering the thanks of Congress to General Breckinridge and his army, for the victory achieved by them at Baton Rouge.

Mr. Clapp, of Kentucky, offered a resolution of thanks to Colonel John H. Morgan, for his brilliant expedition into Kentucky. Unanimously approved.

Votes of thanks were passed to General Lee, General Johnston, and General Jackson, and their respective armies. Some discussion arose in reference to General Hughes. The matter was referred to the Military Committee.

THE NON. PIERRE SOULE.

Mr. Villere, of Louisiana, offered the following joint resolution:—

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, That the President be requested to use all the means in his power to procure the exchange of Pierre Soule, now a prisoner at Fort Warren.

Mr. Villere: Mr. Speaker, I know there can be no objection to this resolution. In these times when all must suffer, when those who are in the army claim our particular attention, we are apt to pass by unnoticed those private individuals who suffer the privations and hardships in behalf of the cause. When the mind is engrossed with subjects affecting the safety and happiness of the whole people, it can hardly pause to look into the cell of the political prisoner. I ask it to pause—I ask it in the name of an unfortunate city—I ask it in the name of a proud and gallant constituency. An old man is now separated from everything that is dear to him—from his family and from his country, to which he has given every proof of his devotion, for which he has spent his best days. It was Pierre Soule that when others, forgetting the high responsibility imposed upon them, left unarmed citizens to the mercy of the foe—it was Pierre Soule who came and stood forth to defend the dignity of a great city, and the honour of a great people—it was Pierre Soule who was found to uphold the honour and the sovereignty of the State and people of Louisiana. He stood up nobly in the discharge of his duty, although he knew that it would lead him to the sacrifice of his liberty. I ask, then, that this resolution may pass; for though the President may be unsuccessful, yet it will be cheering to the wounded spirit, a balm to the noble heart of Pierre Soule to know that the representatives of the people in Congress assembled held him in grateful remembrance.

The rules were suspended, and the resolution offered by Mr. Villere unanimously passed.

THE ARMY.

Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, introduced the following bills, which were referred, upon his motion, to the Military Committee:—

An Act authorizing the granting of medals for courage and good conduct on the field of battle.

An Act to change the organization of the Engineer Corps of the Provisional Army.

An Act authorizing the appointment of additional officers of Artillery for ordnance duties.

An Act concerning Partizan Rangers, authorizing the consolidation of rangers into brigades and regiments when deemed necessary.

An Act to regulate promotion in the Provisional Army of the Confederacy, and to amend an Act to further provide for the public defence.

An Act to increase and regulate the appointment of General Officers in the Provisional Army.

PRIVATEERING.

Mr. Bruce, of Kentucky, offered a resolution directing the Committee on Naval Affairs, to inquire into the expediency of so amending the laws authorizing privateering as to allow a duly commissioned officer to enlist a crew anywhere, said crew to be covered by his commission. Also, to allow a privateer to destroy enemy's property when it cannot be brought into port, and to receive pay therefor under suitable regulations.

Mr. Bruce said:

I regard this, Mr. Speaker, one of the most important, if not the most important, subject which can engage our attention and consideration at this session. I am confident, too, that the revocation or repeal of some of the very stringent and unnecessary provisions of the laws pertaining to privateering, as indicated in this resolution, will cause the seas to swarm with privateers within the next six weeks. As the law now stands, it is a dead letter on the statute books—a nullity. With the indulgence of the House, I will read Section 3 of the law, to show the utter impracticability of its execution to the accomplishment of any desirable results.

"Sect. 3. That all persons applying for letters of marque and reprisal pursuant to this Act, shall state in writing the name, and a suitable description of the tonnage and force of the vessel, and the name and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the intended number of the crew; which statement shall be signed by the person or persons making such application, and filed with the Secretary of State, or shall be delivered to any other officer or person who shall be employed to deliver out such commissions to be by him transmitted to the Secretary of State."

Instead, Mr. Speaker, of requiring the compliance with these stringent conditions, I would so amend the law as to commission any man of character who desired to embark in the exciting enterprise of privateering, and allow him to put his commission in his pocket and make his way out of our country as he could, and purchase his vessel, associate others with him, enlist his officers and crew, in any part of the world from Cuba to China; and the commission so issued and held by the one man should protect every officer and seaman on board in case of capture. In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, some such liberal policy on the part of this Government will effectually destroy the command of our enemy—and when we touch this vital cord, we will command an honourable and an early peace. The Government

would also be amply reimbursed for any expenditure in the payment for vessels and goods destroyed, by the consequent withdrawal of the enemy's blockading fleets, which are now belling our coasts to attempt the arrest of our privateersmen on the high seas; thereby permitting our citizens and Government to export cotton and import such goods and munitions of war as our citizens and Government require. There would be great inducement also for our privateersmen to bring in munitions of war and all descriptions of such other goods as we require, for the purpose of receiving cotton in payment for any amount that might be due them from the privateersmen. We could afford to make this inducement very great, which would result in incalculable advantage to us in this struggle—particularly if the war should be prolonged for another year. Hence, I am thoroughly satisfied that such amendments are imperatively demanded by the wisest financial and war policy. It is evident, Mr. Speaker, that while England, France, and other European nations, withhold that recognition which we thought we had a right to anticipate and expect, we have the universal sympathy and commendation of these nations in this struggle; and, indeed, the entire civilized world—as they are not indifferent spectators of the unprecedented atrocities committed by our unscrupulous and implacable enemy, and hence they will allow us the most liberal construction of international law relative to privateering. And when they see that we are in extreme earnest and striking such bold blows for independence, and that we have authorized the destruction of all property of the enemy on the high seas, they will look on with admiration at our national vigour, and change their policy towards us. The character, too, of the enemy's vessels is such as to make them easy prey to our privateers—the adoption of this law will prostrate the commerce of our enemy and consequently his finances, as he must now rely exclusively upon his expectations for his foreign exchanges, or submit to the exportation of all the coin of his people. Nothing can be clearer than that England and France earnestly desire our independence—indeed, I have never believed they ever intended to permit the United States to be reconstructed; but, entertaining an abiding confidence that we possessed the native ability and determination to achieve our own independence unaided and alone, they prefer not to implicate themselves in our affairs—neither will I criticise this policy. If, accidentally, our privateers destroy property belonging to these nations, it will be our duty to offer immediate apology and reparation.

Mr. Swan, of Tennessee, moved a joint resolution declaring Benjamin F. Butler an enemy to the human race, and that he should be treated as an outlaw whenever found. It was referred to the Military Committee.

ACTS OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

We select the most important of the published Acts of Congress:—

THE NAVY. (No. 78.)

An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the Organization of the Navy, approved March 16, 1861, and for other purposes."

Section 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the grades of the commissioned officers of the navy of the Confederate States shall, hereafter be as follows, to wit:—Four admirals, ten captains, thirty-one commanders, one hundred first lieutenants, twenty-five second lieutenants, twenty masters, in line of promotion, twelve paymasters, four assistant paymasters, twenty-two surgeons, fifteen passed assistant surgeons, thirty assistant surgeons, one engineer-in-chief, and twelve engineers.

Sec. 2. All the admirals, four of the captains, five of the commanders, twenty-two of the first lieutenants, and five of the second lieutenants, shall be appointed solely for gallant or meritorious conduct during the war. The appointments shall be made from the grade immediately below the one to be filled, and without reference to the rank of the officer in such grade, and the service for which the appointment shall be conferred shall be specified in the commission. Provided, that all officers below the grade of second lieutenant, may be promoted more than one grade for the same service.

Sec. 3. The warrant officers shall be as follows:—Twenty passed midshipmen, one hundred and six sailing midshipmen, fifty first-assistant engineers, one hundred and fifty second assistant engineers, one hundred and fifty third-assistant engineers, ten boatswains, twenty gunners, six sail-makers, and twenty carpenters.

Sec. 4. The annual pay of the additional grades ordered by this Act shall be as follows:—Admirals six thousand dollars; second lieutenant, for service afloat, twelve hundred dollars; when on leave or other duty one thousand dollars; for masters in the line of promotion one thousand dollars, for service afloat; when on leave or other duty nine hundred dollars; passed midshipman nine hundred dollars for service afloat; when on leave or other duty eight hundred dollars.

Sec. 6. The annual pay of assistant-paymasters shall hereafter be, when on service afloat, twelve hundred dollars; when on other duty eleven hundred dollars.

Approved April 21, 1862.

DRUNKENNESS IN THE ARMY. (No. 61.)

An Act to Punish Drunkenness in the Army.

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That any commissioned officer of the Regular or Provisional Army who shall be found drunk, either while on or off duty, shall, on conviction thereof before a court of inquiry, be cashiered or suspended from the service of the Confederate States, or be publicly reprimanded, according to the aggravation of the offence, and in addition to a sentence cashiering any such officer, he may also be declared incapable of holding any military office under the Confederate States during the war.

Sec. 2. That it shall be the duty of all officers to report to the commanding officer of the post, regiment, or corps to which they belong, all cases coming under their observation of intoxication of commissioned officers, whether of superior or inferior grades to themselves, and it shall be the duty of the commanding officer of the division or brigade to which said post, regiment, or corps belongs, to whom such report may be made, to report the same to the officer commanding the brigade or division, who shall organize said court and order the trial of said offender at the earliest time consistent with the public service.

Sec. 3. The findings of any such court shall be promptly transmitted to the Secretary of War by the commanding officer, together with his approval or disapproval thereof, and shall be reported to Congress at the next session thereafter by the said Secretary.

Approved, April 21, 1862.

THE CONSCRIPTION ACT.

(No. 97.)

An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to Further Provide for the Public Defence, passed the sixteenth day of April, Eighteen hundred and sixty-two.

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That all vacancies shall be filled by the President from the company, battalion, squadron, or regiment in which such vacancies shall occur, by promotion, according to seniority, except in case of disability or other incompetency, and that whenever a vacancy shall occur in the lowest grade of commissioned officers of a company, such vacancies shall be filled by election. Provided, however, that the President may, when in his opinion it is proper, fill any vacancy by the promotion of any officer from any company, battalion, squadron, or regiment, in which the same may occur, who shall have been distinguished in service by the exhibition of extraordinary valour and skill, and that when any vacancy shall occur in the lowest grade of commissioned officers of any company, the same may be filled by selection by the President of any non-commissioned officer or private from the company in which said vacancy may occur, who shall have been distinguished in the service by the exhibition of extraordinary valour and skill, and that appointments made by the President shall be by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Approved April 21, 1862.

(No. 82.)

An Act to Organize Bands of Partizan Rangers

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact: That the President be, and he is hereby authorized, to commission such officers as he may deem proper with authority to form bands of Partizan Rangers, in companies, battalions, or regiments, to be composed each of such numbers as the President may approve.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That such Partizan Rangers, after being regularly received into service, shall be entitled to the same pay, rations, and quarters during their term of service, and be subject to the same regulations, as the officers and soldiers of the regular army.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That for any arms and munitions of war captured from the enemy by any body of Partizan Rangers, and delivered to any quartermaster at such place or places as may be designated by a commanding general, the Rangers shall be paid their full value in such manner as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

Approved, April 21, 1862.

THE BLOCKADE.

(No. 89.)

An Act to Increase the Facilities of Importing Goods, Wares, and Merchandise into the Ports of the Confederate States.

Sec. 1. The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact That it shall be lawful for vessels to unload their cargoes on any part of the coast of the Confederate States, and that the law requiring entry of vessels or discharge of their cargoes at designated ports, and prescribing penalties for failure to do so, shall be and the same is hereby suspended.

Approved April 21, 1862.

THE COTTON SUPPLY.

Mr. S. Laing, late Financial Minister of India, was on Thursday last presented with an address of congratulation by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and in the course of his reply dwelt upon the question of getting cotton from India. He said:—

The first point which was of course uppermost in every mind at the present time was as to the supply of cotton. By this time it was pretty clear both what India could and could not do. It could not furnish a substitute for the 4,000,000 of bales of American cotton which had been suddenly withdrawn from the commerce of the world. Nor would it be reasonable to expect that India could do this when it was remembered that it took from five to six acres to produce a bale of clean cotton, at the rate of from 60lb. to 80lb. per acre. Even if all the railways were completed, and even if the Indian cotton grower had a guarantee as to price, it was quite out of the question that such an enormous transfer of labour and capital could be made from agriculture and other pursuits as to give an additional cultivation of something like 20,000,000, or even 10,000,000, of acres in the course of a year or two. What India in round numbers had given us was about 1,000,000 of bales—a great fact in itself, under the circumstances, for the present, and full of promise for the future. The Indian supply, short as it was, had made all the difference between cotton famine and cotton death. People talked sometimes about the large production of cotton in India, and said that there were five or six millions of bales growing there. That was pure moonshine. People in India did not grow cotton for which in ordinary years there was no demand. An immense population of 150,000,000 knew no clothing except cotton fabrics; therefore cotton was largely grown for home manufacture, by the peasantry in their own houses and villages, and there was a certain surplus for exportation. When, therefore, the prices rose, the surplus store came first. But the accumulated stock was already pretty well exhausted; but we had not yet the benefit of an increased production, because no one could calculate how long the present price would keep up. But even if this were certain, the production of cotton must be an affair of time. If in the next year we got a slightly larger quantity than that of the previous year, something like a million and a quarter bales, it was as much as could be reasonably expected. To those who wished to pursue the subject more closely he recommended an able article in last week's *Economist*, by Mr. Monie. That gentleman proposed that a great army of agents should be stationed by Government all over India, invested with powers as collectors of land revenue, and that they should be stimulated to promote the growth of cotton by having a commission upon the quantity grown in their districts. He (Mr. Laing) was convinced that at present this

scheme lay in the domain of theory, and not of practice, in confirmation of which the conduct of the Home Government in vetoing the scheme proposed in India for offering the waste land for sale at one uniform price need only be quoted. If they were still at a stage when they were unable to prevent the Home Government vetoing a measure of that sort, what chance was there of adopting such measures as those discussed by Mr. Monie, which were totally exceptional and different from all recognized rules of Political Economy? If anything of this kind was expected they were trusting to a broken reed, and the best thing he could tell them was that for the next year or two nothing was likely to be done largely to increase the growth of Indian cotton. Practically, the only possible relief from the crisis under which Lancashire was suffering must come from America. It was his own private opinion that many months would not elapse before this horrid and unnatural struggle in America was terminated; and he believed the time would shortly come, if it had not already come, when they would see England, in conjunction with the other great Powers of Europe, recognizing the Confederacy of the Southern States. (Hear, hear.) This would be not only a benefit to England, but to India. It was desirable for the interest of India that a normal price of cotton should soon be established; then the question as to whether cotton could be grown in India to a large extent could be settled. At any rate, they would do well to clear their mind of India, and look solely to America for a solution of the present crisis. As a cotton-producing country India had many advantages, and, as far as he knew, only one serious disadvantage; that was in the climate, which was extreme. For six months in the year it rained in torrents, and for the remaining six there were extreme heat and great drought, interrupted only by a few precarious showers. The consequence was that the indigenous cotton plant, to stand the drought, required to strike its root deeper into the subsoil for moisture. A shorter and more scrubby plant, with deeper roots, and fewer fibres and balls, and producing a less quantity per acre, was the result. This was not, however, the case everywhere. There were districts—especially the Dharwar—where the American seed was largely sown, and he believed the districts where this kind of cotton could be grown were very numerous. In the other districts, doubtless, where American cotton could not be grown, by a careful selection of seed, and by careful cultivation, the Indian cotton could be gradually and largely improved. It was quite clear that in India there was a great extent of country where cotton of every quality, especially Egyptian, could be grown, always provided that the price was sufficient to warrant the diversion of the land from other tropical products. But it was questionable whether cotton would ever maintain a sufficiently high price after the present scarcity was at an end. He had some doubts on that point himself, and also as to cotton being largely cultivated on an extensive scale by European planters. In India cotton was more on a level with ordinary agricultural produce, such as rice or linseed. The cultivation of tea, for instance, and other products, might be made more profitable by the ordinary planter; but where cotton was grown and would be grown in India was more on the small farms of the ryots than by European planters on a large scale. The ryot possessed his own bullocks and plough, his own labour; he did the hoeing himself, his wife and children were there to do the picking, and the consequence was that he could produce cotton at an exceedingly low price. If the prices of cotton could be kept at a tolerably low range, at anything like 5d. or 6d. per lb., he believed it would be found that an increasing quantity of cotton would come from India year after year; that every year ryots would take to the cultivation of cotton as a rotation crop; that they would get the best seed, and grow American cotton where it could be grown, and cultivate their own where it could not. Ready money would make its way in course of time, but if an immediate effect were required business advances must be made where capital was so scarce among cultivators. It was for this reason that Lord Canning's Government were anxious to pass their contract law. At present the state of the law with regard to contracts was, he was afraid, little more or less than a premium to dishonesty. He spoke at some length upon the great necessity for defined legislation in this matter, giving instances of the annoyance caused by the present condition of the law. Although in England Lord Canning's scheme was opposed by some, the obstacle, however, was not in India, but in England. A great deal had been done in India to improve the Administration. The opposing spirit to which he had referred was well high extinct in India itself, and had been banished to its last refuge in the recesses of Westminster. (Laughter and cheers.) He was sorry to say that he had seen some very unfair attacks made upon gentlemen—more especially, in Manchester and Lancashire—because they had not gone into the speculation of sending agents out to India to buy cotton. Well, after all, cotton-spinning was an affair of business, and not of philanthropy; and he did not see that he had any right to call upon a man to go into what he thought a bad speculation. (Hear, hear.) No doubt gentlemen who owed their fortunes to cotton industry were morally bound, when a great crisis came upon it, to contribute liberally towards the support of the working people who were suffering from the effects of that crisis. (Hear.) But how, and in what measure, they ought to do so, was a matter entirely between themselves and their own consciences. They could not find fault with men because they declined to buy raw cotton at 2s. a pound when they did not see their way to selling it at 1s. 6d. a pound after it was manufactured. (Hear.) Moreover, the question of speculating in the growth of cotton concerned England exclusively, and not India. As regarded India, he thought it better that things should be left to follow their usual course, and not attempt to force the growth by artificial expedients. A great deal might be done to accelerate the growth of cotton in India if persons chose to run the risk of sending out capital to buy directly from the ryots. A still more important point was that India might have its market for cotton manufactures very much extended. (Hear.) There would probably be this large increase in exports to India even if not a bale more cotton were grown there. There were in India probably 200,000,000 of human beings all exclusively clothed in cotton fabrics, and these people were advancing in prosperity at a rate unparalleled in the history of the world.

Died at Richmond, on July 10, from the effects of wounds received at the battle of Games' Mill, on June 27, Albert Ker Boyce, aged 19 years, son of the late John J. Boyce, and grandson of the late Ker Boyce, of Charleston, South Carolina.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HOTZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1862.

What Constitutes the "South"?

THIS question, now that the Confederate armies are on the soil of Maryland, is uppermost in the public mind. It is strange that, despite the careful study of American history and statistics to which the war has given rise, the question should still require a reply, and that in endeavouring to reply to it, otherwise well-informed presses should fall into such stupendous errors as have within the last few days appeared in print.

In the American vocabulary the words "North" and "South" have always had a definite geographical and political meaning. They were known already to the colonists as designating the settlements lying respectively north and south of "Mason and Dixon's Line", so-called from the colonial engineers who drew the boundary line between the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and famous in colonial history. Already in the formation of the Constitution the distinct interests of "North and South" were canvassed. As the States northward of the line, finding slave-labour unprofitable, sold their slaves southward, and thus by slow degrees—not by any act of sudden emancipation, as many suppose—extinguished slavery within their limits, these distinct interests began to diverge more rapidly. With the extension of the Union a natural boundary, the Ohio River, came to assist the well-known artificial one between "North" and "South", that is, between the non-slaveholding and the slaveholding States. By a mere accident, "Mason and Dixon's Line" stopped short about twenty miles of the Ohio, and thus a narrow strip of land, called, from a fancied resemblance, the "Pan Handle", still remains in possession of the State of Virginia, though lying north of the line of the Ohio and "Mason and Dixon." This little outlying appendage of Virginia is the nucleus, and contains the pretended capital, of that anomalous organization which, under the name of "Kanawha," or "Virginia," claims to be one of the Border States and to speak in the Federal councils with the voice of the great State from which it seceded. With this trifling exception, of no importance either to the South or North, the line of "Mason and Dixon," and the course of the Ohio, indicate accurately, and have for the last half-century been held to indicate, the territorial boundaries of the two great antagonistic Powers. To the westward, the only organized "Territory," as inchoate States are termed, in which slavery exists by law, is that of New Mexico. This, and that portion of the "Indian Territory" which is inhabited by slaveholding Indians, are probably the only domains beyond established State boundaries, over which the Confederate Government would ever claim jurisdiction.

We can thus, without the possibility of error, define what portions of the late United States were comprised under the familiar appellation "The South," and a glance at the map will enable us to enumerate fifteen States and one Territory. Enclosed in the area of the "South," and belonging to it by social affinities and similarity of institutions, lies the District of Columbia, the special domain of Congress, and the only portion of the late United States over which Congress exer-

cises direct local jurisdiction. The District of Columbia was formed of cessions of land by the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to the Federal Government, for the purpose of enabling it to erect a capital and discharge its functions upon neutral soil—that is to say, soil on which no local jurisdiction should conflict with its own. The original extent of the District, ten miles square, being found unnecessarily large for the purposes contemplated, the portion ceded by Virginia was returned to that State, and the present area of the District is limited to that portion only of which Maryland was the original proprietor. Slavery still continues a lawful institution in the District, until the complete execution of the recent Emancipation Act.

While the United States were thus practically divided into two great sections—geographically, politically, and socially distinct—each of these sections presented, though in an infinitely less degree, a similar division. Like a magnet cut in two, of which each fragment instantly assumes the qualities of the whole, and has its North Pole and its South Pole, so the North and South had each their extremes in their peculiar characteristics. The revolution which snapped the last remaining link, the governmental co-partnership, between the two sections, began, naturally enough, in the southern extremity of the South, just as the opposition to the revolution commenced with greatest vehemence in the northern extremity of the North. Hence has arisen the confusion of European ideas as regards the "Border States." A brief review of the progress of the revolution may tend to the formation of more correct opinions.

The States which formed the Confederate Constitution at Montgomery, and established the Provisional Government by which the war was conducted for the first twelve months, were, in alphabetical order, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. They were shortly afterwards joined by Arkansas, and, after Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of war against the seceders, by Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Of these four States only one, Virginia, is, in any sense of the word, a "Border" State, she being the only one having a frontage on the non-slaveholding States. The most casual glance on the map will convince any one that even she is a "Border" State in only a very limited sense of the word, more than three-fourths of her boundaries being drawn between slave-holding neighbours. Her traditions and instincts have always placed her at the head of the South, and thus, when Secession was accomplished, she became the metropolitan State of the new Confederacy and she has furnished for the requirements of the war a larger contingent of men and money than any of her sisters. To speak of Virginia as debatable ground between North and South is simply absurd. No portion of Virginia, considerable enough either in population or influence to affect at any time the policy of the State, has ever displayed disloyalty to the cause of the South, and the miserable corner of North-western Virginia which the Federal Government, without any show of law or reason, pretends to recognize as a separate community, is scarcely worth mention in the discussion of boundaries between North and South. It is important to remark that in each of these four States which joined the Confederacy after its formation, the act of accession was performed by the competent authority, ratified by an almost unanimous vote of the people at the ballot-box, and consummated with all the solemnity of law. In all these States, and in every portion of them, repeated elections to the Confederate Congress have subsequently been held. They are, therefore, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, as completely Confederate States as Alabama or South Carolina.

The only real "Border" States—that is to say, disputable States whose allegiance can give rise to any reasonable doubt—are Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. The insignificance of the latter has caused it to be altogether overlooked in the present contest, and it is immaterial, for any practical purpose, whether it is counted with the North or the South. Maryland and Missouri were the first States

invaded by the Federal troops. In the former, a majority of its Legislature were arrested when about to pass an Act of Secession, and detained in custody until their term of office had expired; in the latter, the Convention of the people was dispersed by Federal bayonets, and the executive officers of the State deposed and exiled. Neither of these two States had thus an opportunity of proclaiming their adhesion to the Confederate Government in the same clear and unmistakable manner as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, or Arkansas; but the lawfully-constituted authorities of Missouri have, to the extent of their power, confided the State to the protection of the Confederacy, of which she is thus considered a member. Kentucky was long divided within herself, and in the hope of preserving an impossible neutrality, and thus serve as mediator between the combatants, lost, for a time, the opportunity of making known her election between the two. Events of late have so clearly shown the disposition of the vast majority of these three States, which alone can be deemed by the most punctilious stickler for legal forms to be disputable border land, that the Confederate Government has nothing to fear from leaving them completely and unservedly to their own volition. This is the only legal and the only just mode in which their fate can be decided, and the Southern Confederation desires no other. Other States than those we have mentioned the South does not covet as allies, and would not receive as conquests.

A few statistics will enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the actual and prospective strength, as well as of the territorial area, of the South, and will dispose of the erroneous statement made by one of our most influential contemporaries, that the South has at present a larger population to recruit from than the North. In 1860, according to the eighth and last decennial census of the United States, the total white population was 27,490,203. These were divided between the two sections known as North and South, excluding from the latter Delaware, and including New Mexico, as follows:—

North	.. .. .	19,217,153
South	.. .. .	8,273,050
Total	.. .. .	27,490,203
The white population of the South is apportioned among the first seceding States; those who seceded after the formation of the Confederate Constitution, but previous to the outbreak of hostilities; and those whose secession may be regarded as partial or imperfect, and their allegiance consequently disputable, to wit:—		
Alabama	.....	529,164
Florida	.....	78,686
Georgia	.....	595,097
Louisiana	.....	376,280
Mississippi	.....	354,700
South Carolina	.....	301,271
Texas	.....	421,750
		2,658,948
Arkansas	.....	324,323
North Carolina	.....	661,586
Tennessee	.....	834,063
Virginia	.....	1,105,192
		2,925,164
Kentucky	.....	930,223
Maryland	.....	599,846
Missouri	.....	1,067,352
		2,597,421
To which add the slaveholding territory of New Mexico, in undisturbed possession of the Confederates		
		93,517
Total population, actual and prospective, of the Confederate States	.....	8,273,050

The Confederate States' Navy.

THAT the Confederacy needs a navy is indisputable. Besides having a large sea coast to protect, her inland waters are accessible to an enemy's war-raft, and therefore require the *egis* of Confederate gunboats. The present blockade, and the few successes attained by the Federals, further testify to this urgent want. It is, however, far easier to get together an army than to create a navy; with all the means and appliances, the latter operation must be a work of time. The Southern States do not lack the raw material; they have abundance of

timber, and have for many years been large exporters of naval stores. Moreover, they have the men. They are not dependent upon foreign sailors, or, if they had the ships, would not be compelled to press reluctant Germans and anti-nautical Irishmen into the service. Like ourselves, the Southerners are a people who take kindly to the sea; and their coasting trade is an excellent nursery for seamen. Amongst the maritime Powers of the New World the Confederate States will occupy a foremost position, and, indeed, seeing the manner in which her ports can be shut up by an enemy, a strong navy is indispensable to her independence.

The ingenuity displayed in the construction of the Virginia and the Arkansas gives the promise of a brilliant future; showing, as it does, a rare fertility of invention and resource. It is curious, but true, that the new-born navy of the South brought about a revolution in naval warfare, by solving the problem of iron versus wood. Be it remembered, too, that the Virginia and the Arkansas were put into iron armour whilst there was not a single rolling mill in the country. The achievements of these two vessels read more like romance than reality, and certify to the daring and seamanship of the Southerners. Thus encouraged by the past, and stimulated by necessity, the Confederates seem to be making great exertions to get a navy to cope with their Northern antagonist. There are difficulties in the way, but apparently not so formidable as those on land which have been overcome by the devotion of the army and the genius of its commanders. About the possibility of utterly crippling the navy of the United States with the immediate and prospective naval resources of the Confederate States, there may be a diversity of opinion, but that a moderate force would suffice to raise the blockade is unquestionable. We are not surprised at the rumours of European nations being anxious to aid, as far as they legally can do so, the creation of a Confederate navy; for the breaking of the blockade means a ready market for European manufactures, a supply of cotton for European looms, and revival of trade. On the other hand, we perfectly understand why the North dreads a consummation that will be of such immense advantage to the South. The opening of the Southern ports would do much towards convincing the North of the folly of continuing the war.

It is not our intention to speculate on the vessels of war that are in course of construction in the Southern States, except that we take this opportunity of assuring our readers that the Federal reports about naval preparations and movements of the Confederates are not more reliable and accurate than those which refer to the movements or the Confederate land forces. Nor are we in a position to give a statement of the present strength of the Confederate navy; but it is well known that it has been considerably augmented during the last few months. We wish, rather, to notice an important proposition that has been brought before the Confederate Congress, and which, if it becomes law, will tend to the rapid development of the Southern navy, and involve other important consequences.

Mr. Bruce, of Kentucky, submitted a resolution to the House of Representatives, directing the attention of the Committee on Naval Affairs to the expediency of amending the law relating to privateering. The hon. member suggests that a duly commissioned officer shall be allowed to enlist a crew anywhere, and the crew to be covered by his commission. "I would," said Mr. Bruce, "so amend the law as to commission any man of character who desired to embark in the exciting enterprise of privateering, and allow him to put his commission in his pocket, and make his way out of our country as he could, and purchase his vessel, associate others with him, enlist his officers and crew in any part of the world, from Cuba to China; and the commission so issued and held by the one man should protect every officer and seaman on board in case of capture." As the law now stands, any one applying for letters of marque and reprisals has to give "a particular description of the tonnage and force of the vessel, and the name and place of residence of each owner concerned therein, and the in-

tended number of the crew." By the proposed change the commander, and not the vessel, will be licensed or commissioned. During the blockade the necessity of registering the vessel is an insuperable difficulty, and, as it seems to us, a needless precaution. The practical difference will be that the officer's commission will cover any vessel or crew he may command, instead of covering a registered vessel and crew. No objection can be made to purchasing vessels in Europe for privateering, even if the purpose of the purchase were needlessly avowed; for procuring vessels for Confederate privateering is not a greater violation of the law than the Federals buying rifles and other warlike stores in Europe. If we have not misconceived the bearing of Mr. Bruce's proposal, it will impart to the commanders of privateers, whilst in service, somewhat the standing of officers of the Confederate navy, just as the Confederate Government has recognized the so-called guerilla bands as a branch of the regular military service. Such an alteration would raise the character of privateering, and bring it under the direct and wholesome control of the Executive.

There is, we know, with some people much that is objectionable in the idea of developing and systematizing privateering. We shall, perhaps, be told that its business is plunder of private property, and that we ought not to compare it to the so-called guerilla bands, who are bound to respect, and in the South have respected, private property. We need only reply that privateering is retaliation. The Federal war vessels do not respect the private property of Confederate citizens. Let them raise the blockade and allow private property of merchants free ingress and egress, and privateering would be unjustifiable, because there would be no demand for retaliation. Privateering is a system of reprisals, lawful and just. We do not offer any opinion as to the expediency of permitting the merchantmen and merchandize of an enemy to be unmolested. It may be said that since commerce supplies the sinews of war, the less commerce is interrupted the longer would be the war, and so the philanthropist who thinks more of his fellow-creature's lives than he does of his pocket, may have some pretence for opposing any scheme to make war less costly to the general community; but so long as seizing the property of private citizens at sea is right, privateering cannot be wrong. It is of the utmost importance that privateers should not transgress the law of nations, and this will be to a great extent insured by a system that commissions respectable men, irrespective of the ship or crew. In the circumstances of the Confederate States, we agree with Mr. Bruce that the alteration is expedient as well as commendable.

Mr. Bruce also proposes "to allow a privateer to destroy enemy's property when it cannot be brought into port, and to receive payment therefor under suitable regulations." This will vastly increase, should it be adopted, the number of privateers, for it will prevent the dissatisfaction consequent upon having to lose property captured at a considerable risk; and it will also prevent privateers incurring the danger of being taken by the enemy, in trying to save their prizes. Mr. Bruce observes that the Confederate Government will not lose by such an arrangement, for the privateers will tax the resources of the North, withdraw a portion of the blockading squadron, and will, in fact, be a cheap and very efficacious auxiliary to the Confederate navy. In the event of the property of neutrals being accidentally seized or injured, Mr. Bruce justly observes that the Confederate Government would make immediate and ample reparation.

It is not easy to estimate the probable results of a great increase of Confederate privateers. It would, as we have remarked above, be a valuable aid to the regular navy. Many privateers would, doubtless, be able to run the blockade with cargoes of ammunition receiving in payment cargoes of cotton. The main effect would be the paralysis of Northern commerce, and this would make the war felt by those cliques who are amassing riches on the ruin of their country, and who are unsparing in their endeavours to prolong the contest. If Congress

should think proper to adopt the proposal of Mr. Bruce, no one on this side of the Atlantic will find fault with its decision.

India and the Cotton Supply.

WHEN the Cotton Famine was looming in the distance the men of Lancashire were told to make themselves easy, for if the American supply failed, the indispensable staple could be procured from elsewhere. When the catastrophe happened, and the Cotton Famine was at our doors, we were bidden to be of good cheer, and not to repine at a crisis which would make us independent of America. During the whole continuance of the Cotton Famine the agents of the United States' Government have, by their English tools, been cautioning us not to interfere in any way to shorten the contest in America, even if we could do so; since America's extremity is India's opportunity. Why should we pay £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 per annum to America when the same sum might be spent in India, to the incalculable benefit of the British Empire? There has been a vast exhibition of virtuous indignation at the conduct of Manchester; but if the allegations were not utterly false there would be more need for pity and contempt. There are millions a year going begging. The men of Manchester will not accept the proffered wealth. The world is wrong about the money-making propensities of our great industrial capital. Its citizens reject the kind gifts of fortune. For some inscrutable reason, if we are to believe the gentlemen who are anxious to become secretaries and managers of Indian Cotton Companies (Limited), our manufacturers would rather see their mills closed, and their mill hands starving, than invest a portion of their capital in an enterprise that must inevitably yield them a fabulous profit, a profit that the victims of the South Sea Bubble hardly dreamed of. Very curious indeed, but not more so than the generosity of the philanthropists who are so angry with Manchester. If the return is so certain, why do they not go into the business on their own account? Why do they want to give away Aladdin's Lamp? How is it London does not grasp the treasure so wittily refused by Manchester? The whole affair is strange, passing strange; we may add, miraculous. Capitalists are eagerly looking out for investments at 5 per cent., and they will not go into one that would yield them, say, 50 per cent. The fact is, Manchester and London, as well as the philanthropists, know that the Indian cotton scheme is a delusion, and the wonder is that it should have been so pertinaciously paraded; that such a distinguished political economist as Mr. Laing should last week have deemed it necessary to expose what he very correctly called "moonshine." It would have been extraordinary if Manchester men had been gulled into allowing themselves to be bled by the India cotton chimera, as it is extraordinary that shrewd men of business were thought so gullible by philanthropic bubble-blowers. The India cotton schemers are refuted by their own arguments. They say India is capable of supplying almost any quantity of cotton. If so, why has India hitherto supplied so little? The reply is, the lack of capital and enterprise. But if we look to the returns of trade, we find that India has not wanted for capital and enterprise for other products. If anything, she is now rather suffering from a plethora of capital. We are then told it is a question of price, and at present prices India can grow cotton profitably. But how long is America to be kept out of the market? Suppose the war lasts five years; still at the end of that time American cotton will be appearing at Liverpool, and Indian cotton will have to come down. But we need not discuss the question, for the argument is in itself untenable. The price of cotton is enhanced on account of the scarcity; and hence at the enhanced price India can export cotton at a profit. When the scarcity ceases, will not the price decline? The proposition is this—the supply of cotton hitherto obtained from the Confederate States can be procured from other countries and notably from India—India

can export cotton profitably when there is a dearth; but, then, if India removes the dearth she loses her profit. She can replace the American supply with advantage so long as she does not replace the American supply. This, we grant, is a ridiculous paradox, yet it is the inevitable conclusion from the arguments brought forward by those who contend that England will be immensely benefited by the war in America, because it will transfer the production of cotton from the Confederate States to India.

Besides, in this case experience hindered speculation. Even fools will not take a flash note that has been detected and marked. There have been many and fruitless efforts to foster the cultivation of Indian cotton. The East India Company made several costly experiments under the most favourable circumstances, and failed. Private individuals have also tried, and tried in vain. Mr. Laing explained briefly, but irrefutably, why in the Confederate States cotton can be produced of a better quality, and cheaper, than in India. "As a cotton-producing country, India had many advantages, and, as far as he knew, only one serious disadvantage; that was in the climate, which was extreme. For six months in the year it rained in torrents, and for the remaining six there were extreme heat and great drought, interrupted only by a few precarious showers. The consequence was, that the indigenous cotton plant, to stand the drought, required to strike its root deeper into the subsoil for moisture. A shorter and more scrubby plant, with deeper roots, and fewer fibres and balls, and producing a less quantity per acre, was the result."

This is entirely true, but not the whole truth. Mr. Laing might have added, that the Cotton States of America have a climate peculiar to themselves, and which is especially adapted for the growth of cotton. There are in the Confederate States places in which cotton cannot be better grown than it is in India, and there are two districts in which it can be more profitably grown than in all the world, and the area of these districts is so extensive that if there were the labour and demand they could yield cotton enough to clothe mankind. So our dependence upon American cotton is the result of Providential arrangements, and is not due to the apathy of Manchester. It is true that India cotton schemers pooh-pooh Providential arrangements, but, then, they cannot alter them. In bygone days an ecclesiastical dignitary denied that the earth moved round the sun; but he could not by a decree make the sun move round the earth.

India does produce a large quantity of cotton for her own consumption and a considerable quantity for exportation; but cotton is not her most profitable production. We do not agree with those who think that the more cotton India grows the richer she will become; on the contrary, we hold that the increased growth would be detrimental to her material interests; but we may be sure India will not take the place of America. When prices are exceptionally high she will export more cotton, and that is all we can expect from her. The cause of the enormous consumption of cotton is its cheapness; let the high prices be lasting—that is, let the supply have to come from India, and not from America—and, by a natural law, the demand will be less. The greatness of our cotton manufacture depends upon the cheapness of the staple. Our readers must forgive us for repeating the A B C of Political Economy, since it is the first principles of the science that are assailed.

Mr. Laing observed that it would be well for India "that a normal price of cotton should soon be established." If the present abnormal price of cotton should induce Indian farmers to invest their means in its more extended cultivation, India will, assuredly, be one of the sufferers from the present American war. The price of cotton must come down, and the Indian farmer would find that it was not the American competition that prevented him supplying the looms of Lancashire, and that scarcity, though it increases the value of stock, does not, at least for any length of time, increase the profits of production. Those

who are endeavouring to increase the cultivation of cotton in India by holding out the bait of an abnormal price will, if successful, do India an injury.

We do not say the world is in bondage to the Confederate States, but we contend that, without American cotton, the commanding and all-important commerce in cotton fabrics must dwindle, and become comparatively small. We do not deny that the South would not lose immensely if the demand for her peculiar staple should cease, but she does not depend upon cotton; she can produce other articles of commerce, and without exporting a single bale of cotton would do a large and profitable trade. So far as our cotton manufacture is concerned, Mr. Laing spoke the truth—nothing but the truth—when he said, "practically, the only possible relief from the crisis under which Lancashire was suffering must come from America," and that we should "do well to clear our mind of India, and look solely to America for a solution of the present crisis." This is sound advice, and, coming from such a quarter, cannot fail to exercise a salutary influence in checking speculations, the results of which would be worse than useless, since they would not remedy the present distress, and would eventuate in disappointment and loss to all connected with them.

National Thanksgiving.

THE people of the Confederate States have good reason, in the very midst of mourning for their dead, to meet together and return thanks unto the Lord of Hosts for deliverance from the hands of their enemy. No one can marvel at the universal feeling of gratitude to which President Davis gave expression in his proclamation setting apart the 18th of this month as a day of solemn thanksgiving. When the war broke out the South was not only without allies, but was, by the calumnies of the North, cut off from the sympathy of other nations. Alone and unprepared, she had to face an enemy whose numerical superiority and greatness of resources seemed irresistible to the looker-on. At the first battle of Manassas part of the Southern army was without firearms, and few, if any, regiments had half a dozen rounds of ammunition. The fight was gallantly contested, but victory was inclining to the invader, when the division of Kirby Smith appeared, and the Northern army was panic-stricken and fled in disorder. Thus upon an apparent accident this victory, which encouraged the South, depended. General Kirby Smith, from what has been called "an inspiration," changed his route, and so appeared unexpectedly before the enemy. The North, not discouraged by this failure, determined to crush the South by a renewed and unprecedented effort. An army, reputed 700,000 strong and splendidly equipped, and aided by fleets of powerful gunboats, was commissioned to subjugate the South. The Northern troops set forth with a shout of triumph, whilst the Federal Government and press boasted of their invincibility, and decreed death and confiscation to the Southerners. Never in the history of the world was there such an instance of arrogant confidence. What has become of the Northern army? What are the triumphs of the Northern fleets?

The Army of the West, always boasting of its success, seems to have wasted its strength in disastrous inactivity, and is no longer aggressive, but is doing its best to defend itself from attack. The great Army of the Potomac, that was to have been in Richmond before July 4, and the other Federal armies in Virginia, have been driven back to shelter themselves behind the fortifications of Washington. We cannot forget the defiant tone of the North after the defeat on the Chickahominy. General McClellan issued an address to his army, in which he mocked them with congratulations on victory, after they had been fleeing for days until they found shelter under cover of the gunboats. Mr. Lincoln, too, told the remnant of the once mighty army that, it never had and *never would be beaten*, and that it would go to Richmond. It remained on the peninsula, unable to advance, and being daily decimated

by pestilence, and then it retreated to the neighbourhood of the Federal capital. General Pope took the field with a blast of triumph, and in a few short weeks he is not only beaten, but disgraced. If the North is not rebuked by these events, surely the South is right in discerning in them "the guidance of an Almighty hand." The battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift. The brilliant strategy of the Confederate commanders, and the heroism of the Confederate army, leave the military critic still amazed at their uninterrupted success since the Seven Days' Battle; and the people who have been delivered from a ruthless invader cannot fail to perceive in such an unbroken series of triumphs the aid and blessing of the God of Battles.

The fleets of the North have on two occasions—and notably so with the Arkansas—been defied and overawed by a single Confederate vessel. The navy has not earned mere laurels than the army. It captured New Orleans. Has that proved a calamity to the South? Has not Benjamin F. Butler, by his extreme barbarity, exposed the execrable character of the Northern invasion, and won for the South a sympathy as profound as the admiration inspired by her heroism?

The proclamation of President Davis does not modify the greatness of the Southern victories. In counselling the people to render prayer and thanksgiving, the manly reticence that distinguished his Message to Congress would have been unsuitable; but in words that will find an echo in English hearts, he acknowledges that unto God alone must be ascribed the honour of their deliverance. In the hour of triumph, in the flush of victory, in the moment of exultation at the overthrow of two great armies, President Davis does not forget that the future depends on the will of God, and therefore he counsels the people of the Confederate States not only to return thanks for the great mercies vouchsafed, but "to implore Him to conduct our country safely through the perils which surround us to the final achievement of the blessings of peace and security." A fiery ordeal may yet be awaiting the South; but we cannot doubt that a people thus supplicating and depending on the favour of Heaven will, if adversity comes, bear it bravely, and ultimately attain to the longed-for blessings of peace and security.

"Mason and Dixon's Line."

THE turn which the conflict on the other side of the Atlantic is now taking renders the boundary, or imaginary line, between the sections of the late American Union of some interest at the present time.

Sir Walter Raleigh having obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent to discover and occupy lands in America, arrived on the Roanoke in the year 1584, when he took formal possession, and named the country Virginia. Notwithstanding that there were some settlements of the Dutch and Swedes on the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, the whole territory east of the Mississippi continued to be so designated until charters were granted for the colonies of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Owing to a want of knowledge of the topography of the New World, there were for many years disputes between the several Proprietories in reference to the respective boundaries; some of the patents were confined to the limits of rivers, whose courses were entirely unknown, while others called for straight lines; hence the same soil had, on some occasions, two claimants. The most remarkable and long contested difficulty was that between the heirs of William Penn and those of Lord Baltimore in relation to Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, concerning which we present the following account.

In 1632, Charles the First granted to Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baron of Baltimore, "all that part of the peninsula or chersonese, lying in the parts of America, between the ocean on the east and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west; divided from the

residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory or headland, called Watkins' Point, situate upon the bay aforesaid, near the river of Wigheo on the west, into the main ocean on the east, and between that boundary on the south, and that part of the Bay of Delaware on the north which lieth under the fortieth degree of latitude, where New England terminates." Under this grant Lord Baltimore and his descendants claimed the whole peninsula, from the "right line" to the fortieth degree, but the title, strictly speaking, only extended to that portion unsettled or uncultivated, the Dutch and Swedes having had possession of the western margin of the Delaware; from whom the Duke of York conquered the same, as well as their settlements on the east side of that river, and exercised sovereignty over them until 1682, when he transferred all his rights on the western shore to Penn, who was desirous of owning all the territory from his province to the Atlantic. This constituted the "three lower counties in Delaware." The Duke of York having succeeded to the throne (King James the Second), and desiring to put an end to all disputes, ordered, by a decree in Council, in 1685, "that for avoiding further differences, the tract of land lying between the Bay of Delaware and the eastern sea on the one side, and the Chesapeake Bay on the other, be divided into equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree of north latitude, the southern boundary of Pennsylvania by charter." This decree did not, however, remove the difficulty, as the situation of Cape Henlopen was still uncertain; the middle of the peninsula had yet to be ascertained. The dispute was protracted until the 10th of May, 1732, when an agreement was made between the parties "that a semi-circle should be drawn at twelve English statute miles around Newcastle (Delaware) agreeably to the deed to Penn in 1682; that an east and west line, beginning at Cape Henlopen—which was admitted to be below Cape Cornelius, the present Cape Henlopen—and running westward to the exact middle of the peninsula, between the two Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, and, the end of the line intersecting it in the latitude of Cape Henlopen, a line should be run northward, so as to form a tangent with the periphery of the semi-circle at Newcastle, drawn into the radius of the twelve English statute miles, whether such a line should take a due north course or not; that after the said northwardly line should touch the Newcastle semi-circle, it should be run further northward until it reached the same latitude as fifteen English statute miles due south from the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia; that from the northern point of such a line, a due west line should be run, at least for the present, across the Susquehanna River, and twenty-five miles beyond it, and to the western limits of Pennsylvania, when occasion and the improvements of the country should require; that that part of the due west line not actually run, though imaginary, should be considered to be the true boundary of Maryland and Pennsylvania;" * * * and "that the route should be well marked by trees and other natural objects, and designated by stone pillars, sculptured with the arms of the contending parties, facing their respective possessions." This important document, though seemingly so free from ambiguity, was afterwards the subject of much litigation; but was finally carried into complete effect, in all its parts. It accounts for the "three lower counties" which subsequently "seceded," and became the State of Delaware. The quiet of the provinces continuing to be interrupted by the conflicting claims of settlers along the border, both parties applied in 1737 to the King's Council for some order which should lessen or allay these ferment. An amicable temporary arrangement was first effected, it being agreed "that all the vacant land not now possessed by, or under either of them, on the east side of Susquehanna River down as far as fifteen miles and a quarter south of the latitude of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia, and on the west side of Susquehanna as far south as fourteen miles and three-quarters south of the latitude of the most

southern part of the city of Philadelphia, should be subject to the temporary and provisional jurisdiction of Pennsylvania; and that all vacant land not possessed by or under either, on both sides of the Susquehanna, south of the said temporary limits, should be subject to the jurisdiction of Maryland, until the boundaries were finally settled, but to be without prejudice to either party." In accordance with this understanding, commissioners were appointed to run the temporary line, who began their operations in the spring of 1739, and surveyed "to the most western end of the Kittochinny Hills." The controversy between the proprietors, nevertheless, continued; the cause got into Chancery, on the construction of the agreement of May 10, 1732, and was not decided until 1750. Lord Baltimore's counsel contended that it could not be carried into effect by reason of its vagueness. The Lord Chancellor (Hardwicke) overcame all objections, and decreed a performance of the articles of agreement. He ordered that new commissioners be appointed, to begin their work in November of that year, fixing the centre of the semi-circle as near the middle of the town of Newcastle as possible, and that Cape Henlopen should be taken as laid down in the map accompanying the articles of agreement, about fifteen miles from the cape now known by that name. The commission met at Newcastle on November 15, 1750, and fixed upon the court-house as their starting point; but Lord Baltimore's representatives conjured up a new and unexpected difficulty, by insisting that the radii of the semi-circle should be measured superficially, without allowing for the inequalities of the ground, regardless of the absurd consequences resulting therefrom and utter impossibility of describing anything like a semi-circle. They persisted in their objections, and the heirs of Penn were again under the necessity of applying to court, when in 1751 they obtained a decision in favour of horizontal measurement. The commission again proceeded in their task, and having first run the semi-circle, marking it in the ground, they commenced operations at the point then known as Cape Henlopen, and finished the "middle line" between the two bays. After some further delay and cavilling as to distance, Frederick, Lord Baltimore, weary of the controversy, entered into articles of agreement with Thomas and Richard Penn on July 4, 1760, which at length effectually closed their tedious and irksome altercations. It was covenanted that the semi-circle as already run should be adopted; that the distance across the peninsula, in the latitude of Cape Henlopen, should be taken as correct at 69 miles 298½ perches from the stone pillar east of the mulberry tree at Fenwick's Island; that the middle of such line should be ascertained, from which point it should start northwardly, whether exact or not, so as to form a tangent with the semi-circle at Newcastle, drawn within a radius of twelve English statute horizontal miles from the court-house, in that place, and past the said point of contact in the same direction, until it reached the latitude of fifteen miles below the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia; that from that point a line should be run due west—to the utmost longitude of Pennsylvania; that all claims should be released to the territory within the limits there to be ascertained, and that the Penns should appoint surveyors to run the lines as yet unfinished. The persons in whose charge the matter was placed made very slow progress, and at the end of three years accomplished little more than the peninsula line and the measurement of the radius; this left to be ascertained and established "the tangent from the middle point of the peninsula line to the tangent point—the meridian from thence to a point fifteen miles south of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia—with the arc of a circle to the west of it, the fifteen miles distance, and the parallel of latitude westward from its termination." At this stage, the Penns and Lord Baltimore, being in London, agreed to employ Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, "two mathematicians and surveyors," "to mark, run out, settle, fix, and determine all such parts of the circle, marks, lines, and boundaries, as

were mentioned in the several articles or commissions, and were not yet completed." Messrs. Mason and Dixon arrived at Philadelphia on the 15th of November, 1763. After receiving their instructions from the Commissioners of the Provinces on the 9th of December following, they forthwith engaged in the duty assigned to them. They ascertained the southernmost part of the city of Philadelphia from a house occupied by Thomas Plumstead and Joseph Huddle, on the south side of Cedar (now South) Street, to be 39 deg. 56 min. 29.1 sec. north; and in January and February, 1764, measured thirty-one miles westward from the margin of the Delaware to the forks of the Brandywine, where they planted a quartzose stone, known to this day in the vicinity as the "Stargazers-stone." In the spring of 1764, they ran from said stone a due south line of fifteen English statute miles, crossing the Brandywine three times in the first mile, horizontally measured by levels each twenty feet in length, to a post marked "west," ascertaining there, also, its latitude, computed at 39 deg. 43 min. 18 sec.; they then repaired to a post marked "middle," at the centre point of the peninsula west line, running from Fenwick's Island to Chesapeake Bay; and during the summer they made and described the tangent line that had been agreed to. Then, in the autumn of 1764 they set off from the post marked "west," and produced a parallel of latitude westward as far as the Susquehanna, from which they went to the tangent point, and in the next year they completed a meridian line from thence northward until it intersected the said parallel of latitude at the distance of 5 miles, 1 chain, and 50 links, thus and there determining and fixing the north-east corner of Maryland. Before the close of 1765 they described such portion of the semi-circle round Newcastle as fell westward of the said meridian, in due north line from the tangent point. "This little bow or arc reaching into Maryland is about a mile and a half long, and its middle width is 116 feet; from its upper end, where the three States join, to the fifteen-mile point, where the great Mason and Dixon's line begins, is a little over three and a half miles; and from the fifteen-mile corner due east to the circle is a little over three-quarters of a mile." The surveyors repeated their operations at several points, and finally proceeded beyond the Susquehanna to the end of five degrees longitude from the Delaware, in the parallel of the west line, which they extended to the distance of 230 miles, 18 chains, and 21 links, from its beginning at the north-east corner of Maryland, or 244 miles, 38 chains, and 36 links from the Delaware, near to an Indian war-path on the Dankard Creek; the red men prevented the continuation of their labours, and they were obliged to abandon the five degrees of longitude from that place to the western limits of Pennsylvania. They, however, agreed that the length of the southern boundary of that State was 267 miles, 58 chains, and 90 links, and on November 9, 1768, this was certified by the commissioners to have been marked, described, and perpetuated, by setting up and erecting therein stones at the end of every mile, from the place of beginning to the distance of 132 miles, near Sideling Hill; every five-mile stone having on the side facing the north the arms of Thomas and Richard Penn, and on the south the arms of Lord Baltimore. These stones were imported from England, and were hewn from that variety of calcareous rock known as oolite or roestone. The line thus marked is stated to have been measured horizontally, the hills and mountains with a 16½ foot level; and the vista cut through the forest eight yards wide, was "seen about two miles, beautifully terminating to the eye in a point." The residue of the southern line of Pennsylvania—something less than twenty-two miles—was afterwards, in 1782, run by other surveyors, but was not completely and permanently marked until 1784. When the interference of the Indians arrested the proceedings of Messrs. Mason and Dixon they returned to Philadelphia, and received an honourable discharge on December 26, 1767, having been engaged in the service about four years. They were allowed twenty-one shillings per day, for one month, from June 21 of the last year,

and the residue of the time ten shillings and sixpence each per day for the expenses, &c., and no more until they embarked for England, when the allowance of ten shillings and sixpence was renewed until their arrival home. The amount paid by the Penns under these proceedings, from 1760 to 1768, was £34,200 Pennsylvanian currency.

It will thus be seen that "Mason and Dixon's line" is not, as often supposed, the line of the Missouri compromise, which was drawn in lat. 36° 30' N. It became famous in colonial times by of reason the controversies herein related, and the slavery question had nothing whatever to do with it. But it subsequently marked a well-defined social and political boundary, in consequence of Pennsylvania being the most southerly State that abolished slavery, while Maryland is the most northerly State that retains that system of labour. It will, moreover, be observed that the boundaries between Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland have been so long established that they are as well known and recognized by the large population on the borders as if they had been defined by a river. Indeed, the different States are just as distinct in their organizations as the several nations of Europe, and no difficulty has ever been experienced on account of the absence of natural divisions; in fact, until the tyranny of Lincoln's Government was exhibited during the past twelve months, the hand of Federal authority was never known or felt by the people of the States, the Power at Washington being only a foreign agent for the individual commonwealths.

SOME weeks ago we had occasion to refer to a fund for the relief of the wounded prisoners still in the hands of the Federal authorities, raised and managed by the "Southern Club" at Liverpool. The undertaking has been crowned with marked success.

From a comparatively small beginning the amounts collected and transmitted by the Club, exclusively the contributions of patriotic Southerners resident in Europe, have increased to largely upwards of £3000. The agency organized for supplying the wants of these poor fellows, many of them nurtured in luxury, or, at least, affluence, and now destitute of even the commonest necessities of life, or even the means of changing the clotted shirt that has stiffened on their wounds; is accomplishing its work in a manner beyond the most sanguine expectations. We are not authorized to divulge more in this respect than that woman is here, as in every work of charity or self-devotion, the untiring ministering angel.

In answer to various inquiries on this subject, we take pleasure in stating that we have the most ample evidence before our eyes, not only of the complete efficacy of the relief, but of the admirable and judicious machinery for its management. Our Southern friends will appreciate the motive which restrains us from publishing particulars. Those who desire information on the subject should address the Chairman or Secretary of the "Southern Club," 80, Tower Buildings West, Liverpool.

THE EXODUS OF SOUTHERN MEN FROM MARYLAND.

It was ascertained from actual register that upwards of 800 Marylanders have reached Richmond within ten days. Among them are the sons of some of the most prominent and wealthy planters, farmers, and merchants of the State, who have been compelled to fly their comfortable homes to escape the impending drafts to fight against the South.

Yesterday the arrivals were very numerous, mostly from the counties, the roads from Baltimore being too strongly guarded to admit of many escapes from that point. One party, leaving Leonardstown, Md., were pounced upon by about forty of the 7th New York Cavalry, and eleven of them captured after the exchange of a number of shots. Another party were overhauled by the cavalry, but a large jug of whiskey in one of the waggon's released them from the difficulty by making the cavalymen drunk, and they thus escaped capture.

Several of the cavalry men have been killed in the various encounters with the escaping refugees, but large numbers of the refugees have been captured.

One died of sunstroke while endeavouring to reach the Confederate lines.

We are glad to know that all who have arrived are fired with the patriotic spirit, and are rapidly taking their posts where they can best avenge their wrongs, and in due time recover their homes from the spoiler.

Among the arrivals are Colonel J. B. Brooke, of Prince George's county, and President of the late State Senate, and Hon. James S. Franklin, a Breckenridge elector, and a member of the State Legislature from Annapolis.—*Richmond Examiner*.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.*

MY MESSMATES.

The pages of my note book will not serve me here. The jest which beguiled an idle hour of camp life sounds ghastly now when it conjures up the image of a dear friend bleeding and dying on a battle-field. The rough sketches of my companions, made while we all were together, though the idea of death, separation was not absent from them, jar painfully on my feelings. Alas! of these companions many a one no longer answers when the roll is called.

The first who fell was Major R. B. Armistead—there is no indelicacy in naming the heroic dead. He was a harrister of eminence in Mobile, past the first flush of youth, and on the platform, as in the forum, an orator of no mean repute. He was an accomplished gentleman, a true friend, but neither by nature nor taste fitted for a soldier. Rather predisposed by temper and pursuits in favour of all established order, he saw with regret the disruption of the magnificent Republic, and acquiesced in Secession only as a sad necessity. But when his native State (Virginia) after long hesitation and anxious deliberation, dissolved her connection with the Federal Government, and solemnly united her fortunes to those of the Gulf States, he stepped into the ranks of the first Mobile Company despatched to the seat of war. I doubt whether before that period he had ever shouldered a musket, and his portly figure was the mark of many a good-natured joke in the squad of raw recruits; yet a few weeks sufficed to make him one of the best drilled men in the company. When we were mustered into the Confederate service, our corps having more than the legal quota of members, Private Armistead was one of the three whom the captain, to prevent dispute, selected to forego their claims to membership. These three never left the company, and remained subject to all its regulations and duties, but without pay or rations, until some vacancy in the ranks should enable them to step in again. Such was Private Armistead of Mess No. 5, and few more efficient soldiers were there in Company A. When off duty, he was a diligent student of "Hardie's Tactics," and as we had daily opportunities for practising the lessons of this admirable text-book, both as automata in the drill of our own battalion, and as criticising spectators of the drill of the other, it need not excite much surprise that a well-trained mind like Mr. Armistead became in a few months respectably proficient in the tactical knowledge required of a regimental officer. When, therefore, on the authorization of the new levies, subsequent to the battle of Manassas (Bull Run), Private Armistead was invited by the Secretary of War to raise, in conjunction with another gentleman, a new Alabama Regiment, he was not quite unprepared for the responsible duties devolving upon him. The regiment was soon raised, and placed, fully armed and equipped, at the disposal of the Government. Private Armistead left us to become Major Armistead of the 22nd Alabama, the lieutenant-colonelcy having been declined by him in favour of a West Point graduate. In the great battle of Shiloh, where every Southerner did his duty, no regiment won brighter or more dearly-bought laurels than the 22nd Alabama Volunteers. The second day of the battle found Major Armistead in command of this corps, and while leading it on to victory he was shot through a vital part. Quietly dismounting from his horse, he walked to the rear; with hands convulsed in the agonies of death, he wrote a brief farewell to those he had dearest in the world, and a few hours after expired without a groan. There was something so quiet, so unassuming, so truly manly, in the brief military career of this man, there was such a stern heroism in his death, that among the many martyrs Mobile has given to the cause the memory of none is more dearly cherished than that of Major Robert B. Armistead, of the 22nd Alabama.

The head of our mess was Sergeant James Broune. He was well descended, and connected with some of the most aristocratic families of Alabama and South Carolina. His pride consisted in being the best non-commissioned officer in the regiment, and to repeated offers of a commission he used to reply, "No, no, leave me where I am; I know what I am fit for, but I don't know whether a lieutenantancy would fit me." An excellent drill-officer he certainly was, and a strict one, as I have occasion to remember, whenever my musket was not up to his standard of dazzling brightness, or when luck placed me in the rear rank at the "march in line." If Sergeant Broune had any military ambition, it was to be the colour-bearer of our regiment; and no taller or handsomer man for the post could have been selected. "I should be sure to

be killed, the Yankees could never miss me," he was in the habit of saying, half jestingly, half seriously, when discussing his prospects for the coveted appointment. On the expiration of the twelve months' term, he re-enlisted with his regiment; at the battle of Seven Pines, near Richmond, he bore aloft the riddled flag of the 3rd Alabama, and fell shot through the heart.

The lists of killed and wounded which chance has from time to time, brought to this land of peace—these fragmentary leaves torn out of the awful record of death and mutilation—are seldom without a name of one of my messmates, and there is not one of them of whom I can confidently speak as being still in the world of the living. We were twelve in number before the country's service called us, one after another, to different fields of duty, higher and more distinguished than those we then had, but surely not more honourable. During the three months that we were crowded together under the same tent there never was an unkind word spoken to or of each other. Nearly every profession, and certainly every variety of natural temperament, was represented in the mess. I well remember how "at taps" we were wont to huddle together in our narrow quarters, each man's knapsack serving for his pillow, and with what a sense of relief we counted upon the nights when, in the alphabetical order of the roll, one or two of our number should be detailed for guard duty, and leave breathing space for the rest. Beside me, nearest the opening of the tent, lay a well-to-do cotton broker of middle age, whose epicurean experience and practical culinary accomplishments added largely to our material comforts; who eat well and slept well, and who never seemed sad, save when a letter from home brought more vividly to his mind the thought of a young wife and child a thousand miles away. Just opposite to me, on the other side of the tent, our legs fitting carefully between each other, was a planter's son, a dashing, singularly handsome youth, whom we never should have suspected of a serious idea, or a pang of care, had we not surprised him once or twice pensively poring over a photograph, which no profane eye was permitted to see. Poor fellow! his wedding day had been fixed when the summons of war dispelled his dreams of happiness. Those who were in his confidence knew his boisterous gaiety to be seldom genuine. At my left lay a young physician who, after a brilliant graduation in the best medical school in America, was perfecting his professional education in Europe when the revolution called him home to take his place in the ranks also. When off duty he found time to assist the surgeons of the regiment, and in one instance, at least, gave evidence of more than ordinary skill in his profession; but for himself, he firmly declined the appointments on the medical staff, which were more than once urged upon him. At a later period of the war, he raised a company, and at the head of it won the honourable mention of General Beauregard.

This brief sketch of some of my messmates has carried me far beyond the period embraced in my notes. The reader will pardon the anachronism, and return with me to the camp near Norfolk in the early part of May, 1861.

SOLDIERS DUTIES.

Camp near Norfolk, May 11.

Yesterday was my first detail for guard duty since we have been subjected to the rigid discipline of a camp in presence of the enemy. As I write, now released from guard, exempt from drill for the rest of the day, to record my first impressions, it is difficult for me to distinguish between the ludicrousness; and the extremely disagreeable nature of some of my duties during the last twenty-four hours. I rather enjoy the recollection of the night passed shelterless under a heavy rain; for the guard tents, which have been promised us these eight days back, have not yet gladdened our sight. Thanks to my India-rubber cloak, I slept tolerably well during the better part of the four hours "off guard;" and the two "on," the wind and rain notwithstanding, were rendered less dreary by the novelty of the position. It is during the day-time that I don't know whether to be amused or ashamed at my curious predicament. As luck would have it, the post of all other posts which I should not have selected fell to me, post No. 1 at the entrance of the camp, my sole duty being to enforce the police regulations. Our officers appear to have no fear of spies, and freely permit visitors of respectable appearance to pass through the camp. So far so good, though I did feel a little awkward at first in my new attitude towards my lady acquaintances at Norfolk, and I pride myself that no sentinel ever more politely yet firmly refused admittance to a carriage attempting to trespass. My duties towards the smugglers of illegal commodities were not so easily discharged. All fruits, shell-fish, cakes, but especially all ardent spirits, were rigidly prohibited. A pitiless refusal to the vendors of the former wares was generally sufficient; but experience had

* Continued from No. 9.
† See No. 5 of THE INDEX.—"Taking the Oath."

taught me what wonderful resources of ingenuity were brought into the service of the last-named. As my general instructions on this head were specially sharpened by the officer of the guard, who happened to be a professor of temperance in the strictest sense, I could not conscientiously let a laundress pass without a scrupulous examination of the contents of her basket. Then I knew the jugs labelled "vinegar" or "molasses" to be extremely suspicious vessels. Nor was it always safe to permit the owner to pass after he had produced a sample of treacle on his finger from the mouth of the jug. Canteens, also, could not be trusted, even after a specimen of water had been poured from them. A still more irksome duty was the arrest of every luckless wight who presented himself at the entrance of camp a few minutes after the hour fixed in his furlough. No excuse in such a case is valid, though there is not a man in the regiment who would not rather be shot than sent home, much less think of deserting. What makes the regulation appear so absurd is that our camp is filled with negroes, either hired from town by the different messes, or brought with us from home. These negroes, not coming within the cognizance of the military code, have free ingress and egress at all hours between reveille and tattoo. They enjoy amazingly being able to pass unquestioned where their masters cannot pass without written permits, and then only on strictly defined conditions. They no doubt wonder at our scrupulous obedience; for the most severe rules to which any of them have been accustomed are lenient compared to those which govern us.

Despite these disagreeable incidents, the day was not without amusement. I have a prejudice in favour of strawberries and cream at this season, and after a narrow construction of the rules, I did not feel myself compelled to interfere when thirst suggested to some of my companions the expedient of negotiating for the purchase of these luxuries across the line which I was entrusted to guard. Provided the consumer kept on one side of the boundary and the vendor on the other, I paced my watch with dignified indifference to the evasive transaction. Nay, when a kind corporal of the guard consented to relieve me for a few moments, I seized the opportunity of refreshing myself from the rapidly disappearing supply. Inveterate disciplinarian as was our colonel, who at that moment rode up, he could not, probably, help feeling amused at the spectacle of a couple of score of soldiers kneeling on one side of a little path, with a row of fruitmongers ranged opposite them. At all events, no notice was taken, though I was fully prepared for an extra turn of twenty-four hours of guard duty wherein to digest my strawberries.

The next humorous incident occurred at the forming of the first relief for the night-guard. The officer, determined to carry out to the letter the regulations for the instruction of illiterate recruits, made us repeat after him the different calls or replies to be made by us on our post under every conceivable circumstance. The rehearsal of our lessons, singly and collectively, was much after the fashion of a geography lesson in an olden-time country school. The instructor being a mustachioed officer, and the scholars a set of strapping fellows with muskets in their arms, made the analogy only the more amusing. Yet I may add, I think to our credit, that each man of us appreciated the motive, and no one attempted to give the rehearsal a more comic turn than it inherently possessed. We all felt that though the thing was unnecessary and ridiculous in our case it might not be in others, and that it was better our officers should err in this direction than in the opposite one. Upon the whole, now that I have put on paper my first experience "on guard," the pleasant recollection predominates over the unpleasant one, and I feel conscious that I am not insensible to the compliment just paid me by one of the officers of having been an efficient sentinel, though a few weeks ago I certainly did not think that I would earn praise in that capacity.

Reviews.

A SOUTHERN STATEMENT.*

MR. WILLIAMS' book will, we think, have a large circulation in this country. There is no land inhabited by a people of European race about which Europe knows so little as about the Confederate States of America. There is no people so thoroughly and universally misunderstood, no class of institutions of whose working we have so inaccurate an idea as those of the South. A book like this is of great use, because it reveals, rather

by implication than by direct assertion, some of the main features of Southern society, and unmasks some of the enormous errors current concerning the condition and character of the dominant and the subject races. It was not written distinctly for this purpose. It consists principally of a defence of the Southern cause addressed, during the last Presidential contest of the United States, to the American people, through the medium of the American newspapers. Written in this way, it does not, of course, enter into much detail with respect to the actual facts of Southern life. It is not a social sketch, but a political argument; polemical in its purpose, and to some extent in its tone. But the facts which it does exhibit carry the more conviction because they appear incidentally and unintentionally, and not as elaborated or coloured for effect's sake.

Our English idea of the working of negro slavery is derived from our own experience of it in the West Indies. It can scarcely be doubted, now, that we exaggerated the extent and amount of cruelty which was practised there. But, admitting that the abuses which there prevailed were such as would have compelled the strenuous interference of the mother country, even had no Abolitionist convictions obtained among us, there are many circumstances which, as Mr. Williams reminds us, alter the conditions of slavery, and render it in the Southern States very different from what it was in Jamaica, or even what it now is in Cuba. First—until within the lifetime of men who were young when West Indian servitude was abolished, the slave trade was in full vigour, and the great majority of the slaves in English islands were born in Africa. This worked evil in more ways than one. The slave was a savage—unused to labour, brutal, heathen; in fact, a wild animal put to domestic uses, like a buffalo yoked to the plough, or a zebra harnessed to a cart. Dealing with such a being, a severity was necessary which tended to make the master also a savage. The African-born negroes were dangerous; to the tyranny necessitated by the difficulty of getting savages to perform the work of a civilized country was added the more hideous tyranny which is always called forth by the fears of the tyrant. The owner or his deputy was brutal, because he had to control a brutal race—cruel, because he felt constant alarm lest that race should rise in murderous rebellion. Moreover, imported negroes were cheap; so that, while their character gradually deprived them of that security which they might otherwise have derived from the natural humanity of the superior race, their abundance destroyed that protection which might otherwise have been afforded by the self-interest of their masters. A man could afford to work his negroes to death, because the supply of negroes was plentiful; and he was tempted to use them savagely, because they were, with few exceptions, savages. Again, the owners of West Indian plantations were not, generally, residents or natives. Often they were absentee; at best, they were sojourners. The estates were managed either by proprietors who had come out to make a fortune in a few years, and then return home, or by overseers for absent masters. In neither case had the owner any personal interest in the slave, or any close tie with him, such as exists between those who have grown up together and expect to live and die together. There was nothing to soften the natural repugnance of race, or mitigate the hardship of servitude. The slave trade has not existed for the South during the last half-century. An infinitesimal proportion of the present slave population—and these all old—can possibly have been born in Africa. Probably, not one in 500 was born of an African father or mother. The enormous majority are descendants of persons who were slaves in America when the Declaration of Independence was signed. They are a domesticated race, used to labour and to obedience, to dependence, to civilization; they are Christians; they are accustomed to work under white direction, to ape white manners, to lean upon and receive protection from the whites. Most of them were born on the plantation on which they now live. Their masters have been brought up along with them, are used to them, understand them; and it is not in human nature that they should be indifferent to one another. What man but feels an affection even for the dog or horse that has been his for years, or for the old servants of his family? And though the slave is of a different race, and a race to which the white man elsewhere evinces a natural aversion, the constant contiguity of the two races prevents this feeling from gaining a hold on the Southerner, as on the West Indian, brought up and intending to spend his old age at least where negroes are not. It is clear, therefore, that we are not to judge Southern slavery, *a priori*, by the slavery of the West Indies.

But we are told the most horrible stories of brutality actually practised by Southern planters towards the

negroes. And by whom? by the same Northern orators, editors, and politicians whose habits of falsehood, as regards all other subjects, are perfectly well known to us. We know that the Abolitionists are in the habit of calumniating England in the most outrageous manner. We read in almost every book written by an American of the Republican party, in every Northern journal, in every reported speech of Abolitionist lecturers or statesmen, whenever they have occasion to mention England or Englishmen, a tissue of falsehoods so extravagant, of abuse so unscrupulous, that they simply provoke our laughter. Why should we believe them when they abuse their political opponents? During the agitation for a reform of the factory system, men of high position were found to affirm, in Parliament, on the platform, and in the press, the grossest untruths respecting the millowners of Lancashire, and to make accusations which, allowing for the difference of national temper and habits of speech, were scarcely less atrocious than the charges preferred by such writers as Mrs. Stowe, and such orators as Wendell Phillips, against the Southern slaveholders. Yet all the time the factory population were, and they still are, far better off than the labourers on the estates of the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who believed and repeated those falsehoods; and the millowners were, and are, no more capable than the country gentlemen of the barbarities laid to their charge. We may, therefore, believe Mr. Williams when he says:—

The Southerner, knowing the falsehood and wickedness of these allegations, is almost tempted to doubt the evidence of his own senses. He knows that if there are faults in the treatment of slaves by their masters, they are, as a rule, the reverse of those which are charged by ignorant or malicious commentators. He knows that the feelings of kindness and affection between master and slave are cultivated to an extent utterly unknown to the intercourse of employer and servant, or apprentice, in his own or any other country. He believes that there are fewer instances of cruelty practised by masters upon slaves in America than even by parents upon their own offspring in any civilized free state of the world; though he is also well aware that when such instances do occur, they are exceptional in both. The Southerner who reads or listens to the recital of these stories in a foreign land is silenced by the very magnitude and enormity of their falsehood!

The fact that in the West Indies the number of the negroes living was always far less than the number supposed to have been imported from first to last, while for 400,000 imported into the Southern States there are now four millions living there, sufficiently proves the very different character of the institutions of the two countries. Granted that of the imported negroes of the islands a disproportionate number were males, so that the normal rate of increase could not be expected, this fails to explain away the figures recorded by Mr. Williams. Of the West Indian slaves, far more died than were born; of the American, the births as much outnumber the deaths as among the white population. The last fact alone shows that the physical condition of the slaves is not one of such extreme misery, nor their treatment so atrocious, as it suits the Northern Abolitionists to represent. Indeed, if the writings and orations of those gentlemen were reprinted verbatim in England, they would obtain no credence. Their frantic violence would be held to prove their unfitness to give evidence. It is because their allegations are cut out from amid a mass of rabid denunciation, for publication in English newspapers, that they receive any attention or any credit.

It is not unnatural that Mr. Williams, as a Southerner stung by unjust reproaches and false charges, should misunderstand and misrepresent the Abolitionism of England. But we are bound to protest against his view of the anti-slavery policy of a country which had and still has greater interest in slavery than any other Power in the world, except the Confederate States. It is true that we did at first force slavery and the slave-trade on our reluctant colonies, and on those very States from which we have since so vehemently demanded its abolition. But it is equally true that we have undergone a great and sincere national repentance; that we proved its sincerity by abolishing slavery throughout the dominions of the British Crown at the national expense; that we keep up costly stations and an expensive fleet on the African coast to put down the slave trade; and that we have done this without a thought of national gain—nay, at a heavy national loss; we ruined thereby our richest colonies. If we could carry out completely the theory—ser in regard to the internal institutions of America it cannot be called a policy—to which we have clung so fondly, and sacrificed so much, we should utterly ruin our wealthiest towns, and desolate our most populous countries. Never before did any nation do so much "for an idea" as England for negro emancipation. Never was a political faith more fervently, honestly, and unselfishly held than that professed by the Anti-slavery party in Great Britain.

The book contains another error, common to nearly all American writers. Mr. Williams knows nothing of

*The South vindicated: Being a Series of Letters written for the American Press during the Campaign for the Presidency in 1860; with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the John Brown raid, and a Survey of the Result of the Presidential Contest, and its consequences, by the Hon. JAMES WILLIAMS, late American Minister to Turkey. With an introduction by JOHN HARRIS HOPKINS. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green.

the condition of the mass of the English people; and on the evidence of Englishmen who were, with far less excuse, as ignorant as himself, he misrepresents it altogether. In the first place, in ordinary years, all our skilled labourers are well employed at high wages. In the factory districts a family will earn by fifty-seven or sixty hours of labour per week an income of 30s. to 50s., or even 70s. In the worst of our agricultural districts we do not believe that the wages of a family ever fall below 10s. a week, and they are generally much higher. It is so far from being true that half our labouring population is unable to get work, and the other half illpaid and helpless, that half our population certainly have enough to live on, and the other half enough to procure many comforts and all necessities, and to save money besides. It is true that in our great cities we have a certain half-starved class of thieves, beggars, and so forth; but it is also true that the misery and crime of this class arises far less from want of work to do than from a determination not to do it. And extreme misery is almost confined to our great cities; elsewhere, it would be seen and relieved; there, it escapes notice, and for that reason only escapes relief.

But in regard to that which he has the means of judging fairly and knowing accurately, and that which we chiefly desire to know from him, Mr. Williams, is clear, sensible, and temperate. Except the misconceptions of English policy and society, which we have exposed, there is nothing in his book which will displease, while there is much that will instruct and something that will surprise, the English readers. His history of Northern Abolition—his criticisms on the conduct of the Republican party—his account of the Presidential contest and its consequences—are written with fairness, temper, and good sense; they add not a little to our knowledge on all these subjects, now of so much interest, and are evidently and entirely reliable. Mr. Hopkins's Introduction contains some very remarkable statistical exposures of favourite Northern fictions concerning the South; and the volume, as a whole, contains more information—and that in a readable form—concerning the institutions, the feelings, the history, and the prospects of the South, than is to be found anywhere else in print.

SHORT NOTICES.

An Account of the Cruise of the St. George on the North American and West Indian Station, during the Years 1861-1862. By N. B. Denny. (Sanders, Olley, and Co.)
The Siege and History of Londonderry. Edited by John Hempton. (Londonderry, Hempton; London, Simpkin and Co.)
Fern Vale; or, the Queenland Squatter. A Novel. By Collin Munro. (Newby.)
Robert O'Hara Burke and the Australian Exploring Expedition of 1860. By Andrew Jackson. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

The account of the cruise of the *St. George* would not have been written but that Prince Alfred was on board as midshipman, for it is hardly possible to conceive a more uneventful voyage. The author is obliged to eke out his matter by commenting on the want of sympathy between the whites and blacks, although the separation between the races is perfectly well-known. The aim of the book, however, is to tell us about the Prince; but though Mr. Denny may be an excellent courtier, he is a bad retailer of royal doings. The author evinces the disposition, but he lacks the descriptive power of Jeames Plush. It is a pity Mr. Denny did not confide his notes to the editorship of "a fashionable reporter;" for though the book would not have been more valuable, it would, in some quarters, have been more readable.

Mr. Hempton refutes some errors into which Macaulay has fallen in reference to the Siege of Londonderry, but the errors are neither very numerous or very important. Macaulay has been so severely criticized, all his statements have been so thoroughly tried, and the detected faults are so insignificant, that he is entitled to be regarded as one of the most accurate, as he certainly is the most eloquent, of modern historians. We do not say that his history is not tinged by his political opinions, but there is no evidence of his suppressing a fact or parading a falsehood for the purpose of enforcing his views. Mr. Hempton has brought together some valuable documents about the famous siege, and irrespective of his attack on Macaulay, his book will repay perusal.

The author of "Fern Vale" tells us that he has blended fact with fiction, and we believe him. The descriptions of the country, and, to some extent, of colonial manners, are true and well told; but the adventures are fictitious and exceedingly tame, both in conception and relation. Some of the language is remarkable. A kiss is called "a fond inoculation," and a fly is described as "going through various crural manipulations on its cranium." This kind of writing is neither elegant nor witty, but is not devoid of a coarse humour.

Mr. Jackson has composed from a Blue-book an interesting account of the Australian Exploring Expedition,

which was conducted with undoubted bravery and resolution, but with the most singular want of judgment, not to say of common sense.

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR.—Mr. J. W. McMahon, of Richmond, Va., is preparing a history of the war from the commencement until the present time. In his announcement he says:—

In the preface to "Cause and Contrast," I stated that if that work met with public favour, it was intended solely to constitute an Introduction to a History of the Present War. With this view, I have succeeded in collecting a large and valuable mass of documents and other historical materials. I have placed myself in communication with the officials of the several State Governments in the Confederacy, as well as with those of our General Government, each and all of whom have nobly promised to supply me with facts indispensable to complete history. But other information is necessary, and to supply this desideratum I now earnestly solicit the aid of all who feel an interest in putting the gigantic proportions of our struggle on a footing which shall place them fully and fairly in sight of an impartial world—the aid of generals, all army officers and privates, informing me as to the plans, disposition of forces upon the field, miracles, incidents and results of battles and engagements; the aid of citizens in the vicinities of places invaded by the foe, setting forth such depredations, public wrongs, and deeds of darkness as he has perpetrated. These are perishable essentials, if not recorded by the contemporaneous historian; and as it is my chief ambition to render my enterprise candid, critical, philosophical, and complete, every fact bearing upon such subjects will be most thankfully received, and properly acknowledged in the contemplated work.

MISSOURIAN PATRIOTISM.

From the *Richmond Enquirer*.

By the following correspondence it will be seen that, in addition to the magnificent contributions recently announced as received from General Price's army, a single company of his Missouri soldiers have forwarded to Richmond, from Tapelo, Missouri, the sum of \$220 for the relief of the brave men who were wounded in the recent battles in this vicinity.

It is not at all improbable that their gallant and honoured chief will soon again lead the Missourians against the foe, when they perchance may need the same aid and sympathy which they now so freely give to others. In that hour they will be remembered, even as they now remember and assist their suffering brothers-in-arms. We long for the day when the Confederacy will be able to render that assistance to those brave men which will enable them to free their Commonwealth of the enemy. The combined tenderness and courage of the Missouri soldiers is such as proves them true heroes, and fastens them to our sympathies and affections by hooks of steel:—

[Copy.]

Tapelo, Mississippi, July 25, 1862.

Dear General,—Lieutenant Whitman, of Company A, 2nd Regiment, Missouri Confederates, has just handed me \$220, a donation to the wounded and suffering under the command of General Lee in Virginia.

Our beloved and honoured commander will readily comprehend that the handsome donation comes from men who have left their friends, homes and families, at the call of their chief, resolved to stand by him and their country until each one of the Southern States shall have been declared independent. Our hearts are all overshadowed with the sorrows of Missouri, but we pray the God of battles that you may live to lead us back to the homes not yet consumed by fire.

These brave men are nearly all from North Missouri, many of them from my own city of Hannibal, and most of them my neighbours, which accounts for the money being sent to me.

Remit the amount as you please.

Yours most truly,
J. P. McMILLIN.

To Major General Sterling Price,
Commanding Army of the West.

(Copy.)

Headquarters, Army of the West,
TUPELO, MISS., Aug. 1, 1862.

Major: You will find herewith a communication from Mr. John P. McMillin, enclosing (\$220) two hundred and twenty dollars, which the officers and men of Company A, 2nd Missouri Infantry (Cockrell's) have contributed for the relief of their compatriots who fell wounded upon the field in the battles which resulted in driving the enemy from before Richmond.

These men fought under me at the Oak Hills, at Fort Scott, at Lexington, and at Elk Horn, and demonstrated upon every field their bravery and their devotion to the cause of their country.

I am proud that their present act demonstrates that they are also kind-hearted and generous, and that their sympathies are as extensive as their country.

You will please deliver the money to such persons in Richmond as will most faithfully execute the kind wishes of the givers.

I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,
(Signed) STERLING PRICE,
Maj. Gen. Commanding.

To Major Henry W. Williams,
Maury's Division, Army of the West.

Richmond, Va., Aug. 15, 1862.

Madam,—I herewith enclose to you the sum of two hundred and twenty dollars (\$220) and two communications—one from Mr. John P. McMillin to Major-General Sterling Price, the other from General Price to myself.

These communications fully explain the use to which the money is appropriated, and by whom contributed.

In placing this trust in your hands, Madam, I am satisfied that I comply with the instructions of General Price, "to deliver the money to such persons in Richmond as will most faithfully execute the kind wishes of the givers."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
HENRY W. WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Wirt Robinson, Richmond, Va.

Richmond, Va., August 16, 1862.

Dear Sir,—In becoming the recipient *pro tem.* of (\$220) two hundred and twenty dollars, so generously contributed by the officers and members of Company A, of Cockrell's 2nd Missouri Regiment, of General Sterling Price's command, for the benefit of the wounded in the army around Richmond, believe

how gratefully my heart responds to the delicate compliment, and with what pleasure its judicious disbursement will be promoted by its rendition to Mrs. George W. Randolph, wife of the Secretary of War, whose well-known efficiency for so sacred a mission, is ample guarantee for its Samaritan distribution, when and where most needed.

The opportune arrival of the liberal offering will afford relief to many more noble sufferers, in whose behalf we would express most grateful acknowledgments to the brave and kind-hearted contributors.

"Woman's words seem weak; her heart, though poor is thanks, is rich in thankfulness."

May I request you personally to proffer to each and all of the gallant soldiers interested herein, such hefting meed of commendation as may prove "how much more blisc it is to give than to receive."

Most respectfully,
Mrs. WIRT ROBINSON.

To Major Henry W. Williams.

RETALIATION.

(From the *Richmond Enquirer*.)

In the first War of Independence the British captured Colonel Isaac Hayne, a popular citizen of South Carolina, and refused to treat him as a prisoner of war. The ground of this refusal was that Colonel Hayne had some time before taken an oath of allegiance to the British crown. This was indeed true, and is justly lamented by the historian (Lieut.-Colonel Henry Lee) as a grave fault. But the circumstances under which the oath was extorted and especially the subsequent withdrawal and expulsion of British authority from the region which included Colonel Hayne's home, were considered as fully releasing him from British allegiance, and justifying him in taking arms with his countrymen.

Hayne had been among the prisoners taken long before at the capitulation of Charleston. By the terms of that capitulation he was paroled, and returned to his home under guarantee of protection. Subsequently, and in flagrant violation of engagements, all the prisoners thus paroled were required to report themselves in Charleston, and go into close confinement, or take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. Overwhelmed with distress at the condition of his family, then smitten with the small pox, and anxious to be free to minister to them, Hayne yielded, after earnest remonstrances, and took the oath of allegiance; the doing of which, even under such circumstances, the historian justly pronounces an error.

Hayne carefully observed the obligations thus forced upon him by conquest, so long as the British asserted authority in his quarter. But the time came when Greene drove off the British and redeemed Hayne's home from British rule. Hayne, and those in similar circumstances with himself, justly reasoned that the allegiance due to a conqueror ceased with his expulsion from the subdued territory. Under this impression he and many others repaired to Greene's camp and tendered their services, which were gladly accepted. Soon after, while on detached duty, he was captured and thus fell into the hands of the British again.

The British commanders determined on his speedy execution. This was attended by circumstances corresponding with the edict, while Hayne's bearing has made his name immortal.

When the news of these proceedings reached the camp of Greene, it excited universal indignation. Greene demanded explanations, which, when received, were found to be an attempt at justification of the act. Greene instantly determined to retaliate by discarding on his part, also, the restraints of civilized hostilities. In this he was unanimously sustained by his officers. In the conclusion of a manly address, they said to him, "Permit us to add, that while we lament the necessity of so severe an expedient, and commiserate the sufferings to which individuals will be necessarily exposed, we are not unmindful that such a measure may, in its consequences, involve our own lives in additional danger. But we had rather forego temporary distinctions, and commit our own lives to the most desperate situation, than prosecute this just and necessary war on terms so unequal and dishonourable."

Greene accordingly issued a proclamation to his army, "declaring his determination to make reprisals for all such inhuman insults, and to select for the objects of retaliation officers of the regular forces." The feeling produced in Greene's army by this resolve is thus related by the historian:

"The deliberate resolve of Greene, guaranteed by the solemn and spontaneous pledge of his officers, changed the character of the war, and presented death to the soldier in the most ignominious form. * * * Nevertheless, the army exhibited on its march the highest spirit, with zealous anxiety to reach the foe, and conscious of the justice of the measure adopted by their general, with one feeling cheerfully submitted to its consequences."

As before related, the war closed so soon afterwards that Greene's order was not practically executed.

The Confederate States find themselves at the present time, driven to contemplate a war of extermination, such as our fathers were ready to engage in, when the defence of their liberties required it. Our officers and soldiers will be as ready now, as our fathers were then, to assume all the responsibilities of such a condition of affairs; for they are as brave as their fathers were, and they have even a better cause. It is to be hoped that the necessity will be turned aside now as it was then; but if not, let us nerve ourselves to the new order of things. Meanwhile let all our citizens take warning from the error of Hayne, and refuse the oath of allegiance to the enemy, under any and all circumstances.

GENERAL BUTLER'S LIST OF SOUTHERN PATRIOTS.

We copy from the New Orleans papers the order of General Butler for a forced contribution from those who had assisted the Confederate authorities before the occupation of that city by the Federals. The list will interest many of our readers:—

GENERAL ORDER, No. 55.

Headquarters, Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, August 4, 1861.

It appears that the need of relief to the destitute poor of the city requires more extended measures and greater outlay than have yet been made.

It becomes a question in justice upon whom should this burden fall.

Clearly upon those who have brought this great calamity upon their fellow-citizens.

It should not be borne by taxation of the whole municipality, because the middling and working men have never been heard at the ballot-box unawed by threats and unmenaced by Thugs and paid assassins of conspirators against peace and

good order. Besides, more than the vote which was claimed for secession have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.

The United States' Government does its share when it protects, defends, and preserves the people in the enjoyment of law, order, and calm quiet.

Those who have brought upon this city this stagnation of business, this desolation of the hearthstone, this starvation of the poor and helpless, should, as far as they may be able, relieve distresses.

There are two classes whom it would seem peculiarly fit should at first contribute to this end. First, those individuals and corporations who have aided the rebellion with their means; and second, those who have endeavored to destroy the commercial prosperity of the city, upon which the welfare of its inhabitants depends.

It is brought to the knowledge of the Commanding General that a subscription of \$1,250,000 was made by the corporate bodies, business firms and persons whose names are set forth in schedule "A," annexed to this order, and that sum placed in the hands of an illegal body known as the "Committee of Public Safety," for the treasonable purpose of defending the city against the Government of the United States, under whose humane rule the city of New Orleans had enjoyed such unexampled prosperity, that her warehouses were filled with the trade of all nations, who came to share her freedom, to take part in the benefits of her commercial superiority, and thus she was made the representative mart of the world.

The stupidity and wastefulness with which this immense sum was spent was only equalled by the folly which led to its being raised at all. The subscribers to this fund, by this very act, betray their treasonable designs and their ability to pay at least a much smaller tax for the relief of their destitute and starving neighbours.

Schedule "B" is a list of cotton brokers, who claiming to control that great interest in New Orleans to which she is so much indebted for her wealth, published in the newspapers in October, 1861, a manifesto deliberately advising the planters not to bring their produce to the city, a measure which brought ruin at the same time upon the producer and the city.

This act sufficiently testifies the malignity of these traitors as well to the Government as their neighbours, and it is to be regretted that their ability to relieve their fellow-citizens is not equal to their facilities for injuring them.

In taxing both these classes to relieve the suffering poor of New Orleans, yea, even though the needy be the starving wives and children of those in arms at Richmond and elsewhere against the United States, it will be impossible to make a mistake save in having the assessment too easy and the burden too light.

It is therefore ordered—

1st. That the sums in schedules annexed, marked "A" and "B," set against the names of the several persons, business firms and corporations therein described, be and hereby are assessed upon each respectively.

2nd. That said sums be paid to Lieutenant David C. G. Field, Financial Clerk, at his office in the Custom-house, on or before Monday, the 11th inst., or that the property of the delinquent be forthwith seized and sold at public auction, to pay the amount, with all necessary charges and expenses, or the party imprisoned till paid.

3rd. The money raised by this assessment to be a fund for the purpose of providing employment and food for the deserving poor people of New Orleans.

By order of MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER.
R. S. DAVIS, Captain and A. A. G.

[Lieutenant Field may be found in the room formerly occupied by the Navy Agent.

SCHEDULE A.

List of subscribers to the Million and a Quarter Loan placed in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety for the Defence of New Orleans against the United States, and expended by them some \$38,000.

	Sums subscribed to aid treason against the U. States.	Sums assessed to relieve the poor by the U. States.
Abat. Generes & Co.	\$210,000	\$52,500 0
Jonathan Montgomery	40,000	10,000 0
Thos. Sloo, Pres. Sra Ins. Co.	50,000	12,500 0
C. C. Gaines	2,000	500 0
C. C. Gaines & Co.	3,000	750 0
Trustees McDonough School Fund	340,000	85,000 0
J. B. Slawson	10,000	2,500 0
S. H. Wood	5,000	1,250 0
Mrs. S. H. Wood	2,000	500 0
Jacques Lange	7,000	1,750 0
Widow W. P. Welham	10,000	2,500 0
Robert Godes	10,000	2,500 0
Widow Vogel	20,000	5,000 0
J. Levois & Co.	10,000	2,500 0
Samuel Harby	14,800	3,700 0
Citizens' Bank of Louisiana	306,400	76,600 0
Giquel & Jamison	7,500	1,875 0
E. Booth	400	100 0
Edward Chapman	8,000	2,000 0
Thomas Layton	1,000	250 0
D. J. Beagnot	2,000	500 0
B. Dryer & Co.	1,000	250 0
W. H. Pierson	3,000	750 0
Samuel Locke	10,000	2,500 0
Hart & Wintz	5,800	1,450 0
Southern Bank	10,000	2,500 0
Richard & Co.	10,000	2,500 0
Dr. B. Moss	3,000	750 0
J. & J. C. Davidson	20,000	5,000 0
Dque Lanata	9,000	2,250 0
H. Samory	1,000	250 0
R. Turney	1,500	375 0
R. D. Maclin	2,500	625 0
J. H. Cohen	3,000	750 0
Mrs. C. A. Slocomb	5,000	1,250 0
Committee of Public Safety	865	216 25
H. Lee	150	37 50
George Zackendath	200	50 0
Hyde & Goodrich	1,000	250 0
Magee, Horton, & George	500	125 0
Samuel Loeb	100	25 0
Valentine Heerman	1,000	250 0
S. S. Bicker	250	62 50
John M. Demarest	100	25 0
Thomas O'Donnell	50	12 50
Mrs. B. V. McMahon	50	12 50
W. H. Litchford	1,000	250 0
O. F. Thieseman	50	12 50

Frederick Bauer	725	181 25
John Rickerson	250	62 50
M'Stan. Value, & Co.	1,000	250 0
Jacob Zuelly	1,000	250 0
T. Lafon	500	125 0
E. Creswell	100	25 0
H. H. O'Meallie	50	12 50
Joseph Field	1,000	250 0
Jules Done, D. Amann	150	37 50
John Farrell	150	37 50
D. H. Holmes	2,000	500 0
S. P. Lamson	350	87 50
Fanny Hollander	100	25 0
J. W. Stanton & Co.	300	75 0
John H. Randolph	500	125 0
Harriet Morgan	775	193 75
Rachel Morgan	125	31 25
Sarah Morgan	175	43 75
Elizabeth Morgan	150	37 50
Mary M. Morgan	50	12 50
Margaret Harrod	50	12 50
Travis Brothers	200	50 0
Trustees Finke Asylum Fund	55,000	13,750 0
William Massey	300	75 0
F. Lagay	25	6 25
John J. Adams	1,000	250 0
A. W. Bosworth	600	150 0
Charles Briggs	100	25 0
J. A. Lam & Co.	150	37 50
Charles Leoffler	200	50 0
George C. Brower	50	12 50
Patrick Howard	25	6 25
George Clauman	50	12 50
H. H. Hedden	500	125 0
James Goran	100	25 0
Biscoe & Sims	500	125 0
B. C. Young	150	37 50
D. A. Bruen	125	31 25
Madame Ve. H. Chetreu	200	50 0
Henderson & Gaines	1,000	250 0
J. S. Aitkens	250	62 50
W. O. Denegre	1,000	250 0
J. C. McLellan	200	50 0
Mrs. C. F. Sawdew	50	12 50
Louisiana State Bank	7,500	1,875 0
Bank of America	5,000	1,250 0
Gen. D. E. Twigge	1,000	250 0
Jean l'etit	13,125	3,281 25
	\$1,250,865	\$312,716 25

SCHEDULE B.

List of cotton brokers, of New Orleans, who published in the *Crescent*, in October last, a card advising planters not to send produce to New Orleans, in order to induce Foreign Intervention in behalf of the Rebellion:—

	Sums assessed to relieve the starving poor by the U. States.	Sums assessed to relieve the starving poor by the U. States.
Hewitt, Norton, & Co.	\$500	\$125 0
West & Villere	250	62 50
S. E. Belknap	100	25 0
Brander, Chambliss, & Co.	100	25 0
Lewis & Oglesby	500	125 0
W. A. Johnson & Co.	250	62 50
Carroll, Hoy, & Co.	500	125 0
Farley, Jarey, & Co.	500	125 0
W. Cox & Co.	500	125 0
James M. Putnam	100	25 0
A. Levi & Co.	250	62 50
Montgomery & Hall	100	25 0
Belloep, Noblum, & Co.	250	62 50
Ahat & Cushman	100	25 0
Holloway & Lonsdale	100	25 0
Geo. S. Mandeville	250	62 50
Bell & Bouligny	250	62 50
Richard Nugent & Co.	500	125 0
A. Miltenberger & Co.	250	62 50
Geo. Connolly & Co.	500	125 0
J. & G. Cromwell	500	125 0
Moses Greenwood	100	25 0
A. Hillay & Co.	500	125 0
Scroggs, Donnegan, & Co.	100	25 0
Hughes, Hyllested, & Co.	500	125 0
W. & D. Urquhart	500	125 0
Phelps & Jones	100	25 0
John T. Hardie & Co.	500	125 0
Hawkins & Norwood	100	25 0
Walker & Snyder	500	125 0
Gillis & Ferguson	250	62 50
J. B. Gribble & Co.	100	25 0
Walker & Co.	100	25 0
John L. Lee	250	62 50
P. H. Skinnier	100	25 0
Knox & Higgins	100	25 0
J. J. Person & Co.	250	62 50
Battle, Noble, & Co.	500	125 0
R. C. Cummings & Co.	500	125 0
Montgomery & White	500	125 0
Wright & Allen	500	125 0
Robt. L. Adams & Co.	500	125 0
Horrell, Gayle, & Co.	250	62 50
John Watt & Co.	500	125 0
Rothford, Brown, & Co.	500	125 0
M. D. Cooper	500	125 0
Smith & Johnson	100	25 0
James Bankhead	100	25 0
M-Lemore, Rayburn & Co.	250	62 50
	Total	\$29,200

Soon after the occupation of Memphis by the Federal forces, a difficulty occurred between a Yankee soldier and a citizen named Forest, brother of our gallant General Forest. Forest is an infirm man, so much so that his limbs are contracted, and it is with difficulty that he can get about even upon crutches. He was immediately seized by the Federal authorities, and after having been kept in irons for several weeks, he was put into a wooden box, but little longer than his body, bored with holes barely sufficient to admit the necessary air to sustain life. In this condition he was transferred to the most heated part of one of their gunboats, lying opposite the city, where he was fed on bread and water, and steamed to the utmost extent of endurance, without taking the life of their suffering victim. He was in this condition when his brother, General Forest, made his gallant and successful charge on Murfreesboro', since which time, for reasons fully satisfactory to themselves, they have thought it prudent to liberate their victim and banish him beyond their lines.—*Charleston Courier.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BRADFUTE WARWICK.
(From the *Richmond Enquirer.*)

Died, at his father's residence, in the city of Richmond, on the 6th day of July, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradfute Warwick, in the twenty-third year of his age, of wounds received in the battle of Gaines' Mill, on the 27th of June, 1862. The career of this young hero was short and brilliant. His early morning possessed the brilliancy of mid-day, and gave promises of greatness and glory, but before these could be gathered the storm of battle swept across his existence, and extinguished the spirit that shone with such brightness. It was his fortune to pass through many stirring scenes in the brief period allotted to him. He passed through all the perils and hardships incident to an Oriental tour, and was with Garibaldi in his brilliant and successful Italian campaign, in which Colonel Warwick wreathed his brow with laurels. When clouds, prophetic of war, began to collect upon the political horizon of the New World, he returned from Europe to his home in Virginia; and long before his State seceded he buckled on his armour, and joined the noble band of patriots who were battling for Southern rights before Sumter. During the spring and summer of 1861 he was engaged in battling for the rights of the South in Western Virginia, where his deportment was ever gallant. In October, 1861, he was appointed, by the President, Major of the 4th Regiment Texas Volunteers, with which his fortunes have been identified ever since. Upon the promotion of Colonel Hood to Brigadier-General, he became Lieutenant-Colonel. At the battle of Elkton's Landing, near Barhamsville, his gallant bearing attracted the attention of all, and all joined in praise of his high valour. Wherever danger was most he was to be seen urging the regiment to fresh deeds of glory. In the battle of Coal Harbour or Gaines' Mill, the colonel of the regiment having been killed as it was entering the action the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Warwick, who led the regiment in a charge which, for dash and intrepidity, is not surpassed by anything in either ancient or modern times. As the regiment was rushing on with an irresistible impetuosity to the charge, he seized a battle-flag which had been abandoned by one of our regiments, and placing it aloft, he passed both of the enemy's breastworks in a most gallant style, and as he was about to plant the colours on a battery that the regiment captured, his right breast was pierced by a Minie ball, and he fell mortally wounded. Such was the unfortunate but glorious end of one of the bravest of the brave. In leading this charge—the first to break the Yankee lines in this battle—he gave his name to historical fame. He was a man of fine talent, splendid accomplishments, and possessed a military genius of the highest order. In his death the Confederate States loses a brave and patriotic soldier, his family a devoted brother and son, and his regiment (4th Texas) a gallant officer that had become dear to it, because of his many noble and manly qualities. Let us not grieve over the gallant deal that meets such a glorious death, but admire the deed and emulate the example that led to such an end.

GALLANTRY OF TENNESSEE TROOPS IN THE
BATTLE OF CEDAR RUN.
(From the *Richmond Whig.*)

This battle, like all real and great victories, grows upon us as time runs on. Our "enemies themselves being judges," confess a loss of 3000, and, if they admit that, what truth would give there is no "rule of three" to decide. The following extract, from a letter dated 14th inst., written by a young Virginian, member of Brigadier-General B. H. Robertson's Virginia Brigade of Cavalry, gives some interesting details of its own doings at the commencement of the fight, and pays a tribute to the Tennesseans, the more valued because spontaneously and unconsciously given by one who never expected it to reach the public. The Tennesseans themselves have hitherto, in former battles, allowed the heavy lists of their killed and wounded to tell all that need be told to the thoughtful reader. But to the extract:

"Our regiment had the honour of opening the ball at the battle of Cedar Run. It attacked the 1st Maryland Cavalry, took twenty-five prisoners, killed fourteen, and wounded some eight or ten; but the Yankees ran so fast that it was impossible for us to catch them. The Tennessee troops fought like tigers, and where they made the charge the Yankees lay as thick as hail. The Virginia troops fought well—in fact all did their duty.

BURNING A FEDERAL VESSEL.

The *Richmond papers* give the following:—
At 1 o'clock on Saturday morning last Corporal Cocke, Thomas Martin, William Daniel, Alexander Dimetry, and William Williams, members of the Prince George Cavalry, having procured a boat, left Coggins' Point, on the south side of James River, and pulled to a schooner laying in a fleet of vessels and gunboats about half a mile from the shore. As the boat neared the vessel a dog on board gave the alarm; but the boat was made fast, and Mr. Martin sprang on deck, followed by the rest of the party, just as the captain of the schooner made his appearance from the cabin. Mr. Martin informed the captain he had come, by order of General McClellan, to arrest him and carry him to headquarters. The captain was accordingly lowered into the boat, and a straw bed in the cabin of the schooner having been ripped open and fired, our adventurers pulled for the southern shore. Just as they were safely landed, the flames burst out aboard the vessel, and, in an instant after, she was in a sheet of flame from stem to stern, the light illuminating the river and its banks for miles. The prisoner is ascertained to be Captain John A. Jones, of New York. He is now in the Petersburg jail. His schooner was the *Louisiana River*, of 163 tons burden. She was loaded with corn and provisions, and was valued at \$5000, exclusive of her cargo.

FEDERAL BARBARITY IN KENTUCKY.

The *Richmond Enquirer* says:—
A highly respectable gentleman who has recently escaped from Kentucky, informs us that the tyranny in that State is almost insupportable. His own house was surrounded with Federal soldiers for the purpose of capturing him, and he eluded them with difficulty. He says that a gentleman well-known to the writer, near Louisville, Kentucky, hearing firing in his yard, went out, and found a squad of Federals firing their guns at one of his little negroes, who had taken refuge behind a tree, which was riddled with the balls. On his appearance they fired at him, the ball passing between himself and his wife, and lodging in the front door. All the respectable citizens of Louisville are Southern in sympathy, and firm in their expression of indignation against the prevailing tyranny. J.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER, Thine and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Bells, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons, Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; F. RIMALLHO AND NEYREY,
New Orleans

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
B. ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Slittings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by R. G. BRESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hay, Liverpool.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.

A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a SALESMAN,
also 23 Years' experience in East India and
American Cottons, desires to go to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Regent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chausée d'Antin in Paris.)

MRS. E. PRESTON,

31, BURY STREET,
Furnished Apartments and Bed Rooms to Let.
References to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. E. J. S.
Macfarland, and Henry Hotze, Esq.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from, or for the Continent,
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED

WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANXAN BIGGS. Feap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somer bound, 5s.
POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition.)
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Feap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.
PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 3d.
THE FATHERS OF THE VIRGILY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. BEALE. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.
DECISION AND CONFIDENCE. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Feap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.
HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

IN THE PRESS.
PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.
JESUS, OUR ARK.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, and MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. F. WILLIAMS.
London: William. Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company.
OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$31,750 11
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 2,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,422,950 35
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 1st June, 1862.
Twenty per cent. 30th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

Now ready, in 1 vol. 8vo. price 10s. 6d. cloth,

THE SOUTH VINDICATED:

Being a Series of Letters written for the American
Press during the Canvass for the Presidency in
1860, with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the
John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of
the Presidential Contest, and its consequences.

BY
THE HON. JAMES WILLIAMS,
Late American Minister to Turkey.
WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN BAKER HOPKINS.
London: LONGMAN, GREEN, and Co., 14, Ludgate-
Hill.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bid their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
and true picture of the business of the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patriot, our Southern editors can maintain
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of ad-
vertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We request of your paper
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance;
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 31st December, 1861..... 609,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JACVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHIER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly. J. N. Nevins.
John Pemberton. S. Maspero.
P. Poux. C. H. Stocomb.
C. Honold. B. F. Voorheir.
G. Miltenberger. B. O. Vignaud.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company.

The Board of Directors has resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TREASURERS.
Geo. W. West Vice- M. Masson.
President. R. P. Hunt.
D. Jamison. Martin Gordon, jun.
Ar. Miltenberger. Cesarre Olivier.
Lecky. A. Babu.
Jas. White. Numa Augustin.
Douglas West. Omer Gailhard.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATTIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors of
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Texas,
sec. Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifica-
tions furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEBDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOULDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to man-
ufacture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERI-
CAN ROYAL MAIL-SHIPS.

NOTICE.

These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both
Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and
land Mails.
Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Bos-
ton, and to New York, 43 per ton, and 5 per cent.
primage.

PATTERN PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of
Goods on board will be taken free of freight by
the Mail Steamers.
Freight on other Parcels 3s. each and upwards, ac-
cording to size.
Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made
up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for
delivery in America, for the purpose of evaluating
the payment of Freight, will, upon examination in
America by the Customs, be charged with the
proper Freight.
Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail
Steam-Parcel Company, draw the attention of
Shippers and Passengers to the 32nd section of
the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as
follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship,
or to require the master or owner of any ship to
carry therein, aquafortis, oil of vitriol, gunpowder,
or any other goods which, in the judgment of such
master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and
if any person carries or sends by any ship any
goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly
marking their nature on the outside of the pack-
age containing the same, or otherwise giving
notice in writing to the master or owner, at or
before the time of carrying or sending the same
to be shipped, he shall for every such offence incur
a pecuniary not exceeding £100; and the master or
owner of any ship who takes on board or carries
any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of
a dangerous nature, and may require them to be
opened to ascertain the fact."

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the lenders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gen-
tlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Graucourt, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—September 25, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 23.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 2, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	PAGE
America	353
England	354
Europe	355
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	355
Manchester Letter	356
TOBACCO MARKET	356
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letters	356
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	356
Paris	357
Havannah	358
LEADERS—	
The Operations in Maryland	360
The South and the African Slave Trade	360
The Higher Law	361
The Confederate Press	362
Substitutes for Cotton	363
German Unity	363
Editorial	363
THE "PAN-HANDLE"	364
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY	
The First Visit of Death	365
A Dinner Party in Camp	366
REVIEW—	
The Public Life of Lord Macaulay	366
ADVERTISEMENTS	368

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

WE are obliged to depend almost entirely upon Federal reports as to the latest movements in Maryland, and we must therefore remind our readers that, though we may present a generally correct view, we cannot guarantee the accuracy of any statement derived solely from the North. Indeed, the reports are in themselves so contradictory, that a person having the most complete faith in Federal veracity would still find it difficult to understand them.

On September 12 the Confederates, under General Jackson, occupied Hagerstown, and were reported to be entering Pennsylvania. It was even stated that the Confederate advance guard had entered Pennsylvania. This, however, is most improbable, especially when we remember that three days later General Jackson compelled the surrender of Harper's Ferry. An army is not moved about with the celerity of lightning. It is not, however, improbable that Jackson made a feint as if he intended a movement on Pennsylvania, to secure the capture of Harper's Ferry. A most important question, and which, if we could answer it, would make the rest of the movements more intelligible, is, "What was the Confederate force in Maryland?" Before the recent battles were fought it was stoutly denied by the partisans of the North that more than 50,000 Southerners had entered Maryland, and on the 13th September General Lee was reported to be at Leesburg with a large force. Since the news of the battles it has been assumed that the main body of the Confederate army had passed into Maryland, but we know not upon what ground. We think an examination of the Northern accounts of the engagements prove that only a portion of the Confederate army had crossed the Potomac.

On the 14th September was fought what the Northerners call the battle of South Mountain. An official report from General McClellan, dated Headquarters, beyond Middleton, September 14, evening, says:—

After a very severe engagement, the corps of Generals Hooker and Reno have carried the heights commanding Hagerstown road by storm. Our troops behaved magnificently. General Franklin has been wholly engaged on the extreme left, but I do not know the result, except that the firing indicates progress on his part.

The action continued after dark, and terminated leaving us in possession of the entire crest of the heights.

It has been a glorious victory. I cannot yet tell whether the enemy will retreat, or appear in increased force in the morning. General Reno was killed.

A second report from General McClellan, dated Headquarters, September 15, says:—

General Franklin's success on the left was complete, resulting in his capture of the Gap. We have taken a considerable number of prisoners. The enemy disappeared during the night, but our troops are advancing in pursuit. I do not know where they will next be found.

General Hooker reports from the advance that the enemy is making for the river in a perfect panic.

Later information, just received, completely confirms the news of the rout and demoralization of the rebel army. General Lee is reported to be wounded. General Hooker has over 1000 prisoners. It is stated that General Lee gives his loss at 15,000 men.

We are following as rapidly as the men can move.

An official despatch was never more loosely worded. The Confederates were attacked, and before General McClellan knew whether the assault had succeeded, ("I cannot yet tell whether the enemy will retreat,") he claims a glorious victory. At that time, too, he could only guess the result of General Franklin's operations by the firing. The second report is not only palpably untruthful in its statement about General Lee giving "his loss at 15,000 men,"—for Confederate generals have something else to do besides gossiping about their losses—but many of its details are discredited by later news. We know that the "pursuit" was at best sending out a few skirmishers, and that the enemy "making for the river in a perfect panic," and "later information, just received, completely confirms the news of the rout and demoralization of the rebel army," were utterly mendacious reports, for on the 15th and 17th the engagements were renewed; and, after the last battle, according to Northern accounts, the Confederates crossed the Potomac in perfect order. It was also reported that General Longstreet had been captured, and this is contradicted a few days later. How can we place faith in such accounts? A Maryland correspondent of a New York paper says, "The rebel troops engaged were Longstreet's, D. H. Hill's, and A. P. Hill's corps," and probably on this point he was well informed. The Federals seem to have occupied the position of the Confederates, though not immediately after the fight. It is likely that the loss was heavy, but we need hardly remark that the reputed Confederate loss of 15,000 men is an exaggeration. It would have been immense if the whole army had been engaged; in an engagement of only a part of the army, it is impossible. The Federal loss is variously estimated. General Reno, who commanded the attack, was killed.

On the 15th General McClellan advanced, and an affair occurred at Sharpsburg, of which we have no details, and it, therefore, probably was nothing more than a skirmish.

On Tuesday, the 16th, the fighting was continued, but all that we have heard about it is that it was very severe.

The crowning engagement of this series was on Wednesday, the 17th.

The battle lasted from morning till night, and it was reported that the result was indecisive.

Even on Friday General McClellan officially reports, "I do not know if the enemy is falling back to an interior position, or crossing the river. We may safely claim the victory for ours." This was thirty-six hours after the fight, and at the time the Federal commander did not know whether he had gained the battle. He was too much exhausted to ascertain the movements of his enemy, and knew not if the engagement was to be renewed. A few hours after that letter he writes, "Our victory is complete. The enemy is driven back into Virginia. Maryland and Pennsylvania are now safe." After forty hours he is

assured of victory by the withdrawal of the Confederates. After this we are not surprised to hear that "the Confederates all succeeded in crossing the Potomac on Friday morning, saving their transports and all their wounded except 300." The interval between the battle of the 17th and the recrossing of the Potomac on the 19th not only attests the indecisive character of the fight, but indicates its severity. For four days General McClellan displayed the greatest energy, but after the 17th, though he thinks he may safely claim the victory, he was quiescent; and from the accounts we have of his losses, his inactivity is quite excusable.

The Northern accounts estimate the Federal loss at from 6000 to 10,000 men; but these figures are not so startling as the list given of the casualties amongst the Federal generals; it is almost incredible. We are told that "the Federal General Mansfield was killed, and Generals Hooker, Dureza, Sumner, Meagher, Max, Weber, Dana, Hartsuff, Richardson, Sedgwick, French, Ricketts, and Rodman, were wounded. The loss of Federal generals and field-officers is said to be so large as to be unaccountable." The number of generals killed and wounded is conclusive evidence of the large number of the Federal forces engaged. It also indicates such a list of casualties amongst lesser officers and men as under ordinary circumstances would hardly be covered by an estimate of 10,000 killed and wounded. The Federal estimate of the Confederate loss at 18,000 or 20,000 men is, of course, a mere speculation, and a very exaggerated one. According to Northern accounts, the Confederate loss was 15,000 on the 14th. The engagements of the 15th and 16th are described as very severe, and we may be sure the loss would not be set down at less than 10,000 for the two days. It is reported that 15,000 men were captured between the 14th and 17th, and that on the 17th the loss was 18,000, making the total Confederate loss equal to 58,000 men killed, wounded, and captured. Yet the Confederates on the 19th recrossed the Potomac unmolested, and carrying with them all their wounded, except 300. The Federal estimates are evidently and ridiculously untrue. From the rapidity of the movements, and from the contracted space on which these battles were fought, as well as from the details given by the correspondents of the New York press of the battle of the 14th, it is not likely that the aggregate Confederate force exceeded 70,000 to 80,000 men, and it is not impossible that it was much less. But granting, for an instant, that the Confederate force was 100,000, then, according to Northern estimates, every other man was killed, wounded, or captured. We press this point to show with what caution it is necessary to receive Northern accounts, and how difficult it is to distinguish the true from the false.

After the passage of the river had been effected, we are told "The Confederates are still visible in force on the Potomac shore, opposite McClellan's position, and have posted artillery to prevent the Federals from crossing."

According to the latest advices, the Confederates had left the neighbourhood of the river, and were withdrawing towards Winchester. It is rumoured that the passage of the Potomac was commanded by General "Stonewall" Jackson—a further proof that even at the great battle on the 17th the main body of the Confederate army was not engaged. During the time of the occupation of Maryland large quantities of stores were purchased and sent across the Potomac; these operations could not have been effected without the alacrity displayed by the Marylanders to do their best to assist the Southern cause. Considering the large armies that Virginia has had to support, the supplies thus procured are of great consequence.

The following is the address issued by General Lee to the people of Maryland:—

Lee's Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia, near Frederickton, Monday, Sept. 8.

To the people of Maryland.—It is right that you should know the purpose that has brought the army under my command within the limits of your State, so far as that purpose concerns yourselves. The people of the Confederate States have long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that have been inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth allied to the States of the South by the strongest social, political, and commercial ties, and reduced to the condition of a conquered province. Under the pretence of supporting the Constitution, but in violation of its most valuable provisions, your citizens have been arrested and imprisoned upon no charge and contrary to all the forms of law. A faithful and manly protest against this outrage, made by a venerable and illustrious Marylander, to whom in better days no citizen appealed for right in vain, was treated with scorn and contempt. The Government of your chief city has been usurped by armed strangers; your Legislature has been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of the press and of speech has been suppressed; words have been declared offences by an arbitrary decree of the Federal Executive, and citizens ordered to be tried by military commissions for what they may dare to speak. Believing that the people of Maryland possess a spirit too lofty to submit to such a Government, the people of the South have long wished to aid you in throwing off this foreign yoke, to enable you again to enjoy the inalienable rights of freemen, and restore the independence and sovereignty of your State. In obedience to this wish our army has come among you, and is prepared to assist you with the power of its arms in regaining the rights of which you have been so unjustly despoiled. This, citizens of Maryland, is our mission, so far as you are concerned. No restraint upon your free will is intended—no intimidation will be allowed within the limits of this army at least. Marylanders shall once more enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech. We know no enemies among you, and will protect all of you in every opinion. It is for you to decide your destiny freely and without constraint. This army will respect your choice whatever it may be, and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will.

R. E. LEE, General Commanding.

Whilst General McClellan was fighting the battle of South Mountain, General "Stonewall" Jackson was attacking Harper's Ferry. It appears that on September 11 Jackson broke up his camp at Frederick; and by a forced march arrived the same night at Williamsport, crossed the Potomac the next day, and surrounded Harper's Ferry, which was garrisoned by 12,000 Federal troops. On Saturday the 13th, he shelled the place, and on the 14th the firing was continued, and the enemy was driven from his position in consequence of the Confederates charging his batteries and spiking his guns. On the 15th the firing was renewed at daylight, and soon after 9 o'clock the Federal commander hoisted a white flag. According to Northern accounts, from 6000 to 8000 men surrendered. The privates were at once paroled. The quantity of stores captured was very considerable. Even the Federal accounts describe the booty as immense. The continued losses of stores weakens the Northern resources, and proportionally assists the South.

An important Confederate success is the capture of Munfordsville, Kentucky. This place was attacked on September 14 (on the same day McClellan was fighting in Maryland, and General Jackson was engaged at Harper's Ferry, in Virginia), but the Federal garrison held out until the 17th, when it surrendered to General Bragg, who took 5000 prisoners, ten pieces of artillery, and a valuable booty in stores. That the place could not be relieved in three days shows that the Federal forces in Kentucky are insufficient for the exigencies of the war.

In Cincinnati there has been a panic. The place was daily expecting an attack. At the latest advices, General Kirby Smith, after appearing within seven miles of the city, had suddenly withdrawn; but this movement was only regarded as a feint.

Washington, North Carolina was attacked on September 6 by a small Confederate force (1200). The Federals, assisted by their gunboats, repulsed their assailants. One of the gunboats blew up, killing the captain and seventeen men. Such is the Northern version of this affair. A Confederate attack on Newburn, North Carolina, was considered imminent.

On the 11th the Confederates captured Bloomfield, but do not appear to have held the place for longer than one day.

The Federal gunboats have been operating against some of the small towns on the Mississippi. Prentice and Bayou Sara have been destroyed. Such acts invite, and will doubtless lead to, retaliation. Natchez has been bombarded. It is said "the city surrendered, but was not occupied by the Federals." Guerrillas are reported "to be swarming in the neighbourhood of New Orleans."

On the 10th the Confederates attacked the Federals between Fayette and Gauley, in Western Virginia, and forced them to retreat to Elk River, and from thence to Ripley. A body of Confederate cavalry occupied Palmyra, Missouri, on the 13th, and retired after releasing some Confederate prisoners.

The Ovi-to has run the blockade at Mobile, and

the commander of the Preble has been dismissed from the United States' service for suffering it. If all commanders are dismissed who do not prevent vessels running the blockade, promotion in the United States' navy will be very rapid.

The following telegraphic summary of the proceedings of the Confederate Congress is forwarded from New York:—

In the Confederate House of Representatives resolutions were offered thanking General Lee for his late successes, and declaring it to be the policy now that Maryland should be occupied for the purpose of advancing into the enemy's country. Messrs. Lyons, of Virginia, and Conrad, of Louisiana, formerly Secretary of War, opposed the latter clause. The latter approved of the passage of the Potomac into Maryland, but there his approbation must stop. He did not believe there could be a safe invasion of the North. Porcher Miles (South Carolina) favoured giving Jackson half the present Confederate army, and he would drive all the Federal forces before him. The resolution was finally passed, with thirty votes against it.

The Confederate Congress has adopted a resolution to make a proposition to the Federal Government to treat upon the manner of conducting the war so as to mitigate its horrors.

A Bill has been introduced in the Confederate Congress to facilitate obtaining letters of marque, so as to render privateering more efficient.

In our last impression, in an article upon the Confederate Navy, we gave an account of the Bill for facilitating privateering.

The telegraph also announces the passage in the Confederate Congress of a resolution recalling Messrs. Mason and Slidell. It is possible that this is a mere echo of the information previously received, that a resolution recalling all the Commissioners had been introduced by Mr. Harbridge, of Savannah. We doubt whether such a resolution has really passed both Houses, and received the sanction of the Executive. But should this be the case, it may be assumed that it is at the request of the Commissioners themselves, and in accordance with certain suggestions some of them are said to have made to the Confederate Government.

The *Richmond Whig* estimates the expenses of the Confederate Government from the commencement of the war to August, 1862, at \$347,000,000.

Orders have been issued by the Federal Government to proceed with the drafting. Disturbances have occurred at Newbern, Connecticut, in consequence of this order.

It is stated "the Provost-Marshal of St. Louis has received instructions immediately to carry out the Confiscation Act in Missouri. The property liable to confiscation is estimated at \$50,000,000." The Provost-Marshal may not find it easy to obey his orders. As it is, Missouri is far from being secure to the Federals, and this act of spoliation may rouse the people to a further effort to free themselves from the despotism of the Washington Government.

The Indians have captured two trains of Mormons about 300 miles from the Salt Lake City. "Other parties have been driven back by the Indians."

The court-martial to try the officers charged by General Pope with disobedience to orders has been adjourned *sine die*, at the request of General McClellan. After such an insult, if Pope has any regard for his honour, he will resign his command in the North-west. Perhaps he may not be sorry of the excuse for getting rid of the task of subjugating the Indians to obedience with such troops as he can raise in States already denuded of their fighting population.

General McDowell has demanded a court-martial. The public now think he is not guilty of treason, but that his misfortune arose from incapacity.

General Fremont has accepted the offer of the New York War Committee to raise 50,000 men, but the Secretary of War has refused to grant permission to the War Committee to raise troops for Fremont. General Fremont's idea of subordination to the Government must be peculiar.

The Federal press is not complimentary to the Washington Government. The telegraph informs us:—

The *New York Times* thinks there are symptoms that the Confederates, in invading the Northern States, propose, instead of establishing their independence, to overthrow President Lincoln's Administration, and obtain the control of the Federal Government.

The same paper is of opinion that Lincoln's Government, by its weakness and incapacity, offers itself a prey to the first strong hand venturing to seize it.

The same paper thinks that the danger can only be met by President Lincoln giving the country a responsible Cabinet made up of the strongest and best men.

The Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio have issued a call to the governors of all the Union States to meet on the 24th at Altoona, Pennsylvania.

The New York press strongly condemn the Federal officers for surrendering Harper's Ferry; and urge a military tribunal of inquiry.

ENGLAND.

THE increase in the number of paupers in Lancashire during the past week has been above 6000. The Mansion-house Committee, on Saturday, reported their receipts for the week at £4400, and their disbursements at £3100. They have organized an establishment for the reception and distribution of cast-off clothing.

The Central Executive Committee, administering the funds collected by several distinct societies for the relief of the sufferers in the cotton districts, have presented a report to the General Committee. It appears that the funds entrusted and promised to them amount to nearly £130,000, besides supplies of clothing, coal, &c., given or promised from various quarters. Halim Pasha, brother of the Viceroy of Egypt, has given £200. They report that the manufacturers, so furiously reviled by the correspondent of the *Times*, are, in many cases, paying two or three days' wages to the hands whom they cannot provide with work, and, in other instances, are employing fathers of families for a few hours every week in whitewashing the rooms, cleaning machinery, and similar jobs, for which they are liberally paid. The Committee have endeavoured everywhere to secure the presence on the local committees of the chief lauded proprietors, clergy, dissenting ministers, and employers of labour, and have generally been successful in this endeavour. They have addressed a circular to the local magistrates, calling their attention to the necessity of putting down a class of dishonest vagrants who, taking advantage of the compassion excited by the distress of the operatives, are making money out of the charity of deluded almsgivers.

The Earl of Derby has been appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee, in the room of the deceased Earl of Ellesmere. The Bishops of Peterborough and Gloucester, and the titular Catholic Bishop of Salford, have ordered collections throughout their dioceses for the relief of the suffering districts. The Wesleyan Conference has taken a similar step.

The following is the report of Mr. Farnall, the Poor Law Inspector, specially appointed to superintend the afflicted counties:—

Manchester, Sept. 29.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—A reference to my report for this week, on twenty-four Unions in the cotton manufacturing districts, will show you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief as compared with the number relieved last week of 6617 persons.

There are now 156,229 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year there were 12,945 persons so relieved; there is therefore an increase of 113,284 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 263.0 per cent.

The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions is now 8.1; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.2 per cent.

The average amount of out-relief per head per week in these unions is 1s. 3d., the lowest being 11½d., and the highest 1s. 6½d.

It will be remembered that in the first report I presented to you the weekly increase of persons in receipt of parochial relief was 4637, and that in the second report it was 4810, while in this third report it is 6617. In three weeks, therefore, 16,064 persons have become paupers, and I am again obliged to inform you that both applicants for parochial relief and for aid from local committees of charity are still rapidly increasing throughout the district.

I have received authentic reports relative to the unions of Ashton-under-Lyne, Glossop, Haslingden, Stockport, and Wigton, and I find that in those places there are 32,718 operatives working short time, 33,651 wholly unemployed, and 14,530 working full time; and I also find that the weekly loss of wages in these five unions amounts to £27,430.

H. B. FARNALL, Special Commissioner.

On Friday last Mr. Galt, the ex-Finance Minister of Canada, addressed the Chamber of Commerce in Manchester Town-hall. His object was to answer some of the very ignorant, impolitic, and ungenerous attacks which have been made on their Canadian countrymen by certain English scribblers and stump-orators, and notably by the organs of that school which, by its low and vulgar views, its mercenary theories of national duty, and its unblushing avowals of the meanest political selfishness, has brought merited contempt on itself, and unmerited obloquy upon its native Manchester. Mr. Galt explained the necessity and the effect of the high colonial duties on imported manufactures. Those duties were not intended to be, and are not in fact, protective. The imports of British manufactures are steadily on the increase, and so far from Manchester having any right to complain, or having suffered anything from those duties, the fact is that there is not a single cotton manufactory in Canada. As to the question of Colonial defence, on which the Ministry of which he was a member was thrown out, he pointed out the impossibility of the colonies, with their actual population, their want of communications, and their poverty in all other resources than those which are always the sole wealth of a new country, undertaking the whole burden of their own defence against a Power like the United States. So far as the slanderers of Canada are concerned, Mr. Galt simply wasted his words. The gentlemen

of the "Manchester School" have learned from Mr. Bright the valuable faculty of deafness; and when their fictions are exposed, and their misstatements of fact corrected, they only repeat them in precisely the same form as before, without taking the slightest notice of the contradiction. Two somewhat notorious disciples of the arch-agitator, Mr. H. Ashworth and Mr. H. Mason, rose after Mr. Galt sat down; repeated what he had just shown to be untrue, that the Canadian tariff is protective and almost prohibitive; and denounced the Canadians for desiring to put their hands into the pockets of the heavily burdened taxpayers of England. Some of their colleagues repudiated them, as Manchester in 1857 formally repudiated their leader, and the whole "Manchester School." Mr. Galt quietly repeated his explanations, showed that Canada received nothing from the Imperial guarantees of which complaint was made, but had paid every farthing to the Home Government before the debt fell due, and departed, carrying with him, of course, a very unpleasant impression, which is not unlikely to extend itself to the Colonies generally. These men are a nuisance to England and a disgrace to Lancashire, which, for the most part, is heartily ashamed of them. Their idea evidently is, that they are the *élite* of Manchester; that Manchester is the centre of the universe; that the human race exists only in order to wear cotton clothes, and that the sole use of the British Empire is to afford a market for Manchester produce. It is only just to the class from which these orators spring to say that no one speaks so indignantly of their doctrines, or so contemptuously of their character, as do the more intelligent and patriotic manufacturers and merchants of Lancashire. When they speak on English questions, they are simply disregarded; but in insulting their fellow-subjects beyond the seas, they have hit on a direction in which they may really exercise some power for mischief; it is essential, therefore, that they should be peremptorily disavowed by their loyal countrymen.

More than 54,000 bales of Indian cotton have reached Liverpool, and above 300,000 more are said to be on their way. This would be enough to keep the mills of Lancashire at work for seven weeks in ordinary times. It may serve to sustain the present rate of starvation for about three months, but certainly not longer. It must be remembered that Liverpool now supplies the Continental as well as the English demand.

At an agricultural meeting, held at Melton Mowbray, Lord John Manners was imprudent enough to enter on the subject of the cotton famine. Like most other persons who do not understand the question, he had his own pet remedy for the evil. Flax and wool, he thought, might be substituted for cotton, both in the employment of the Lancashire operatives, and in the clothing of the millions who have hitherto been clad by the Lancashire looms. Unfortunately, cotton machinery can with difficulty and at great expense be adapted to spin either flax or wool, and cotton clothing has certain peculiar properties which do not belong either to woollen or linen, and which peculiarly fit it for tropical climates, and for certain uses at home. It is a mistake to suppose, as Lord John does, that it is merely a question of cheapness.

The Education-Office has recovered from the heavy blow it received at Mr. Walpole's hands during the earlier part of this year; and has issued a series of directions to Inspectors of Schools in receipt of Government aid, in order to carry out, as far as possible, the scheme which Mr. Lowe was compelled to modify; but which, owing to the very injudicious lenity of his opponents, he was not compelled to withdraw altogether. As was predicted by the opponents of the Revised Code, all security for the proper payment of teachers is taken away; every encouragement is given to managers to beat down their salaries as much as possible; and facilities are afforded for the employment of teachers who have received only the minimum of education themselves. The directions are drawn up in a spirit of un concealed hostility to the certificated teachers, and with a manifest desire to reduce, as far as possible, the standard of popular education.

The official return of the revenue for the quarter just ended was published on Tuesday night. The figures are not very assuring; the distress in the manufacturing districts is written in large letters on the face of them. The Excise return, which has always been held to be the surest index of the condition of the country, has been going steadily downward during the last four quarters. The decrease on the half-year is £902,000, of which decrease £617,000 belongs to the quarter just ended. In the Customs, on the other hand, the balance is the other way, though it does not redress the evil. The increase on the quarter is £219,000. On the Stamps, Post Office, and Miscellaneous there is an increase—in the last to an extent which shows there has been a regular clearing out of old stores, or stores

not very old. But the most cheerless feature in the balance sheet is the state of the income tax. There is a decrease on the quarter to a very trifling extent indeed, and it is more than made up by an increase on the half-year; but on the whole of the last four quarters the decrease exceeds £600,000. It would thus appear that the springs of our wealth are giving way under the general pressure. The balance on the whole quarter is slight, but trifling as it is, it inclines the wrong way; and on the half-year it is £11,000; and on the four quarters it exhibits a decrease of £120,620.

A meeting was held in Hyde Park, on Sunday, to express the sympathy of the English working classes with General Garibaldi. The organizers of the meeting were, we believe, men of no character, and the principal speaker was a very notorious infidel lecturer of the name of Bradlaugh. The affair ended in a violent collision between the Garibaldists and a body of Irish Catholics, which necessitated the interference of the police. The affair has provoked a general demand for the prevention of all meetings, religious or political, in the parks, which were intended to be places of recreation, and not arenas of battle, whether waged with words or with stones.

Tralee, in Ireland, has been the scene of a disturbance only less disgraceful than those which have renewed the bad reputation always enjoyed by Belfast. That itinerant nuisance, Father Gavazzi, announced his intention to lecture; some Catholics made their way into the hall, created a row, and were turned out. The Catholic mob besieged the place, and kept the Protestant audience imprisoned all night. On getting home in the morning, the captives found their houses without windows, and very much worse for the attack of the rabble. Of course, such outrages ought to be punished; and, of course, the Protestants have a right to meet where they please, and hear whatever orator they like. But, with all respect for freedom of speech, we do think that steps should be taken to put down men like Gavazzi, the Baron de Camin, and similar foreign notoriety, who go about making money out of the provocation of such riots and conflicts. If they cannot be punished as vagabonds, they might surely be indicted for provoking a breach of the peace.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—This week has witnessed the publication of one of the most remarkable and most important pieces of diplomatic correspondence that the press has ever given to the world. The date of the three documents just made public is not very recent; but the fact of their issue at the present juncture gives them an immediate significance not less striking than if they had been written yesterday. The first is a letter from the Emperor of the French to M. Thouvenel, his Minister for Foreign Affairs. Napoleon III. declares that since 1849 it has been his constant endeavour to reconcile the Pope with the national aspirations of Italy. He has hitherto been unsuccessful, and, in consequence, the Roman question has been a source of perplexity and moral disorder throughout Europe. Each party to the conflict sees only its own side, and forgets what is due to the other. Italy, treating the Papacy as dead, without respect to its political rights or its immemorial sanctity, pretends to dispose of the Papal territory. The Pope, regardless of the rights of nationality, treats as dead an Italian people supplicating and struggling for political life. From this state of things arises danger to both. Italy provokes the animosity of the Catholic world, and of the party of order; the Papacy incurs the hatred of the Italian nation and of the Liberals of Europe. On the one hand, the country jeopardizes its peace; on the other, the Church is in danger of a terrible schism—a moral revolt against her Head. On what basis is reconciliation possible? The Pope must accept everything which can bind him to Italy, and Italy must guarantee the independence of the Pope. The Italian Government must recognize and respect the present limits of the States of the Church; the Pontifical Government must restore to its subjects their old municipal privileges and rights of self-government. This, however, is to be regarded, not as a French ultimatum, but as the basis of a policy which France should endeavour to carry out by her "legitimate influence and disinterested advice."

This letter bears date May 20. Enclosing a copy thereof, M. Thouvenel wrote on May 30 to the Marquis de Lavalette, French Minister at Rome. The French Government had hoped that its previous overtures would have met with the peremptory rejection they have actually received. It is compelled, by that rejection, to explain itself distinctly and unreservedly in regard to its plans of reconciliation. In the first place, it has never uttered a word which should entitle the Italian Government to expect that France would ever consent to see Rome made the capital of Italy. It is her firm determi-

nation to maintain the integrity of the Papal territory, and the independence of the Pope. No arrangement, except on the basis of the territorial *status quo*, would meet her approval. The Holy Father may reserve, by whatever form he pleases, his rights over the Trans-appennine provinces wrested from him by Italy; but he will do well to agree not to attempt any exercise of power therein. Italy, on the other hand, will have to engage with France to respect the territory still left to the Pontifical See, and to assume the whole or the greater part of the Papal debt. If the Pope will agree to these terms, France will guarantee to him, with or without the support of the other Powers, parties to the Treaty of Vienna, the integrity of his remaining dominions; and she will grant to him an annual income of £120,000—more than the whole amount of his present civil list. Meantime, the Pope will grant to his subjects such reforms as may reconcile them to his sovereignty. His Holiness has admitted that, though the Temporal Power be necessary to the Papacy, it is not an article of faith. If not the power itself, then still less the extent of territory to be subject to that power. No religious duty, therefore, prevents the Pope from acceding to these terms; and they are to be pressed both on Cardinal Antonelli and on the Supreme Pontiff himself. Anything like menace must be carefully avoided; but it is to be understood that if the Papal Government persists in its "theory of immobility" the Emperor must decline to accept that doctrine; and, while guarding, as far as possible, the interests he has hitherto protected, he must endeavour to extricate himself from what, if prolonged, must become a false position.

The reply of M. de Lavalette, dated the 24th of June, narrates his interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State. Cardinal Antonelli stood firmly to his refusal to give up, no matter under what reservation of right, any portion of territory that had ever belonged to the Pope. *Non possumus*. The impossibility, he it noticed, is not exactly religious. The Pope is bound not to give up any part of his States by one moral and one legal consideration. First,—in those States he is only trustee for the Catholic Church throughout the world. Secondly,—he is restrained, by a formal and solemn decree of one of his predecessors, from any alienation of his dominions. Cardinal Antonelli inquired why the French Government had not first addressed itself to Piedmont, the aggressor, rather than to Rome, the victim. The Ambassador replied that it had seemed more respectful first to address the Holy Father; inquiring in his turn whether, if Italy had assented to the proposal, the Pope would have been more favourably disposed to it? The Cardinal answered in the negative. His Eminence then remarked that the parties to the Treaty of Vienna had already guaranteed to the Pope the whole of his dominions; and it was useless now to ask them for the guarantee of a part. The Ambassador rejoined, with all diplomatic circumspection, that the Treaty of Vienna was waste paper: a new guarantee would have a present and practical effect. Antonelli repeated his *non possumus*, which he extended to the transfer of the debt. That transfer would be equivalent to a recognition of the Piedmontese usurpation. For the same reason the Pope must refuse the contribution offered by France. To accept compensation would be to acquiesce in spoliation. M. de Lavalette accordingly reports the total failure of his attempt to obtain the acquiescence of the Papal Government in the scheme suggested by the Emperor. The publication of this despatch at the present juncture has given rise to much discussion and not a little excitement. The French papers differ as to the construction to be put upon it. Some, looking to the declaration that Rome will never, with the consent of France, become the capital of Italy, regard it as favourable to the Pope. Others, referring to the last clause of M. Thouvenel's despatch, conceive it to portend the speedy withdrawal of France from a position admitted to be morally untenable.

M. de Lavalette has quitted his post, and it is said that he will not return to it. Whether a successor will or will not be appointed is not yet known. If not, we may probably accept the retirement of the Ambassador as almost equivalent to the withdrawal of the Embassy, and as indicating a change of policy towards the Pope on the part of France.

ITALY.—The subscriptions for the relief of Garibaldi have been closed, all expenses having been paid. Mr. Partridge has returned, and reported to the committee. He gives a very hopeful account of the case.

Turin has been busy with the ceremonies attending marriage of the Princess Maria Pia, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, to the young King of Portugal. The bride is not yet fifteen. The marriage, on the part of her family, is not a political one; Portugal has good reason to desire the speedy marriage of her King, lest the extinction of the reigning branch of the House of Braganza should involve her in serious

troubles. The bride has left for her new home, accompanied by her brother, Prince Humbert.

The brigandage in Naples is on the increase. It is said that 700 more banditti have left Rome for the disturbed districts. The last reported achievement of these so-called reactionists is worthy of the German banditti in the service of President Lincoln. They waylaid and attacked a bridal party of rank; the bridegroom defended himself and his young wife—he was murdered; the bride burst out into violent execrations on the murderers, and she shared his fate. The bodies were stripped in presence of the wretched mother of the bride, and the scoundrels made off with their booty. What are the Piedmontese troops about? Italy has an army of above 300,000 men; she can spare a force to capture and shoot down the man who added the Southern provinces to the kingdom; yet she cannot deliver those provinces from this murderous banditti. And what are the French doing at Rome, to allow the invasion of the Italian territory by these lawless ruffians?

General Garibaldi has sent to some London papers an address to the English nation, from which we can only gather that the hero's misfortunes have unsettled his reason. He calls upon England to summon other nations to co-operate with her in the path of human progress; to summon France, which is for the moment under the dominion of the Spirit of Evil; America, which is fighting for the abolition of slavery, involved in a fearful struggle by the "traffickers in human flesh;" (does the General mean the English slave-traders of the last century, or the Northern slave-traders of the present?) Switzerland, and Belgium. Armies and iron-plated ships, artillery, diplomacy, and navies, are to be done away with; and a World's Congress, sitting in London, is to arbitrate in all international differences. We fear that we must consider the writer of extraordinary document to be in a state *vis duabus Anticyris medenda*.

GERMANY.—The Prussian news is not of a pleasant complexion. The King, it is said, is determined not to yield. The Minister of Finance, who is supposed to be averse to force upon the people the scheme of military organization repudiated by the Chamber, retires. General Von Roon, Minister of War, who is officially responsible for that scheme, remains. Count Bernstorff, the representative of a liberal foreign policy and of an *entente cordiale*, resigns the seals of the Foreign Office, and is succeeded by the Count Von Bismark-Schönhausen, a partisan of a Russian alliance and a close connection with France in antagonism to Austria. It is impossible as yet to foretell the course of the new Ministry; but its composition inspires no confidence either in Prussia or elsewhere.

The Ministry, in order to avoid an immediate collision with the Chamber, has withdrawn the Budget of 1863, and announces its intention to bring it forward again next year, together with a Bill for the reorganization of the army—a measure on which it is clear that the King is firmly resolved. The Committee of the Chamber has demanded that the Budget shall be submitted to it this year; and has resolved that the expenditure, by order of Ministers, of money not voted by the Deputies, is unconstitutional. The Ministers remain obstinate.

An assembly of politicians and writers from all parts of Germany has been sitting at Weimar to discuss the conversion of the Germanic Bund into a real union of States—a compound nationality like the late American Union. They have decided in favour of this scheme, and recommend, *ad interim*, the renewal and reform of the Zollverein or Customs' union, which will shortly expire. It is needless to say that there is not the least chance of the realization of the Federal scheme.

BELGIUM.—A Congress of the International Association for the Progress of Social Science is sitting just now at Brussels, under the presidency of the Duke of Brabant, the heir apparent to the throne. The congress is attended by representatives from all the countries of Europe; and their views on education, taxation, &c., appear to be as diverse as their nationalities.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, Oct. 1.

Our last report left the market in a state of great depression, with an uneasy feeling among cotton holders as to the effect of the next news from America. On Monday there was no abatement of the heaviness, and with sales of 1000 bales. Middling Orleans was sold at 2s. 1d., or even less, and Fair Dhollerah at 17½d.; but the steamer's news to hand on Friday completely changed the tone of the market. By this arrival the first intimation was received of the reverse that had befallen the Confederate arms in Maryland. It was reported that McClellan had defeated Lee, and that the Southern forces were in disorderly retreat; considerable doubts were entertained as to the correctness of this news, for it was thought highly improbable that the veteran and victorious

army of the South should be discomfited by the raw levies that had just reached Washington, mixed with the broken fragments of the beaten army of the Potomac. Still sufficient was known to allay the apprehension of holders that the onward progress of the Southern arms might lead to the overthrow of the Federal Government. An active demand in consequence sprang up, and the business reached 5000 bales, at 1d. advance on the depressed sales of American, but not more than ¾d. to ¾d. on Surats. The movement to the latter class was prevented by the appearance of the long-expected glut of Bombay ships, of which ten or twelve arrived that day.

On Saturday, with sales of 3000 bales, American cotton continued to improve. On Monday the Asia's advices were to hand, but they threw little further light on the military situation of the belligerents; the accounts were very obscure, and many persons believed that the final *denouement* would still be in favour of the Confederates. Our market was not affected by them, and the business reached 4000 bales, American cotton still hardening under an active demand. Cut Surats kept in check by the continuance of heavy arrivals. Yesterday the Norwegian's news was received, and the full import of the military movements in Maryland became known. The Confederates, after a series of desperate engagements, had been overmatched, and forced to retreat, though in perfect order, across the Potomac. This news took the public somewhat by surprise, for it revealed rigour and prowess on the Federal side, which was not anticipated, and dispelled the hopes some had entertained that the continuous ill success of the North would lead to a settlement. Still the market did not respond more fully—buyers seemed disposed to await the large supply of Surat cotton that must soon be offering; and in Manchester no desire was shown to do business, though producers continued very firm. The sales reached 4000 bales, and the same amount was sold again to-day, with a dull inanimate feeling in Surat cotton, while American under a lively demand, has still an upward tendency. Our quotations may be given to-day as 27½ for Middling Orleans, 27 for Mohiles, and 26½d. for Bowed, 21½d. for Fair Sawginned, 19d. for Fair Breach, 17½d. to ¾d. for Oomra Wutte, 17½d. for Dhollerah, and 17½d. for Comptah. A considerable business has been done in the past few days in cotton just arrived, to be delivered from the quay, and prices have been taken fully ½d. below the rates ruling on the spot. For cotton afloat prices have been paying fully as high as on the spot, and the preference is given to July shipments over May and June, the present quotation is 17½d. for Dhollerah, and 17½d. for Oomra-wutte.

The import of Surat cotton this week is enormous, reaching already 125,000 bales, and nearly double the largest import ever known before. The general impression is that, when the full weight of this comes on the market, some decline in prices is likely to ensue. This opinion is strengthened by the extraordinary reduction in consumption that has recently taken place. During the last month a very large number of additional mills have been closed in Manchester, many persons now estimate the consumption as low as 10,000 or 12,000 bales per week. There can be little doubt that these figures are entirely too low, still it is doubtful whether the trade are using at the present time more than 15,000 bales per week.

At this rate it is evident that the supply of cotton has for the moment quite overtaken the demand; but it is very unlikely that the consumption will remain long at this level. A process is going on which will soon improve the position of spinners materially. The production of goods is evidently far short of the actual "tear and wear," and when the response from the various foreign markets arrives to the last great advance, it is probable that cotton fabrics will begin to move upwards again. Highly stimulating news is expected from India before long, and this is expected to give a strong impulse to Manchester. The ample supply of cotton, on the other hand, tempers the elasticity of our market, so that spinners are not likely, for some little time, to pay out on the raw material so much as they gain on the manufactured article.

MANCHESTER, Sept. 30.

Our market, although firmer in price and steadier in tone than it was last week, appears generally to have disappointed sellers, who find the demand less active than they expected, and in consequence they have done hardly any business to-day.

Yarns are held for a slight advance on last week's rates, and spinners for the most part are very firm, and show little disposition to press sales. The buyers, both for the home trade and for export, continue to act with much caution, and the business doing in all departments seems to be quite insignificant in amount.

For some doubled yarns, from 60's upwards, there is rather more enquiry to-day, but the prices for which they are held have checked business materially, and we hear of few actual transactions. Fine yarns, single and two-fold, remain steady and unchanged in value. Goods are very firm, and the feeling in this department is one of increasing steadiness, most sellers holding stiffly for the extreme rates current last week.

We hear of little or no business in cloth, and the demand continues very languid, most of the buyers holding quite aloof. The India merchants are waiting the arrivals of telegrams, now due from the East, while other buyers are equally inactive, and as, at the same time, sellers are extremely still and little disposed to press sales, the amount of business transacted has been very small.

TOBACCO.

The business of the month amounts to about 3000 hogs-heads, of which 1600 are Marylands taken chiefly on speculation, induced by their proportionate cheapness when compared with the continually advancing prices for Western Strips. Of this latter article sales have been upon the most limited scale, and the consumption is doubtless going upon almost every class of substitutes, among which Dutch and Java hold the chief place.

The demand for export continues, as most of the foreign Regies are in the market, and London and New York may be said to be now the chief depots of supply. The buying for export has been chiefly at prices from 6½d. to 9d., but fine selections have commanded as high as 10½d. and 11d. for home trade purposes; there is scarcely any high dried leaf in first hands, and the demand has been supplied from good natural parcels from 9d. up to 12d. and 12½d. for fine colony selections.

A reference to our tables below of deliveries of stemmed and unstemmed for the month, as well as the eight months ending 31 August, will exhibit the continued decreased consumption of strips, while the total consumption of tobacco remains at its fall average quantity.

The latest accounts from America have certainly stimulated the market. Maryland, which has been hitherto open, has become the scene of invasion; and although the temporary check to the Confederate forces may again shift the seat of war into Virginia, it is felt that there is no present prospect of any termination to hostilities. Tobacco will be still more closely blockaded in the producing States, and the influence of short crops, which has all along been felt, will have no counterpoise by the import of any considerable quantity of the tobacco which has been raised.

Tobacco, duty paid, in the United Kingdom, for the month of August:—

	1860. lbs.	1861. lbs.	1862. lbs.
Stemmed	1,640,594	1,490,597	1,233,334
Unstemmed	1,400,760	1,377,790	1,622,607
	3,041,354	2,868,387	2,855,941

For Eight Months, ending August 31:—

	1860. lbs.	1861. lbs.	1862. lbs.
Stemmed	11,886,955	12,514,804	10,390,463
Unstemmed	11,461,035	10,322,028	12,736,031
	23,347,990	22,836,832	23,126,494

STOCK IN LONDON.

	Virg. Stem. hds.	Virg. Leaf. hds.	West. Stem. hds.	West. Leaf. hds.	Mary. hds.	Negro. & Cayen. pkgs.
September 1	508	521	5287	7635	6218	2329
Imported during Sept.	7	0	1284	844	1291	152
	515	521	6571	8479	7509	2481
Delivered during Sept.	50	39	302	615	226	554
Stock, October 1	465	482	6179	7864	7283	1827

QUOTATIONS.

Virginia leaf	10½d. to 14d. per lb.
Ditto stemmed	18d. to 22d. "
Western leaf—	
Common to medium export..	6d. to 9½d. "
Good and fine	10d. to 13d. "
Western stemmed	13d. to 16½d. "
Marylands	6d. to 9½d. "
Negrohead and Cavendish	nominal.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following letter is addressed to a London firm:—

PARIS, TENNESSEE, Sept. 1.

It is some time since I have written to you. Your letter of June 7 came to hand, and would have been answered if I had had any convenient way of getting a letter mailed at Paducah.

We are cut off here from all communication with the South, and our nearest post-office in the North that I know anything about is thirty miles off. Our prospects for peace are no better now, so far as I can see, than they were at the commencement of hostilities. Our unhappy country is in a deplorable fix. If peace could be made to-day, this generation would not see the country restored to its former prosperity.

Tennessee is overrun by the Federals, and hundreds and thousands of her citizens are nearly ruined. Some families who were wealthy have been deprived of all their negroes, stock, and, in fact, everything they possessed. Soon after they invaded Tennessee, they took all by force to Fort Hickmans, and offered them the alternative of taking the oath of allegiance, or going to a prison in the Northern States. As all my sons and sons-in-law were in the Southern army, and I had no one to attend to anything for me, I chose to take the oath. I was already subjugated, and could not help myself. I then determined to go to Paducah and endeavour to regain the tobacco, the Federals had seized and carried off from the mouth of Sandy belonging to me—about 8 hds. leaf, 48 hds. stems, and 101 boxes of manufactured. As yet I have not recovered anything, and have but little prospect of ever doing so. I then concluded I had better cease both buying and

shipping, as I believed I was losing nothing by holding unless I chanced to lose the tobacco, which, I fear, is too probable. Even if I could convert it into money I should still fear losing it, as there have been a great many robberies committed during the night; in fact it is said that down towards Memphis they would take off a man's cotton during the day, and at night return and rob him of his money, in some instances even threaten to hang him because he would not produce it.

Most of the cotton has been burned, and very little planted, and very little is likely to be planted until the war is over. I don't think there was more than a fourth of a crop of tobacco planted; and even that has been reduced one-half by the severe drought we have had, and the worms. The price has advanced here to figures along way above your quotations. A man living near me sold a hhd. at Louisville for \$28; and leaf is selling here at \$10 to \$12, for crops round. I shall have, when I have done pressing, about 275 hhd's, some of it very good shipping, but none factory dried; I also had about 70 hhd's. at New Orleans, but whether it has been burned or sold, I have no knowledge, on account of the currency. I would greatly prefer shipping all my leaf to London or Liverpool, if I only knew I should be safe in so doing. Besides, I am certain I should lose nothing by holding on, if I do not lose the tobacco. I am selling manufactured tobacco, such as I sold last winter at 16 cents, at 42 cents, and all other brands in proportion. Three of my negroes ran away last winter, but I recovered them, and have not lost any since; but I do not know how soon I may do so, as we have no law nor means of enforcing their staying, if they choose to go.

The following is an extract from a letter bearing date New Orleans, August 30:—

You will be sorry to hear that your friend, Mr. George Connelly, has been imprisoned. Cause—arms found within his house, but declared by him not to be his, or there with his knowledge or consent. Messrs. Nixon and Co.'s office has been seized, and all the furniture therein seized and confiscated. Cause—non-payment of the \$500 special tax assessed upon them.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, September 16.

Wall Street got quite excited yesterday upon the receipt of the pass of the battle in Maryland on Sunday; but to-day stocks have fallen back, and gold has again risen upon the facts becoming known, coupled with the surrender of Harper's Ferry with 12,000 men. It is generally believed here that the invasion of Maryland is a mere feint to draw McClellan from Washington, and that is the reason why the Confederates have kept within a short distance of the Potomac, in place of moving on to Baltimore, which could have easily been accomplished. The capital is in greater danger now than ever; it is stated that all the archives have been moved to New England, and that several gunboats are in readiness to carry Lincoln and his cabinet away. The immediate future is full of interest.

The Pennsylvanians have been much alarmed; their Treasurer, Henry D. Moore, formerly a tailor, has arrived here with all the valuable papers of the State, as well as those of the city of Philadelphia. The Quakers, it is to be hoped, will make efforts to bring about peace, but their influence is not as great as formerly. An attempt at something of the kind would at least be creditable to them.

I the opinion of many clear-thinking persons, the war will not be brought to a close until the Federal Government is completely broken down; the powers that be have not sense enough to bring hostilities to a close. The moral effect of the recognition of the Confederate States by the leading nations of Europe, would be more effectual than even armed intervention. The people of the North are anxious for it, and such intelligence would be hailed with delight. The Democrats will no doubt carry this State by a large majority. The Contractor, Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, has, unfortunately for the country, another year to serve.

NEW YORK, September 13.

The Confederate invasion of Maryland is still an enigma to the North, and although it is reported that the Southerners have penetrated as far as Hagerstown—close to the peninsula line—we know scarcely a word respecting their numbers, or anything concerning their intentions.

If we are to credit some of the authorities "fresh from the invaded territory," the rebels are only in small force, and are merely engaged in purchasing provisions, &c., and forwarding them across to Virginia for the use of their main army there. Others, however, also "late from the scene of invasion," represent the rebels in strong force—say 150,000—and amply provided with

artillery and all the necessaries for a long and vigorous campaign. Which of these two vastly conflicting statements to believe we do not know, and even McClellan, who has now been an entire week hunting up and "following" the rebels (so say the accounts) has failed to enlighten the Government, or, if he has, the Government has failed to enlighten the people. All we know outside of official reports is, that as he advances he finds no enemy, and that he yesterday even occupied the town of Frederick (one of the first Confederate points of invasion) without any opposition whatever. The rebels had gone, but whither, no one appeared to know, though, through other sources, they are said to have arrived at Hagerstown, and were preparing for an immediate march into Pennsylvania.

It may be that this is so, and that the army is a strong one, but intelligence reached Washington yesterday that the bulk of the Confederate army was not in Maryland, but still at Leesburg, under General Lee, and that the dash into Maryland is a mere feint to draw McClellan from Arlington, and then march by that route upon Washington.

The Pennsylvanians, however, are acting as if their State was already shaking beneath the tread of hostile feet, and an army of probably not less than 100,000 has suddenly been improvised to meet the expected debut of the enemy. "No more troops shall be sent to Washington," says the Governor of Pennsylvania, "for we need them all at home." Indeed, the Governor has been forced to call upon the General Government for a strong force of well-drilled troops to protect the State.

Since the occupation of Maryland the Confederates are said to have received considerable additions to their army; but, I repeat, we actually know nothing concerning the number of that army or its plan of operations; their movements are a sealed book to the North, and not even the Administration, or any of its "sharp" generals, have yet been able to open it. This suspense, however, cannot continue much longer, for the game that is being played is too momentous to admit of an hour's delay on either side.

In my last I alluded to a great change that was coming over the Northern public with regard to the present conduct of the war. That change is rapidly spreading, and bids fair to result in the entire overthrow of the Lincoln Administration! Journals and editors heretofore its warmest supporters now condemn its ruinous and fanatical course without stint, and demand that there shall be a change.

The bankruptcy and headlong ruin that is staring every one in the face has become altogether insupportable, and the people want no more shuffling and imbecility in the head of affairs at Washington. It is even publicly hinted that there are many ready to shake hands with General Lee, the leader of the Confederate army, if he will guarantee a return of peace, and a restoration of the Union as it was.

The *New York Times*, in speaking of this great change in public sentiment, says the people see no strength in the Government, they doubt the capacity of the Administration to carry the country safely and victoriously through the crisis; they see no adequate preparation to meet it; indeed, the Government is growing weaker day by day, and the people actually look upon it as falling to pieces, and offering itself a prey to the first strong hand that may venture to seize it! What do you think of such language from a journal that has heretofore vigorously supported the Administration? Are not things working?

As matters look now, the Democrats will sweep the state at the next (November) election, and then look out for squalls. The party is arousing from its two years of silence like a lion from its lair, and when it again moves forth it will seize the reins and crush all before it. What has surprised me is, that the fanatics and demagogues have been so long permitted to hold sway and bring the nation to the verge of ruin; but at last the star of hope appears.

Our advices from New Orleans are more discouraging than ever. While the whites have been compelled to surrender their private arms, the slaves have been allowed to retain theirs, and the whole proceeding would seem to be no less than an invitation to the slaves to rise and murder their unarmed masters. I can scarcely bring myself to believe this; but if such really is the infamous project, it will assuredly fail.

One of the very first delights of the rabid Abolitionists when this accursed war commenced arose from the belief that the slaves would rise *en masse*, and slaughter their masters without mercy. In not a solitary instance, however, has such a scene been witnessed, nor has there been the slightest disposition on the part of the slaves even to leave their masters, except in cases where the invader has appeared, and the master has fled, leaving slaves and all other property behind; and even

in these instances many of the slaves are known to have remained and protected the interests of their masters to the best of their ability. I have no fears, therefore, of a rising of the slaves in New Orleans, even though they be armed, and their masters defenceless. That fiendish expectation will fail, as have all the other anticipations of the Radicals regarding slavery since the war commenced.

But there is a dark cloud that hangs over the people of New Orleans, and that is the Confiscation Act passed by the last Federal Congress. This Act is to go into effect on the 24th of the present month, and it is asserted that General Butler will enforce it against every man and woman who has not taken the Lincoln oath. In preparation of this enforcement, he has ordered returns to be made immediately of all who have taken the oath; and upon those who have not the Confiscation Act will fall, and all they possess in this world will be ruthlessly swept away.

To avoid the blow is scarcely possible for any who have not subscribed to the hated oath, and there are thousands and tens of thousands who have not, and who will not; they will not thus violate the oath they have already taken to their own Government, and to support which they have suffered so much, and sooner than perjure themselves they will stand boldly forth in the panoply of a clear conscience and a conscious feeling of right, and abide the result.

"Aid, abet, or countenance," are the words of the atrocious Act, and there is scarcely a resident in the whole city but who would be found guilty of one, if not all, of these specifications. If they do not openly "aid" and "abet" the rebellion, they assuredly cannot, and probably will not, deny that they "countenance" it; for the very fact that they refuse to take the Lincoln oath, shows that the Confederacy their leaders are endeavouring to establish has, at least, their moral support, and therefore, their "countenance"; and in this they are just as guilty, according to the tyrannical law, as though they openly aided the rebellion by their money or their influence. I have reason to know that quite a number have disposed of their property (such as real estate) to foreign friends or reliable parties abroad, and they themselves left the city. These will most likely escape the infliction of the law, but where one has done this fifty have not, and hence the dark picture that stares so many of the noble, patriotic, and perfectly innocent residents of the Crescent City in the face. There is not a heart of flesh but what must bleed for them, and cherish the hope, faint though it be, that the bitter cup may pass away.

While speaking of New Orleans, I must mention another gross outrage perpetrated only a fortnight since upon the ladies of that city, or the "women," as the invaders habitually call them. The *Delta*, the organ of General Butler, in alluding to these ladies, spoke of them as having "fine eyes," which they obtained not from the pure blood of the white race, but "from their negro ancestors, more or less remote!" It is hard to conceive a more wanton or devilish insult; there was not the slightest provocation for it (as in the case of "Order 28"), but it was a cool, premeditated, malicious, public insult, heaped upon a body of ladies whose character and standing will be the theme of praise when their present vile defamers are buried and forgotten. Let them pass.

Cotton holds firm at 58 cents per middling. It is King of Commerce yet, and its might is being most painfully felt all over the world.

PARIS, October 1.

When a man in authority speaks but little, and after long intervals of silence, it is natural that he should attract to his words the serious consideration of all those who are in any way to be affected by his opinions and decisions. More especially is this the case when upon his decisions depend the civil and religious conditions of those who await with lingering anxiety the words that are either to fulfil or to blast their hopes.

Napoleon III. has spoken but seldom; but his words have been of greater significance to every people of Europe than those which have issued from the mouth of any other absolute ruler. This, not alone from the vast power that he wields, but from the fact that he never gives forth his views in an official manner without having decided to uphold them, if need be, by a vigorous exercise of that power.

The Emperor has at length spoken out on the Roman question—a question which has for so many months been battled about between the people, the priests, and the diplomatists of Europe. And what has the oracle said? Aye, that *now* is the question, which takes its turn in the minds of peoples, priests, and governments. Here, in France, we are as much excited in weighing this question as we were, ere it came before us, by wonder and

perplexity as to whether or no the oracle ever would speak, and thus put an end to the difficulties which beset the position. And now that the Emperor has deigned to let us know what has been done by him to settle the Roman *imbroglio*, the press of France finds abundant food for their readers in endeavouring to extract from his words what he means to do in the future, should the Pope still continue in his obstinate declaration of "*non possumus*."

In commentaries upon the Emperor's text, the whole press of France, religious and political, are eagerly engaged. And if the people were doubtful as to its meaning, they have assuredly become no wiser through those commentaries; for it may be affirmed that no two of them agree, and, like most commentators, they place the subject in the very fog from which they pretend to extricate it.

The difficulty seems to lie more in the party view which each writer wishes to take of it, to forward his own purposes. Thus, the Legitimist, the Imperialist, the Protestant, the Catholic, and the Red Republican, each in his turn, indites whole essays, at once laborious, earnest, and incomprehensible, in the hope of extracting ingredients which are to form capital for the uses of his party. To the impartial reader the text seems clear enough. It is only when it is looked upon with a mind possessed of the opinion that the Emperor always writes with a view to veil his real designs, that obscurity comes over the subject.

The Emperor tells us, in very distinct language, what have been his efforts to reconcile the Pope to the state of things which surround him, and by so doing, avert from the Church the perils which must result to it from the attempt to hold the political convictions of men in subjection to a form of religious faith; that if the Church would retain the affections of two hundred millions of believers, add new lustre to its history, and become more powerful for good, it must reconcile itself with the Italian people, and with those modern ideas of government which are essential to human progress and happiness. Surely here is something politically profound and remarkable, as coming from the most powerful Sovereign of a Catholic country.

The Emperor, more generous than most of his counsellors, promises to the Pope the aid of his own powerful arm, should it be found necessary, to carry out the views he expresses regarding the independence of the Pontiff, and what territory still remains under his control. After offering such counsel and assistance, the Emperor promises that in case the Holy Father adopts the means indicated, by which the peace of Italy and his own spiritual sovereignty are to be secured, he will undertake to obtain the participation of the other great Powers, in a guarantee of security against any future disturbance of the seat of the Church; and more even than this, engages to contribute from his own exchequer 3,000,000 francs annually towards the splendour of the Pontifical throne, and the works of charity with which it is charged.

Now, however men may differ as to the propriety or justice of these counsels, they can scarcely charge with vagueness the words through which they are conveyed to the reader. And can any one conscientiously say that the Emperor's advice is not sound, and likely to promote the happiness of the Italian people by securing the independence of their Government? Is it not within the bounds of possibility that the refusal on the part of the Pope to accept and act up to the wishes of Napoleon, will eventuate in the withdrawal of his troops from Rome, and leaving the Holy Father to the mercies of the party of action? Where then will be the Holy Pontiff and his "*non possumus*?" Where, indeed, the liberties of the Italian people? Could the first sustain himself against the Red Republicans, or the latter against the Austrians? And should another war be the result, can the people of Italy count a second time upon the mighty army of Napoleon to bring them independence? Would not the Emperor find his own people divided upon the question to such a degree as to induce him to elect to pursue a course of masterly non-intervention towards the belligerents? Under all the difficulties surrounding this great question, is there any one, however opposed to the policy of Napoleon, that can propose a clearer and more acceptable course by which it can be happily solved? Garibaldi has attempted to solve it by a stroke of his sword, and how sad a business he has made of it. It is not for men of hot heads to settle so mighty a problem; and if Victor Emmanuel and Louis Napoleon cannot bring about a peaceable conclusion to the contentions of the political and religious strife which rends the Italian Peninsula, it is not for lesser minds and weaker hands to presume upon certain success to their own ill-considered projects.

It is rumoured that a despatch from Turin received

here affirms the important fact of a decree of amnesty to Garibaldi and his companions having been signed that day by Victor Emmanuel. But to-day's despatches from Turin neither confirm nor deny this statement; but a general hope is expressed that it may be true. It is asserted in letters from Turin that the amnesty was owing, in a great measure, to the good offices of Prince Napoleon, Princess Clotilde, and her sister the Queen of Portugal.

Mazzini is still busy issuing manifestoes to the Italian people. A late one announces his complete rupture with the Government of Victor Emmanuel because of the affair at Aspromonte.

(From an occasional Correspondent).

HAVANA, September 5.

Why do European Powers delay in their recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy? This question is asked every hour of the day in the streets of this city, and no man will venture a reason why such powerful states as England, France, Russia, or Spain, hesitate to proclaim a plain truth, known now to all the world—that for eighteen months the young Republic has sustained a separate, dignified, and independent Government, growing stronger each day in all the material national resources, while her invaders have become weaker. A few months since, Mr. Lincoln's Secretary-at-War reported, officially, that he had SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND men in the field, and prepared a chart, on which he gave the position of 720,000 of this force, with which he affirmed he would immediately crush out the rebellion. It was natural that such a grand, imposing army should startle all Europe, and that even the most powerful and interested States should pause to witness the mighty struggle or the speedy subjugation of a proud people madly overrating their strength. The hour of trial came, and the God of Battles gave almost superhuman strength to the arm of the defenders; the Northern legions were driven back, their armies beaten, dispersed, or annihilated, and a shout for reinforcements is uttered by every Northern commander. The Southern capital is secure; there is no excuse for delay; and the principles of divine and international law prompt immediate intervention; precedent upon precedent for both recognition and intervention may be found in the history of almost every European state. A majority of the Northern people would hail the voice of the "peacemaker." They have seen their armies destroyed and their treasure melt away in a hopeless, fruitless contest, and they are heart-sick at the thought of more blood. Now, this is a propitious moment for intervention.

It took McClellan twelve months to organize his great army for the capture of Richmond, and if it takes a new general half that time to organize this new army, now being recruited, Mr. Lincoln will find himself crushed by a debt of \$200,000,000; while the Southern Government, have captured from their enemy in the late campaigns nearly all the arms and munitions of war she requires, and owe only, agreeable to the *New York Tribune* of August 28, as follows: \$45,000,000 to her soldiers (not true); \$50,000,000 to banks; \$65,000,000 property seized (not true); \$45,000,000 State aid, to be reimbursed; \$100,000,000 Treasury notes; \$65,000,000 war loan;—total, *Tribune's* statement, \$370,000,000; actual debt, \$255,000,000; with donations of cotton stored in the interior, at appreciated prices, sufficient to pay a large portion of the debt in ninety days after her ports are open to general commerce.

Who is to command Mr. Lincoln's new army when he gets it? Mr. Lincoln's generals have, by the aid of newspaper-puffs, flashed up, and gone out like meteors, and he has now no one he can call to the command who could inspire confidence or ardour amongst his troops; he is engaged in a hopeless contest; and each Northern failure seems to excite their defeated generals to acts of brutality unknown to civilized warfare. Retaliatory measures will be resorted to by the South, and, unless Europe speaks peace, the blood and carnage of the next campaign will appal the world. I repeat, humanity, interest, and the laws of God and of nations call aloud upon all Christian states to put a stop to this horrible war.

September 5.

The Confederate gunboat Florida, mounting eight large rifled guns, commanded by Captain J. N. Moffitt, reached Cardinas on the 18th ultimo, where she remained, making some repairs, until the night of the 31st, and sailed for this port, and arrived on the morning of the 1st instant, and sailed again the same evening. She was supplied at Cardinas with coal, and here with such stores as she required—the Captain-General ordered that every attention be extended to her, that would be extended to other national vessels, and that she be permitted to remain in this port at the pleasure of her captain, and return as often as convenient. She is a fine vessel, and will, no doubt, do good service for the Confederacy.

A smack, just in from Key West, reports that the Florida has sunk the Federal gunboat Santiago de Cuba, and disabled the Cayler. Also that General Breckinridge is threatening New Orleans, at which place the yellow fever is said to be raging.

THE LONDON PRESS ON THE EVACUATION OF MARYLAND.

(From the Standard, Oct. 1.)

The invasion of Maryland is an episode in the American war creditable to the skill and energy of both the contending parties. That the Confederates should have attempted an in-road upon what is for the present naturally Northern territory, so many miles distant from their real basis of operations—the country around Richmond—leaving their capital comparatively defenceless, is an extraordinary proof of the reliance of both leaders and men on their ability and prowess. That McClellan should have been enabled within so short a time to reorganize battalions and brigades that had been decimated by hardship and disease, and beaten in half a dozen great battles, and to lead them, not only undaunted, but confident, against the enemy that had so often defeated them, is evidence of a courage and patriotic spirit that do honour to the people of the United States. The misfortune is, that all this gallantry, all this sacrifice of life, all this devotion to an idea on the one side, and a great principle on the other, brings us no nearer to the termination of a war from which humanity is suffering. Practically the retirement of the Confederates from Maryland leaves matters as they were. The North, after having sustained great disasters, is as strongly bent as ever upon the prosecution of the conflict to the bitter end. The South, after enduring unheard-of privations, is at every point hurrying back the invader, and preparing for the resumption of the struggle, with resources more ample, with strength more developed, with confidence more undisturbed, than at any former period in the history of the war.

The latest news from Maryland will receive diverse interpretation from the friends of North and South. But the balance of advantage, in our opinion, is on the Confederate side. We have from the first endeavoured to combat the notion which prevailed very generally in this country, that General Lee, in his advance across the Potomac, contemplated any real invasion of the North. His object, so far as we can offer an opinion upon it, was to convince the Marylanders of Southern sympathy and power; to show the Northern States what his army could do; to favour, possibly, the passing of a secession ordinance; to obtain for his troops those supplies, which Virginia, impoverished by the presence on her soil of some 350,000 soldiers for a period of six months, could not furnish. It was well known that Western Maryland abounded in forage and stores of all kinds serviceable to an army. The rapid advance of the Confederates cut off Western Maryland from the North, and day after day, as the Confederates moved on, great trains of waggons, laden with all sorts of necessities for an army in the field, warlike stores and provisions, were filled and driven off across the Potomac. Maryland was to the shoeless and tattered soldiers who marched with "Stonewall" Jackson a veritable land of promise, whilst to the whole South the appearance of a Southern army north of the Potomac was an assurance of triumph which could not fail to console her people for the sacrifices and privations they had undergone. Another advantage was that the movement threw into the hands of the Confederates all the depots of arms and ammunition which the North had been accumulating at the various military stations in north-western Virginia, and amongst them the strong position of Harper's Ferry, with its garrison of 12,000 men, and its vast military stores. All these considerations justify the present movement of General Lee, and account for it. And those who look upon it as executed for these objects, and not for an impracticable scheme of conquest, will find in the operations that it has developed, abundant proofs of its expediency and of its success.

It is now beyond a doubt that the Confederate army in Maryland commenced its retreat as soon as it learnt that McClellan was advancing from Washington in force, and that in the engagements which preceded the great battle of the 17th, the Federals had only to do with General Lee's rearguard. But on that day it would appear that a strong Confederate force had been marched to join the division which had given battle on the 14th at Turner's Gap, on the Hagerstown Road, either reinforcements from Martinsburg, hurried across the Potomac at Shepherdstown, or Jackson's division, which had just captured the Federal garrison at Harper's Ferry. On the 17th, then, the Confederates turned to bay, but whether they were the assailants or not we are not yet informed. On the 16th Longstreet's army was reported to be in a critical position. An action was said to have taken place on the banks of the Antistam Creek, a few miles from Sharpsburg, in which the Confederates had the worst of it. But it was reported in Washington that the action of the 17th took place some seven or eight miles north-east of Sharpsburg, at Centreville, on the direct road to Washington. This may be accounted for by the fact that Jackson, marching from Harper's Ferry, got on the left flank of the Federals, or that the Federals, finding the Confederates in great numbers, retired some miles to take up a stronger defensive position. The contest was maintained from dawn till night with equal obstinacy and courage on either side, and with a carnage unprecedented in any previous engagement. As the Federals admit a loss of from 6000 to 10,000 men, we can hardly place it at less than 15,000; of the Confederate losses we have no data whatever for giving an estimate, but in a battle raging from sunrise to nightfall, they must have been terrible. The casualties amongst the Federal officers are "so large as to be unaccountable." No less than thirteen general officers are among the wounded. Such a list is only to be accounted for by the fact that the contest was exceedingly severe, and that unusual exertions and sacrifices were demanded from the Federal officers, and in itself goes far to negative Northern claims to a victory. But the most conclusive witness against the Federals is McClellan. The action took place on Wednesday. But it was only on Thursday night that the Confederates abandoned their position, and on Friday morning the Federal commander cannot say whether they are crossing the river in retreat or preparing for another battle. He is evidently in great perplexity on the Friday morning. Sad indeed the welcome news arrives that the Confederates are retreating, and up goes the hat—"Our victory is complete." The enemy is driven into Virginia." It turns out that the enemy is retiring comparatively without molestation across the Potomac, carrying with him artillery, supplies, and even his wounded, and that the sole effect of which the Federal army is capable

after the twelve hours' fight is to pursue with two batteries and two regiments of infantry. All the reports about the capture of Longstreet and his division are false, all the delusions of captured Georgian brigades have vanished. The Confederate army has gone off leisurely, and at its own time, and we have very little doubt but that when the true accounts of the battle of the 17th reach us, another Federal defeat will be recorded.

(From the *Morning Herald*, Oct. 1.)

Assuming the offensive in Maryland was a necessity of the position of the Confederates, McClellan, defeated, was in retreat from the peninsula; and Pope, defeated, was in retreat from the Rapidan. An advance was therefore incumbent, unless we are to suppose good generalship required the Confederates to rest on their laurels until again attacked by the "Lincoln hordes." General Lee, besides, by pushing across the Potomac, might reasonably hope to gain the formal admission of secession Maryland. He might also count on obtaining large supplies, and reasonably hope to alarm the North; and under the circumstances, he was not likely to suffer great loss. From Point of Rocks to Frederick, through Sharpsburg to Boonesboro', and from Williamsport to Eagers-town, the country is hilly and difficult, so that in the contingency of a reverse the Confederate troops might fall back at leisure on the many fords of the Upper Potomac, disputing every mile of ground with the bayonet. Once across the fords of the Upper Potomac the passage of the pursuing Federals might be delayed, if not stopped; and, as a matter of course, in the Shenandoah the Federals would in turn experience all the drawbacks incident to an invading force. Then finally, but for the unexpected and unprecedented rising of the Potomac, General Lee would have had in his power to take advantage of the ungaurded state of Washington by transporting what may yet appear to be the main body of the Confederate army across the Lower Potomac from Aquia and the adjacent creeks. Perhaps he has since done so, and if he has the tide of war may be soon once more changed. The map of Maryland has only to be consulted to perceive that if, after the crossing of the Upper Potomac by the Confederates, General McClellan and the Federal forces are drawn northwards, another crossing of the river at Aquia, by the Confederates would be something more than embarrassing to McClellan and the Lincoln Cabinet.

The Confederates, as we say, put themselves apparently in a position of extreme danger when they crossed the Potomac into Maryland. But they not only saw the necessity of providing themselves with a proper base of operations, they proceeded at once to secure it, in the most skillful manner and with complete success. From Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac, to the Pennsylvania frontier, a distance of about twenty-five miles, the chain of the Alleghany Mountains runs nearly due north, cutting off from the rest of the state a narrow and irregular corner of Western Maryland. Not far from the river, at Point of Rocks, and some miles eastward of these mountains, is the town of Frederick, where the Confederate army first halted. Hagerstown, on the mountains near the Pennsylvania frontier, is a short day's march from this place. Now, it is clear that if Lee had waited at Frederick to receive the onset of McClellan he would have been in a most unfavourable position. If worsted, his army would have been driven back on the river and on the Federal position of Harper's Ferry. The idea seems also to have occurred to him, that by moving northward he might draw away after him the whole army of McClellan, diverting the attention of the enemy from Harper's Ferry. This ingenious ruse succeeded to admiration. Lee waited for the Federal army at Hagerstown. It came after him pell-mell, and fought with him all day on September 14. The Federal army seems to have approached from the east and north-east and to have made no attempt to cut off the retreat of the Confederates southward. This was a fatal error. While the Northerners were achieving the prodigies of valour which so surprised their commander and themselves, while Hooker and Reno were "carrying the heights of Hagerstown by storm," and utterly demolishing the enemy, as they thought—at that very time, Jackson, who had been detached by Lee for the purpose, fell like a thunderbolt upon the station at Harper's Ferry, took prisoners the Federal garrison of 6,000 men, and established communications with the Valley of the Shenandoah!

To be more particular about the battle at Hagerstown on the 14th—of which we have so meagre an account—it appears that General McClellan's notion of a "glorious victory" is a somewhat strange one. At nightfall he did not know whether the enemy would retreat or advance in force in the morning. The next day he reports that they disappeared during the night, that they were making for the river in a panic, that their rout and demoralization were complete. General McClellan has a character for veracity, but that all this was either singular romancing or a singular delusion is apparent from the fact that this "routed and demoralized army" was met with on the 16th near Sharpsburg, but a few miles from its original position. General Lee had retreated to the south-west to effect a junction with Jackson, who had crossed the Potomac again after his recent exploit. A battle, described as very severe, took place on the 16th at Sharpsburg. It was apparently indecisive, for on the morning of the 17th it was "renewed by the Confederates with great vigour, lasting till 4 o'clock in the afternoon." The advantage is claimed by the Federals, the Confederates being said to have retreated, and General Longstreet being made prisoner. What kind of an advantage it was, and what kind of retreat, we may guess from the admission which concludes this Northern report—that "another battle was necessary to determine finally who shall be the victor." As this is the language generally used by the Northern correspondents when their army has met with some very signal reverse, we have ample reason for supposing that the Southerners won a victory on September 17.

(From the *Times*, Oct. 1.)

Military history records operations which, though they occupied only a few days, are reckoned as campaigns, when the results were distinct enough to make them a fresh stage or turning point of the contest. The American conflict has just reached such a point in the termination of what may be called the Campaign of Maryland, to distinguish it from the other operations of the war. It has been an episode of the main action, brief in duration, and not unimportant in itself, though it may not much affect the great current of events of which it was a side eddy. General McClellan brought up his forces with great energy and rapidity. The Confederate army has withdrawn, or retreated, if we do not "miscall retire" by using the word, into its own territory of Virginia, and the military positions of the opposing forces will return to nearly what they were in the last days of August. To the Federal Government the retreat of its enemy is a temporary relief;

but it is far from a complete and final rescue from the perils amid which it is drifting. The ship is water-logged; and, though by vigorous working at the pumps a few inches less of water can be reported in the hold, the fatal breach in the hull is not closed. That terrible rent yawns as widely as ever, and appears beyond the carpenter's skill.

The last accounts, to the 22nd, report the result of the engagements that continued from the 14th to the 17th. Down to the 15th the tale was told by General McClellan's despatches, as published by the Government. They left another battle impending, that was to determine which party should hold the State of Maryland, and with it the city of Baltimore; possibly, also, the possession of the State of Pennsylvania hung in the trembling scales of victory. On the evening of the 15th the Federal commander was not certain whether the engagement in which he claimed the advantage had been fought with only a part or the whole of the Confederate force. From the language of this report we believe his own conviction was that he had met only a portion of his opponents. The 16th was "chiefly passed in deploying his forces and gaining positions," preparing, in fact, for the real contest. Most of the descriptions, therefore, of the desperate fighting on the 16th, the routing of troops, the slaughter, and the capture of prisoners by thousands, must be read with a large allowance for the confusion and evident ignorance in which they were written. Painters who have never seen a battlefield always put too much smoke into their picture of one, and those who attempt military narration on hearsay use the epithets of war too lavishly for much the same purpose. A cloud of words conceals the want of exact and technical knowledge. We have no doubt that the official account of the movements of the 16th is correct—that they were merely preparatory. On the 17th the real battle took place. What numbers were engaged on both sides is not stated, but the conflict appears to have been very obstinate. It continued from dawn till dusk, and, as General McClellan estimates the loss on his own side to have been from 6,000 to 10,000 men, the battle must have raged fiercely the whole day. Darkness, we may assume, put an end to the struggle, as the two armies appear to have remained nearly on the ground they occupied. There was no immediate retreat and no pursuit. The loss of life was enough to have been a heavy price for a brilliant victory. Yet we are told the "result was not decisive," though "the superiority of positions remained with the Federals." If so, their army was not in a condition immediately to act on the advantage, for the fierce engagement was followed by a pause. On the 18th little occurred beyond skirmishing, at least, on the Federal side. We infer that the day was employed by the Confederates in making their retreat in good order and unmolested. On the morning of the 18th McClellan perceived that his opponents were moving; but he evidently could not follow them closely enough to ascertain in what direction they were going. He again records his deficiency of information, "I do not know if the enemy is falling back to an interior position, or crossing the river." Again, too, he employs a term which is not one of exaltation, and ominously recalls the similar expression that described his army as "safe" on the banks of the James River,—“We may safely claim the victory for ours.” It is only in a later dispatch, written after he had discovered the direction the Confederates had taken, he ventures to announce the victory as complete, adding, "The enemy is driven back into Virginia; Maryland and Pennsylvania are now safe." Placing an army or a State in that negative condition really seems to be the Federal Commander's idea of a triumph.

All the engagements by which Maryland has been recovered from the Southern invasion have been fought within a comparatively limited space of ground. Of the twenty counties into which the State is divided, the Confederates seem never to have held more than portions of two,—less than half the county of Frederick and a corner of its north-western neighbour, which, to add to the confusion of American topography, bears the same name as the Federal capital, Washington. The road from Frederick City to Hagerstown and the Potomac, running with many curves, but in its general direction parallel to the road, are the limits of the part of Maryland into which the Southern army advanced. It is a strip, about twenty-four miles long and ten miles broad, a very small fraction indeed of the whole territory. But from Harper's Ferry northward are the upper fords of the Potomac, by which the river can be easily crossed at several points. The battle of the 17th was fought near Sharpsburg, and it was by the bridge at Shepherd's town and the fords above and below it that the Confederates recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. The distance of these points from Sharpsburg is only four miles. The army, it is stated, began to pass the river early on the night of the 18th. But if its numbers were as large as they have been described the operation must have required many hours to complete. We have little doubt the Confederates were crossing during the whole day of the 18th, while the skirmishing spoken of was kept up to the rear. The pursuit could not have been closely pressed, as it was only "during the night" that McClellan "advanced a battery, and shelled the Confederates" from the heights on the river. But he saw only the skirts of the retiring enemy. "Stonewall" Jackson, who conducted the retreat, had got the whole army across the Potomac with but slight loss—in the retreat itself, we presume—of men, wagons, or artillery. Of the Confederate loss in the battle of the previous day no estimate is given. The list of casualties on the Federal side includes so many officers of high rank that it has created a feeling of dismay even in the first flush of the success. General Mansfield was killed, and no less than thirteen other officers of the same rank are returned by name as wounded. Indeed, the loss among the Federal Generals and field-officers is so great that the ordinary hazards and chances of the battle field do not account for them, and the public are perplexed by the unusual fatalities that attended the conflict.

The impression derived from the few official statements given is that the battle was very severely contested, that the Federal advantage at the close of the day was not decisive, and that it was not so much the result of the fighting, as the next day's retreat of the enemy, made it a victory that could be "safely claimed." We are inclined to believe that, had it been the policy of the Confederates to have still held their ground in Maryland, they could have done so notwithstanding this battle.

(From the *Daily News*, Oct. 1.)

Until yesterday evening the last official despatch of McClellan which had arrived was dated the 15th, the day after he forced the mountain passes through which the road between Frederick City and Hagerstown passes. At that battle it is clear that only a part of the Confederate army was engaged. It now appears that the next two days, Monday and Tuesday, the 15th and 16th, were spent in comparative inactivity. The Confederates, who instead of retreating northward to Hagerstown, had retreated westward towards the banks of the Potomac, had need of time. It was necessary to collect their scat-

tered troops. As we observed yesterday, neither Lee nor "Stonewall" Jackson had a suspicion that the Federal army could so soon take the field after having retired to Washington. The promptitude and rapidity of McClellan evidently disconcerted them. And even after McClellan was known to be advancing upon them, they thought that some portion of the Confederate army would be sufficient to check the Federal army. They found out their mistake. They retired towards Sharpsburg, so as to be nearer the rest of their army, and awaited its arrival under Jackson. They took post behind Annetam Creek, but it was not until Wednesday, the 17th, that the great battle was fought. The battle seems to have lasted all that day, and at the end the result was indecisive. The Federals admit a loss of 6,000 to 10,000 men, one general killed, and no fewer than 13 wounded. As yet nothing is known of the details of this engagement, but the few facts connected with it which are known prove that it must have been most severe. One thing certainly is clear, that if the Federals had been as skillfully and as gallantly led in their retreat across the Rapidan and the Rappahannock, neither Lee nor Jackson would ever have succeeded in inflicting upon them the losses which they did inflict. The extraordinary difference between the manner in which the Federal army fought on September 17th under McClellan and during the battles under Pope, is not to be accounted for except in one way. In one case, the army was well commanded, and had confidence in its general; in the other case, it was ill commanded, and had no confidence in its general. The short, but brilliant, campaign in Maryland, against such men as Lee and Jackson, is quite sufficient to retrieve McClellan's military reputation, even though it had been more seriously damaged than it was. The truth probably is, that until now McClellan never was quite his own master, and this his army probably knew full well. His hands were tied, and therefore he was not responsible for the disasters which occurred.

The battle which closed with uncertain results on Wednesday night was not renewed on Thursday morning, the 18th. The combatants seem to have been exhausted. But on Friday, the evening of the 19th, McClellan reported that the enemy had abandoned his position and was crossing the river. Sheppardstown, which lies a mile or two to the west of Sharpsburg, but on the other side of the Potomac, and is about twenty miles directly west of Frederick City, is the place at which the Confederates recrossed from Maryland back into Virginia. At the same time it must be observed, that the retreat does not appear to have been precipitate. They carried with them all their transports and took all their wounded, except 300. Even after the Confederates had crossed they posted some artillery to prevent the Federals crossing immediately, so as to allow their men to retire with deliberation. But, according to the latest accounts, the artillery had been withdrawn, and the Federals had themselves crossed into Virginia. The Confederates took the road to Winchester, which lies in the Shenandoah Valley, some thirty miles to the south-west. In short, the retreat of the Confederates is undoubted. So long as they had a chance of maintaining their position on the north side of the Potomac they did so; even on their first defeat on the 14th at South Mountain, they retired only so far as was necessary to secure a good position and the aid of reinforcements. But having secured these advantages they fought a determined action, and only retreated after deliberating two days. Probably they found that McClellan was receiving fresh reinforcements from Washington, and would renew the attack. If anything further were needed to prove that the Confederates have definitively abandoned Maryland, it would be found in the fact that Harper's Ferry is evacuated. Only three days before the great battle of the 17th Jackson had succeeded in taking Harper's Ferry, and an immense amount of military stores. The possession of this place gave the Confederates the best access into Maryland. But it appears that on Friday, the very same day the Confederates crossed the Potomac at Sheppardstown, they evacuated Harper's Ferry, after destroying all the Government stores and the pontoon bridge, and partly destroying the bridge of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This proves that the Confederates have no immediate intention of re-crossing into Maryland.

In short, "Maryland and Pennsylvania are now safe." And for this result the Federal Government is entirely indebted to the skill and promptitude of McClellan, and to the courage of the Northern soldiers.

PRISONERS IN NORTHERN GAOLS.

(From the *Grenada Appeal*, August 14.)

A large number of privateersmen, released from Northern prisons, have arrived in Charleston. The *Mercury* gives a list of their names, and dates of capture, and states that the accounts obtained from them in regard to the brutal treatment to which they have been constantly subjected during their captivity, realize all that has ever been written of the cowardly and malignant cruelty of the Lincoln Government and its hirelings. Most of the privateersmen were tried and convicted as pirates, and, during the long and terrible term of their confinement in the close, damp, and filthy cells allotted to condemned felons, the cheerful prospect of a halter was frequently held up for their coification. The crew of the Petrel were imprisoned for six months in Moyamensing prison, Philadelphia, five months in Fort Lafayette, and about four weeks in Fort Delaware. A considerable portion of this period was spent by these unfortunate men in double irons! their fare was a very small piece of bread and a still smaller piece of salt pork twice a day, occasionally varied by a little bean soup of about the consistency of water. Nearly two-thirds of the men had scurvy and the itch.

The government allowance for rations purports to be sixteen cents a day for each prisoner; but it was stated in a Philadelphia newspaper that Captain Gibson, by "his excellent management," saved about two-thirds of this sum, and expended it in clothing, which the prisoners never received the benefit of. The Confederate commissioned officers, forty-seven in number, were confined in a room forty feet long, by fifteen in width, the ascent to which was taken away every night. On some days, as the caprice of the commanding officer happened to be, the officers were permitted to walk for half an hour on the parapet of the fort. The treatment of Colonel Zarvona (the "French Lady") so well known for his daring feat in accomplishing the capture of the steamer *St. Nicholas*, and other vessels on the Potomac, is described to have been most villainous and inhuman. He is still languishing in a cell, so narrow as to give him no opportunity to lie down, and into which the light of heaven never penetrates, except through a small arched hole in one of the boards with which his cell window has been planked up. And yet this gallant man is a regularly commissioned officer of the Confederate States! The general determination of the ex-changed prisoners is to be shot before they will again be taken and undergo the miseries of a Northern prison.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORTZ, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1862.

The Operations in Maryland.

AFTER the series of battles which resulted in the Federal armies withdrawing to the fortifications of Washington, it was generally expected in the North that the Confederates would either enter Maryland, or despatch a considerable force to Kentucky. It was rightly conjectured that the victorious army would not remain inactive and, accordingly, General "Stonewall" Jackson, at the head of a corps, variously estimated at from 20,000 to 40,000 men, crossed the Potomac at a place called the Point of Rocks, and passed on to Frederick City, where he was welcomed by a friendly population. His advance was followed by other divisions of the Confederate troops, but we have no information that leads us to suppose the main body of the army crossed the Potomac. All accounts agree that on the 13th of September General Lee was at Leesburg in great force. It may be as well to observe, that from the first entrance of the Confederates into Maryland, until the enemy came up to them, they were engaged in purchasing and transporting to Virginia large stores of provisions, forage, and clothing.

On September 11, General McClellan set out from Washington at the head of an army composed of the late armies of Virginia, and some of the new levies. A force under General Banks was left for the defence of the capital. On the same day General Jackson left Frederick City with a portion of the troops that had been there concentrated. He marched in the direction of Hagerstown, and it was reported that he had occupied that point, and that his advance guard had entered Pennsylvania. It is probable that the Confederate commander made a feint of going northward to cover his real movements, to which we will immediately revert.

Meantime General McClellan, who had rapidly reorganized his army, arrived at Frederick City on the 13th, and finding the enemy had departed continued his march, and next day came up with the Confederates, and fought the battle of South Mountain. Of the numbers engaged we have no estimates, but the Confederate force consisted of the corps of Generals Longstreet, D. H. Hill, and A. P. Hill. McClellan claimed a victory, and reported that the Confederates were fleeing in disorder to the Potomac, and that they were completely disorganized. This turned out to be a mistake, for the battle of South Mountain and the fighting of the next three days occurred within a distance of about ten miles. McClellan, from the wording of his despatches, seems to have been led into this error by the report of General Hooker.

The accounts of the 15th and 16th are indefinite. On both these days we are told there were severe engagements in the neighbourhood of Sharpsburg; but these encounters were probably more in the nature of severe skirmishes than regular battles. We may assume that the Federals were the assailants, for it is manifest that the Confederates, knowing that they would shortly be reinforced by General Jackson's troops, would not in the interim attack the Federal army. When we are in possession of the details of these affairs we shall probably find that the Southern force was not only too small

to attempt driving McClellan back, but that it was only enabled to resist the pressure of the Federals by reason of operating in the hilly country, which is always a strength to a small force acting on the defensive.

It is now necessary to return to General Jackson. On the 11th he moved from Frederick City in the direction of Hagerstown, but he did not go to that place. On the night of the 11th he arrived at Williams Point, the next morning crossed the Potomac into Virginia, with 15,000 men, and the same day appeared before Harper's Ferry with 40,000 men, according to the Northern report. We think there is no doubt he was reinforced as soon as he entered Virginia from that position, and we suppose the main body of the army had not entered Maryland. We now perceive why the Confederates, during the 14th, 15th, and 16th, so obstinately resisted the advance of McClellan. Harper's Ferry was strongly fortified and garrisoned with 12,000 or 15,000 troops, and was not therefore likely to fall at the first assault. It was not, then, sufficient that Jackson should surround that place, whilst the Federal armies were elsewhere engaged; but to ensure success it was necessary that for two or three days the beleaguered garrison should not be assisted by the co-operation of any part of McClellan's army. Jackson lost no time, but commenced shelling Harper's Ferry on the afternoon of the 12th, but finding his artillery made little impression, on Saturday he ordered an assault, and drove the enemy from some of his positions. On Sunday, the 14th, the assault was renewed. The Confederate troops dashed on to the enemy's batteries, captured them, spiked the guns, and drove the Federals to the mountain. This charge was decisive. On Monday, at early dawn, Jackson commenced the attack with his artillery, which was speedily replied to by the enemy, and at 9 o'clock the Federal commander hoisted a white flag, and surrendered with the whole of the garrison excepting a body of cavalry, who escaped on Sunday night to Greencastle. Jackson immediately paroled the prisoners, with the exception of the officers. Harper's Ferry was a Federal depot for warlike stores, and the booty captured is admitted to have been immense. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the North of these constantly occurring losses of arms and ammunition. Having accomplished this work, General Jackson crossed the Potomac with his forces, and on the evening of the 16th joined that portion of the army that had for three days been fighting with McClellan. On the same evening the Federal army had also been reinforced.

On the 17th a battle took place, which lasted from the dawn of morning until night put an end to the combat. The carnage appears to have been terrible. The Federals had confessed to a loss of 10,000 men, and judging from the casualties among their officers, this high figure does not fully represent the actual number of killed and wounded. Federal General Mansfield was killed, and thirteen Federal generals wounded. This fact testifies to the fierceness of the conflict, and it also proves that we are right in saying that General McClellan brought into that engagement an army numerically formidable.

What was the result of this sanguinary conflict? to which side did victory incline? On Friday morning, thirty-six hours after the termination of the battle, General McClellan, who had been expecting a renewal of hostilities on the Thursday, but on which day there had only been skirmishing, was in a state of uncertainty as to what advantage he had gained, or in what direction his enemy had removed. He was evidently too much exhausted to follow up the battle by a renewed attack, a pursuit, or even to send out a reconnaissance to watch the proceedings of the Confederates. So, on the Friday morning, in his official despatch, he says, "We may safely claim the victory as ours;" a few hours later he hears that the Confederates have crossed the Potomac, and hence he exultingly writes, "Our victory was complete; the enemy is driven back into Virginia." So far from being driven back, the Confederates recrossed the Potomac without molestation, with all their stores,

ammunition, and wounded, with the exception of 300. So ended what has been called, for the want of a better and more accurate name, the campaign in Maryland.

If by the advance into Maryland the Confederates intended to make that State the basis of their operations for an invasion of Northern territory, then the North has a right to consider the withdrawal into Virginia as a triumph; but, as we have emphatically stated on a previous occasion, a Northern invasion was not contemplated. A review of the Confederate movements shows, we submit, that the occupation of Maryland was not intended upon this occasion to be permanent; only a portion of the Confederate army went into that State, and even that portion was divided by the withdrawal of General Jackson to operate against Harper's Ferry, leaving only a force sufficient to defend itself against the advance of McClellan's army. What advantage, then, has the South derived from this expedition. In the first place, the Confederates have obtained those supplies of which Virginia, after so long being the theatre of war, was comparatively denuded. The capture of Harper's Ferry, with its stores of arms and ammunition, is likewise a very considerable gain. We must also remember that there is no pretence for the Federal commander saying that Maryland is safe, because that State can be re-entered by the Confederate forces. It is possible, too, that we may be discussing only a part of the Confederate plan. Whilst the Federal army was fighting in Maryland, Jackson was assailing Harper's Ferry, and it is possible, whilst McClellan has been drawn so far north as Boonesboro' and Hagerstown, the main body of the Confederate army may have re-entered Maryland at another point, or even be threatening Washington.

Supposing, however, that the expedition into Maryland has no other object beyond those achieved and known, what, we ask, is the position of McClellan? What is to be his next movement? Can he remain in Maryland, and keep his large army in a state of costly and demoralizing inactivity? Will he follow the Confederates into Virginia, to that ominous Shenandoah Valley? If he does so, where will be the scene of his operations, or how will Washington be protected? As we have seen, all the material advantages of the Maryland expedition have resulted to the South, and unless we have much misconceived the strategy of the war, the present return to Virginia, so far from weakening the position of the South, has so placed McClellan that he cannot advance, except at great hazard, and yet it is ruinous for him to remain where he is, and if he retires upon Washington he leaves Maryland open to another Confederate expedition; and the fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, during the four days' fighting, has been in vain. In making these observations, we do not wish to detract from the merits of Gen. McClellan; he has manifested skill and energy in the rapid organization of his army, and great resolution in following up his enemy. Our object in this article has not been so much to criticise the Maryland battles, but rather to examine the strategy of the whole movement, and its absolute and probable results.

There is a somewhat curious coincidence, unless we suppose it to be a preconcerted plan, that on September 14, three important military events were occurring in three several States. In Maryland, was being fought the battle of South Mountain. In Virginia, Jackson was making the assault on Harper's Ferry, which eventuated in its surrender the next day. In Kentucky, the Confederates commenced the attack upon Mumfordsville, which resulted in the surrender of that important position.

The South and the African Slave Trade.

AMONG the many baseless allegations against the South, none is more frequently and more effectively used by its enemies than that the Confederate States, if permitted to enjoy an independent national existence, will avail themselves of the first safe op-

portunity to reopen the African slave trade. It requires no deep study of the motives which actuate individual and national action in all countries alike, to demonstrate the palpable absurdity of this charge, even without reference to the practical refutation of it which the fundamental law of the young Confederacy affords.

The South, it is asserted, is controlled by an oligarchy of slaveholders. We grant the assertion in the sense, not that the slaveholding interest is an oligarchy, but that the holders of slaves form so large a portion of the Southern population, and their interest, through the ramifications of family and business connections, is so closely identified with that of the great majority of the non-slaveholders, as to make it true that they control the policy of the whole country. This fact, then, being admitted by all parties, the friends as well as the enemies of the South, it should be evident to the most careless investigator that the African slave trade can never be reopened without an utter subversion of the ruling elements of Southern society. The immediate and permanent effect of the reopening of that trade would be to depreciate immensely the value of the slaves already in the country, and—as the value of that species of property serves as the standard of all other values, as it is the security upon which moneys are borrowed and lent, and nearly all financial transactions based—to overwhelm in one universal ruin every man who has anything to lose. So utter and wholesale an overthrow of its old-established foundations of credit was never yet effected by any nation, and certainly never could be with the consent, much less at the instigation, of the property classes. Compared to this, sudden emancipation would be cheap, and, if the well nigh unanimous language of the Southern press be any criterion, it would be readily preferred, were the alternative ever forced upon the proprietors of slaves.

The exclusion of Africans gives a monopoly to the slaveowner, and, since exotic labour is the only one practically available for the cotton field, a monopoly also of the production of this great staple. With a foreign supply of slaves, not only would the ostensible value of his property be seriously impaired, but the proceeds of his plantation would be lessened, for the production of cotton is limited only by the amount of available labour, a very small, not quite one-twentieth, part of the cotton lands of the South being under cotton cultivation. Thus the most powerful and obvious considerations of self-interest commit the property classes to implacable hostility against the African slave trade. Any argument in favour of its reopening can only be addressed to the poorest classes of the population, who, having no moral objection to slavery itself, might be tempted by a share of the profits from which they are now excluded by the high price of slaves. To them the demagogue might say—"Look at the fortunes which were founded when slaves were cheap; you and your children will have the same opportunities if you break down the monopoly which now keeps you poor." But such a man could not live politically one day under the tempest of public opinion that would be raised against him. There is not at this moment a single man holding an office of power or trust under the Confederate States who has ever defiled his skirts with that forbidden thing. During the period of agitation which preceded the revolution, the subject was mooted by a few, a very few, men of isolated views, and one cargo of Africans, the only one since 1808, was actually imported during that period; but the revolution itself would have failed had not the leaders most energetically disclaimed any toleration with the trade. President Davis, then Senator from Mississippi, in one of his ablest public speeches, protested against the African slave trade in the name of his State. Mr. Yancey, accused of secretly favouring it, indignantly denounced what he termed the malignant perversion of his meaning and intentions by unscrupulous enemies. No sooner had the Federal tie been broken, than the monopoly, which the United States' Constitution secured only by implication, was reaffirmed in clearer and more unmis-

takeable terms. Almost the first act of each State after Secession was to insert in its own Constitution a perpetual and solemn prohibition. It is only necessary, to illustrate this fact, to compare the language of the discarded Federal Constitution with that adopted by the Confederate States on the same subject. The only reference to the African slave trade in the United States' Constitution is as follows:—

SECT. IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 for each person.

The corresponding section in the Confederate Constitution reads thus:—

SECT. VII.—1. The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States of the United States is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2. The Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.

Let it not be supposed that self-interest suggested the only, or, indeed, the most prominent, argument by which the abortive agitation already referred to, was summarily silenced. Every pulpit, and almost every respectable press, the speeches and letters of public men, resounded with the moral arguments which the subject presented. The horrors of the Middle-Passage were vividly depicted; the sin of man-stealing was contrasted with the right of holding to labour your hereditary servant; the fearful consequence of introducing among the docile and domestic labourers of the plantation untamable savages from Africa, was predicted to be inevitably a renewal of the cruelties which marked the earlier stages of slavery, and which rendered it odious in the sight of mankind. In fact, all that the Emancipationists said years ago was repeated by the Southern press in 1859 and 1860, with this striking difference, however, in the conclusions—that the few advocates of the reopening of the trade were held up to public execration, not as extreme partisans of slavery, but as invidious and dangerous foes to the institution. In vain did they defend themselves by proving that in the certain operation of economic causes slavery must ultimately fall if slave-labour, unlike all other labour and all other merchantable commodities, remained excluded from the law of supply and demand. In vain; though on this point the argument was in their favour, public opinion was too strong against them, and they were silenced for ever.

A close and anxious study of the facts convinces us that the defeated agitators in the South were the most sagacious friends of slavery, and were right in declaring that it must die a certain, though slow death, owing to the impossibility, under the organization of Southern society, of ever placing it under the operation of the law of supply and demand; and that it can die of no other or sudden death. Already before the present war broke out, the price of slaves had risen above their intrinsic value, that is, so high as to make their labour dearer than free labour, and already, then, the period was foreshadowed when a judicious scheme of emancipation might become the cheapest remedy for the anomaly. Every increase in the demand for cotton, or in its value, brings that period nearer. It may startle some of our readers, yet the assertion is not lightly or inconsiderately made, when we add that, on the other hand, had the South been subjugated, had its broad estates been parcelled out among conquering colonists, the new-comers would soon have discovered that their fields were useless without negro labour, and in some form or other, though assuredly not more humane, the reopening of the African slave trade would have become a real and imminent danger.

The Higher Law.

A GOOD deal was said during the years of political and social conflict which preceded the outbreak of the present American war, of a law higher than the Constitution, in obedience to which the extreme section of one party professed to act, and to which

the party at large would refer for its justification when hard pressed by constitutional arguments. God forbid that we should deny the existence of such a law, or its paramount obligation on the conscience! But, at the same time, we cannot but hold that more mischief has been done and more demoralization caused by rash and passionate appeals to that law, and by wanton defiance of human laws well-known and ascertained, in obedience to alleged decrees of nature of which each man constitutes himself the sole interpreter, than by any other cause of political evil. We grant that in the name of this law the greatest battles of humanity have been fought, and the greatest triumphs of justice and freedom and religion secured. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that in the same name have been committed outrages on justice, and on liberty, and on religion, such as never would have been dared by men avowedly acting under the mere impulses of passion or self-interest; nor can we disguise from ourselves that, as civilization progresses and enlightenment becomes more general—as, in fact, human legislation comes into closer accord with the written law of God, and with that unwritten law of which the maxims are inscribed on the human heart, and of which the precedents are recorded in the lives of saints and of heroes—the presumption against those who violate the laws of their country in obedience to the dictates of their conscience becomes constantly stronger. Always the tendency of men has been to mistake the voice of passion and of prejudice for the voice of God, and to excuse the crimes of ignorance and impatience in the name of the eternal principles of right and equity. It is too easily forgotten that it is always

Deep harm to disobey,

Seeing obedience is the bond of rule;

that defiance of law only ceases to be a crime when obedience becomes utterly and clearly wicked; that the first duty of a citizen, and above all of a Christian citizen, is submission to the legitimate authorities of his country; that, though it be true that we were men before we were citizens, yet that, while our obligations as citizens are clear and well defined, those which are binding on us as men are those in regard to which we are most liable to deceive ourselves, and to mislead or do wrong to others. Never does Satan so easily disguise himself as an angel of light as when he approaches us in the character of a preacher of the "Higher Law."

If any tribunal existed to which the decision of cases arising under that law could be referred, there could be no doubt that it must override all other. But as it is, the first decision must be given by each individual conscience; and from that very unsatisfactory authority there lies no appeal but to the God of Battles. An honest and sober-minded man will hesitate long before, even in [the cases which seem clearest to himself, he ventures on that awful appeal; knowing that if he has made it wrongfully, he has incurred a load of guilt from which the worst of ordinary criminals might shrink with horror. And, knowing that this is the sole appeal, all men who are not prepared to make it are bound to abstain from raising questions which, if raised, must one day be decided, and which can be decided in no other manner. Among the Abolitionists of New England there always existed a party which had convinced itself that slavery was a wrong so horrible, so intolerable, that in order to destroy it they would be justified in plunging their country into civil war. To us it seems clear that they were not merely mistaken, but morally wrong; but, at least, it was possible to believe them honest men. They denounced the Constitution as "a league with Death and a covenant with Hell;" and they very properly refused to have anything to do with it. They would not hold office, they would not vote, they would do nothing which bound them to support a law which they abhorred, or which would compel them to swear allegiance to a Government which they pronounced to be founded on the most heinous of crimes against God and man. They may have been fools; they certainly were fanatics; but in the war between North and South these men alone on the Northern side have accepted the ordeal of battle with a clear

faith and an honest purpose. As the legal phrase runs, they have come into court with clean hands.

But there was another and a far more numerous section, which held a different and an infinitely less creditable course. They were prepared, perhaps, to be guilty of murder—certainly, to be guilty of perjury—for Abolition's sake; but they were not prepared to be martyrs or even confessors in the cause. They made no sacrifices to it, except the sacrifice of conscience and of character. They might speak of the Union as a covenant with Hell; but of the benefits of that covenant they were careful to secure their share. They hated slavery; but they were willing to get all they could out of a Constitution of which slavery was an integral part; and they swore fidelity to that Constitution with the deliberate and avowed intention of setting it at defiance when it suited their purpose to do so. Such an Abolitionist was Mr. Seward, of New York, now Secretary of State in the Federal Cabinet, who, while a Senator of the United States, publicly proclaimed the existence of an "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, and gave the sanction of his name and authority to a book which advocated the forcible destruction of slavery, and the confiscation, without the shadow of an indemnity, of \$400,000,000 worth of property held for generations under the protection of State and Federal law. Such an Abolitionist was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, now Federal Secretary of the Treasury, who presided at a meeting where the following resolution was passed:—"That, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hopes for it in our conformity to the laws of God, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him in all our civil relations and offices, whether as citizens or public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and treat the third clause of that instrument, whenever applied in the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States."

Surely plain and open defiance of morality is better than this invocation of the "Higher Law" to sanction the lawlessness of an unscrupulous faction; and even the notorious and avowed atheism of many leading Abolitionists is preferable to this blasphemous justification of perjury as a duty to One who will in no wise hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain. Well may Abolitionists of this stamp be dissatisfied alike with the politics and the religion of their country, and clamour to earth and heaven for "an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

We are far from saying that it is the moral duty of every inhabitant of a Northern State to surrender a fugitive slave. There may be many who honestly and conscientiously believe it their duty to assist his escape. But this much cannot be denied—it is the duty of a citizen of the United States, and doubly the duty of a functionary of any State who has sworn obedience to the Federal Constitution, to render such obedience. And if he be not prepared to do so, he has no right to take up the privilege of citizenship, or accept the position and pay of an office to which are attached obligations which he is not prepared to fulfil. There are many persons in England who have a conscientious objection to capital punishment. But such persons have no right to take upon themselves functions which may involve the infliction or adjudication of capital punishment, and then refuse to perform their duty. Such men must refuse to become judges or sheriffs; if called to serve as jurors, they must submit to the fine for disobedience. If, having sworn to decide according to the evidence, they acquit a murderer in order to save him from the penalty awarded by law to his crime, they are guilty of perjury; and though the law cannot reach them, the judgment of every honest man condemns them as hypocrites and scoundrels. A condemnation precisely similar is deserved by those who passed and acted upon the resolution above quoted.

Violation of the law by those who, as citizens, voluntarily take the benefit of the law, is infamous even in

a single community, where the law is an expression of the collective will of the nation, and liable to modification by the authorized exponents of the national opinion. But it is still more infamous under a Federal Constitution, where the compact entered into by States with sister States is deliberately violated by those who have neither the power nor the right to modify its conditions. The Abolitionist citizens and functionaries of Massachusetts were guilty, not not only of rebellion against the law and treason to the Union, but of a gross breach of faith towards the Southern States. It could not, of course, be held that they were to be bound for ever by the compact sanctioned by their fathers; though this is the assertion of those who deny the right of Secession. But it is clear that they had no right to choose what portions of the compact they would obey and what violate. They were bound either to abide by it in its integrity, and to act up to it in good faith, or to repudiate it *in toto*, and renounce all the benefits they enjoyed under it. They were bound either to obey the law, or to induce their State to secede from the Union. And the respect of the English people for Massachusetts and her sister States of New England was weakened, if not forfeited, by the fact that they did not secede; that, instead of renouncing the "Covenant with Hell," and clearing themselves of all further liability for the sin they so fiercely reviled, they clung to the Union, while they violated the Constitution, and claimed the full benefit of a compact which they refused to observe.

"To do evil that good may come," has been the policy of the Abolitionists. It is a policy not more distinctly condemned by Scripture than by experience. The world has been so constituted that good shall not come of doing evil; that "as a man sows so shall he reap." The Abolitionists sowed treachery, perjury, slander, incentives to assassination; they have reaped dissolution of the Union, civil war, individual ruin, and national bankruptcy. Wantonly, with the blood of peaceful citizens on their hands, and the guilt of perjury on their souls, they rushed before the tribunal that decides the causes of nations through the arbitrament of battle; and let the issue be what it may, judgment has clearly been given against them. The independence of the South, paralyzing their intrigues, and destroying their ground of action, is accomplished beyond recall. And even while the Union subsisted, it had become clear that the only effect of their conduct had been to inflame the passions of the Southern people, to rivet the fetters of the slave, and to render impossible any discussion or amelioration of the system of slavery. "Fanaticism," Mr. Williams truly says, "begets reverse fanaticism, and to the eye of the disinterested spectator . . . the acts of all appear as the acts of madmen." It is only from the complete victory of the South, the suspension of all the passionate struggles which arose within the Union from Abolitionist declamation and intrigue, and the influence of reflection and quiet discussion of the subject among those who can discuss it together without antagonistic passions, that those who desire to witness the gradual amendment of the faults of Southern institutions can expect the realization of their hopes. While the Union existed, the Abolitionists had made all discussion dangerous, all criticism suspicious, and all improvement impossible. Such was the only result of the labours of men who, pretending the sanction of a higher law written in their own hearts, set at defiance alike the Constitution of their country and the plainest rules of justice, morality, and the Christian religion; and such is the invariable result of labours animated by such a spirit.

The Confederate Press.

ANY ONE who looks over a life of Richmond papers may form a better idea of life in the Confederate capital than a person who passes a single day in Richmond, but who has not an opportunity of reading the newspapers. The Southern press is unlike that of any other country, excepting the press

of England, to which it has a remarkable resemblance. It not only represents the politics, but the manners, habits, and customs of the people. It reflects, as our press does, the social life of the community. National questions receive due prominence, but nothing is too small for consideration. If a Southerner has a complaint to make, or a suggestion to offer, he writes to the *Inquirer*, the *Examiner*, to the *Mobile Register*, the *Charleston Courier*, or one of the numerous, and, let us add, prosperous journals that constitute the Fourth Estate of the Confederate States of America; just as an Englishman writes to the *Times*, or some other contemporary. In the Southern journals the editorial comments are few, and rigidly terse in style. The object is not to fill a column and a half, but (especially just now, when paper is so scarce and dear) to say what has to be said in as few words as possible. Unlike French and German papers, the Southern papers are full of news—not war news only, but accidents, offences, and local chit-chat. The Northern press is "newsy," but is strikingly dissimilar to the Southern press. The difference has not been brought about by Secession, for it existed when the old Union was intact, and is a proof that the political union continued after the North and South had in all other respects become separate peoples.

But for our own, we should call the Southern press the freest in the world. In no country, not even in this land of liberty, was discussion in the midst of a terrible war so unfettered. Of course, if Secession had been rebellion or revolution, such freedom would have been incompatible with the existence of the Government; and, even as it is, we are somewhat surprised, as well as gratified, to find that the life and death struggle has not impaired or suspended the constitutional liberty of the subject. Whilst the Confederate capital was besieged, whilst the army of the South was being raised and recruited, the acts of the President and of Congress were criticised without let or hindrance. Governor Brown, of Georgia, objected to the Conscription Act, and his letter to President Davis was published *in extenso* in the Georgia papers and reprinted in all the leading journals of the Confederacy. Some Southerners were a little angry with Governor Brown, but not so the President, who wrote and published an elaborate reply. Every movement of the President is noticed and commented on. If he visits the army in the field or returns to Richmond, it is more than probable he will have acted contrary to the views of the Opposition, and forthwith the *Richmond Examiner* comes out with a smart leader or a stirring letter on the subject. Every member of the Cabinet, and, indeed, every member of Congress, is dealt with in like manner. The strategy of the war is fully canvassed; but the generals and the troops fighting their country's battles, are, as they should be, sacred from criticism, until any expedition in which they are engaged is completed, and then, even if there has been what is esteemed a failure, the commander is not condemned for unavoidable misfortune; but it must be confessed that the South has not been greatly tried by the non-success of its military operations. On the other hand, the Southern press does not make heroes, it only recognizes their existence. Till a soldier has made himself famous he gets scant praise in the South.

The management of the commissariat and the hospital departments of the army has been as freely discussed as with us during the Crimean war; and the Confederate soldiers are thereby assured that their welfare is anxiously cared for by the Government, and zealously protected by the press.

Such freedom, we need hardly remark, is remote from license or a thought of revolution. If the people of the Confederate States were not so thoroughly Conservative (we do not use the word in a party sense) they could not be so thoroughly free. They reverence their Constitution, and honour and respect the Executive chosen in accordance with the provisions of that Constitution. For example, whilst there have been strictures upon the policy of some of President Davis's acts, no journalist has ever ex-

pressed the slightest doubt of his splendid ability, of his high character, and of his unswerving and devoted patriotism. In the Confederate States, as in England, any attack upon the Constitution or the authority of the Executive would unite the whole press in the defence of the one or the other. The people have agreed upon the maintenance of their free Constitution, and this point being irrevocably settled, they have agreed to differ upon questions of detail. Strong in vital unity, there is no necessity to insist on a stagnant uniformity. An erroneous, but not unnatural, misapprehension would be eradicated by reading Southern newspapers. It is supposed that the war absorbs the entire attention of the Southern people, that they are panic stricken, and in a state of chronic excitement. But though the war is the main topic of conversation, and is anxiously considered by all persons, the pursuits of peace are not, could not, be wholly neglected. There are marriages and births, as well as deaths in the Confederacy. In the advertising columns of the *Richmond Inquirer* are demands for agriculturists and other kinds of labourers; announcements of good and cheap guano, and of quack medicines. Young ladies are, as usual, seeking situations as governesses. Then there are theatrical advertisements. On August 16, the Richmond public was invited to witness, at the "Varieties," the extravaganza of *Beauty and the Beast*, a dance, and *The Stage Struck Tailor*. At the "Metropolitan" the amusements offered were opera and farce. Life in Richmond, even when that city was beleaguered by the Northern armies, went on much as it does in times of peace. From the outset of the contest the Southerners seem to have so completely relied on the justice of their cause as to feel assured of its ultimate triumph; and though they thought, and still think, the struggle must be severe, they never have contemplated the possibility of becoming the conquered subjects of the North. They have been calm, because they counted the cost and prepared for sacrifice, when the North forced on them the issue of dependence or war.

But no part of the Confederate press is more English in its tone than the reports of the debates of the Confederate Congress. The House of Commons' spirit is apparent in the House of Representatives in Richmond. There is the same frankness of demeanour, the same tendency to enliven debates by personalities, which are sharp, but never coarse or libellous; and there is the same profound obedience to the Constitution and to the orders of the Assembly. During the Session of 1862 there have been some lively discussions. The Conscription Act was opposed by Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, who made a very strong speech against what he thought looked like an infringement of State rights. His arguments were not very cogent, and his views were antagonistic to the opinions of the House, and sometimes he was betrayed into saying rather more than he meant. Still, he was listened to without any other interruption than hon. members rising to correct a misstatement, or the reception of messages from the President, who, by the way, has to send a message rather frequently, in consequence of not being ministerially represented in Congress. Mr. Foote was answered by several members, and he responded by assuring the House he did not intend by any remark of his to give offence to any member, and above all, he begged to repudiate the idea of his opposition to the Conscription being founded on any want of confidence in the President. As far as he was concerned, he was quite ready to vote 250,000 men for the President upon the bare assurance that the troops were required. The discussion upon Secret Sessions elicited a general expression of opinion that it was solely defensible upon the ground of expediency; that it was not intended to keep information from the Southern people, but from their enemy; that no constitutional question should be debated in Secret Session; and that as soon as the war was over the necessity for them would be at an end. The debate showed the unanimity as well as the differences of the House of Representatives. The public are admitted to the House; and one objection urged

against Secret Sessions was, that it sent the public and the reporters away, and the rest of the sitting, when publicly resumed, was not published. But the public must be silent; for when some applause greeted a proposition to consider Benjamin F. Butler as an enemy to the human race, and that he should be treated as an outlaw wherever found, the Speaker announced his intention of having the gallery cleared if such a manifestation of feeling was repeated. In short, the Southern Congress is a legislative assembly, and not a convention of demagogues, and the liberty of the Confederate States, like English liberty, is not a theory, but an actuality.

Substitutes for Cotton.

If no more cotton were grown, mankind would have to wear clothing made of other fibres, but it would not follow that we should find a perfect substitute for cotton. Unless we could light on a material equally cheap, that is, equally abundant, and the spinning of which would not be more costly, and the use as salubrious and convenient, we might have a very good make-shift, but not a perfect substitute. Even if we could obtain a substitute for cotton so long as the American supply is cut off, when American cotton is again brought into the market the substitute that is not as cheap and good will be abandoned. It is, then, reasonable to suppose that during the continuation of the cotton dearth other fibres will be looked after, but as yet we have not heard of any material which can, in any degree, compensate us for the loss of cotton. One lesson may be learned from the cry for substitutes, which is of considerable importance. No one pretends that any proposed substitute is better than the old staple; and, therefore, if it was not well known that other cotton growing countries could not give us enough of the raw material to feed our looms, no attention would be paid to substitutes. There is some gain in such a decided, though tacit, acknowledgment about India, or other places making us independent of the Southern States so far as their cotton crop is concerned. It is a practical admission that Mr. Laing is right in telling us that if we want cotton we must look to America, and not to India, for a solution of the present crisis.

Mr. Harben proposes a seaweed, *zostera marina*, as a substitute. Some of our contemporaries have been liberally praising this gentleman for his generosity in making his idea public without stipulating for any reward; and if he had been at the trouble of testing his idea by experiment, and proved that the woody fibre of the *zostera marina* could be prepared for textile purposes, he would have merited the ovation he has received. A multitude of vegetable substances besides seaweed contain woody fibre, and the problem is to adapt it to spinning. He who can solve it will be entitled to the honour of making a useful invention or discovery, if the cost of adaptation does not render its use impossible. There have been many unsuccessful attempts to employ woody fibre in the manufacture of paper. We are not saying this *zostera marina* cannot, by chemical and mechanical ingenuity, be made a substitute for cotton; but, as far as we know, it has not yet been done; and we would suggest that until the utility of the seaweed is proved, Mr. Harben is rather premature in his confident predictions about the value of his suggestion. It may be invaluable; but until this moment its value is speculative.

At the present prices of cotton, flax is to some extent a substitute, or, rather, would be a substitute if it were quite certain that the American supply was permanently stopped, and it was worth while to cultivate it on a large scale, and to erect machinery for its manufacture. There are two reasons why flax has not been able to compete with cotton; it is more expensive, and for most purposes more desirable as an article of clothing. Cotton, either in warm or cold climates, is more salubrious than linen. The latter is a good conductor of heat, condenses the vapour of perspiration into moisture on the skin, and is unable to

absorb this moisture; the former is a bad conductor of heat, condenses very little moisture, is a great absorber, and leaves the skin dry, instead, as is the case with linen, wet and chilled. Flax, then, can be produced in large quantities, and can be spun into cloth, but it cannot compete with, much less supersede, cotton. If the use of flax is stimulated by the scarcity of cotton it will inevitably decline when cotton again becomes plentiful.

Considerable attention has lately been bestowed upon jute. This is, we believe, almost exclusively an Indian product. It has long been used as a staple in the manufacture of cheap carpets and mats, and, on account of its glossy appearance, has been introduced into silk fabrics. The natives of India have cultivated jute for their own manufactures for centuries. The Indian gunny cloths, or bagging used by the American planters, are made of jute, and, in 1860 nearly 900,000 yards of this material were imported into the United States. Not many years ago jute was almost a drug in the English market; but in 1853—in which year the imports were 275,000 cwts.—in consequence of the high price of flax, jute was mixed with linen yarns, and during seven years the imports gradually increased, until in 1859 they exceeded 1,071,000 cwts. Moreover, it has been used for cheap broad cloths mixed with cotton warps. The employment of jute as a substitute is not a novel experiment, but it is manifest that its use depends upon its comparative cheapness; and with cotton at a normal price it would only be introduced into the coarsest fabrics. The demand for jute will, no doubt, increase; but it will only be a substitute for cotton, and that in a limited degree, during the continuance of the Cotton Famine.

A perfect substitute must be as abundant, as cheap, and as well adapted for spinning; and such an article has not yet been discovered. On the contrary, jute and flax will not even come into competition with cotton, for the one is too expensive and the other too inferior in quality. With regard to the fibre of sea-weed, it is impossible to express any opinion whilst its usefulness is uncertain, or even if usable, whilst we are ignorant of the cost of preparing it for the loom.

German Unity.

In the modern text books of international law, the terms "Federal State" and "Confederation of States" are usually illustrated by the United States of America, and the Germanic Confederation. These chapters must be re-written. Where the bonds were tightest they have been abruptly broken; where they are so slack that they are hardly felt, there is a general craving to have them tightened. The contrast between the resolute assertion and the triumphant maintenance of the principle of Secession in the Federal States, and the vague longing and ill-directed efforts for unity in the Confederation, is significant enough. The South has rent the Union in twain, because it shrunk from no labour and no sacrifice to effect what it had unanimously willed. Germany will have to content itself with less radical changes, because the demand for union is not a unanimous one, and few even of those who feel the desire are prepared to risk all in the effort to obtain it.

The new birth of this old dream of German unity dates from the Italian war. The probability of an attack from France aroused a common German patriotism; the want of unity and concert in the defensive preparations excited general alarm and disgust. The forces of the nation would have been divided, because its princes could not agree amongst themselves about the command, and a feeling spread through all classes that the existing Constitution of the Confederation did not provide for the security of the fatherland. Upon that feeling the men who have inherited from 1848 the fantasy of a German Empire and a National Parliament have worked. Not altogether nurtured by experience, they did not at once renew those demands to which the history of that period gives such a decisive answer; but they sheltered themselves under the wing of Prussia,

anxious to wipe out the humiliation of Olmutz, eager to humiliate, in her turn, Austria, and assume the representation of all Germany. They put forth a programme which, answering to the public feeling of the hour, favoured the ambitious projects of Prussia. They asked for the erection of a central Power, to which should be confided the representation of Germany abroad, the conduct of its defence, and the execution of the resolutions of a National Parliament, which they proposed at the same time to establish, and they proposed to confide that central power to Prussia. But if these men set the ball rolling, they have been unable to control its course. The desire for unity has undoubtedly become a nearly unanimous one in Germany. The Governments themselves acknowledge the defective constitution of the Bund, and the necessity of common action upon many points in which that constitution renders it almost impossible. They have put forward their schemes for the reform of the Confederation, and their admission of the necessity of a change has given the union sentiment a prodigious impulse. But the unanimity is only for union in the abstract. The moment you come to the discussion of the kind of union, irreconcilable antagonism exhibits itself. The Prussians want a union which shall be an aggrandizement of the Prussian State. They would like to incorporate in their monarchy all the neighbouring small States, or, if they cannot do that, they would be content with the formation of a narrower Bund within the Bund; that is to say, of a confederation of which Prussia should have the entire control. As a matter of course, the dynasties generally object to a reform which would consist in getting rid of them altogether, and, except in North Germany, and perhaps, with a portion of the professional and mercantile classes in the south, the people would equally object to it. And here comes in that apple of all discord, the disposition of Austria. What to do with the Austrian Empire, upon the assumption that they can do what they like with it, is the puzzle of all German patriots. Your true German shudders at the idea of losing a single inch of German soil, and Austria has some thousands of square miles. Now, he cannot abandon his countrymen who inhabit this German territory; but then he will not take in, even if they would come, all the Poles, Magyars, Ischeques, and Slaves who occupy the other parts of the Austrian Empire; and the Austrian Emperor, so far from allowing his State to be dismembered, is just now engaged in an attempt, hitherto remarkably successful, to unite it. What is to be done? The Prussian, who hates Austria and wishes to be relieved of her opposition, and have it all his own way, says, "Oh, we will make our Germany without Austria!" But the South German of Bavaria and Wurtemberg replies, "Then you must make it without us. We have no desire to make a German Empire merely for the profit of a people we dislike so much as we do you, and we can see pretty plainly that if you make your Germany without Austria, you will very soon set about Prussianizing it." So we have the two parties of Klein Deutschland and Gross Deutschland, or Little and Great Germany—Prussia and Austria in face; and quite safe never to agree; and then there is a host of other questions which rise up to produce confusion whenever the *modus operandi* is discussed by the Unionists.

Mr. Renter, who elevates a great many very inconsiderable persons into notoriety, has given considerable importance to the proceedings of some hundred and fifty gentlemen who met at Weimar last week to settle the affairs of the nation. The resolutions, if resolutions they can be called, to which these gentlemen deputies of former or present German Legislatures (a sufficiently comprehensive qualification seeing that each of the thirty-eight German States has its Legislative chamber or chambers) arrived, illustrate the perplexity in which the most ardent patriots find themselves when it comes to a question of the execution of their wishes. The practical result of their conclusions is the adjournment of everything. They adjourn the question of Austria, and adjourn the question of the constitution of the central

Power. The only thing they agree upon is a condemnation of the reforms which the Governments have recently proposed to the Diet; no doubt from the well-founded fear that the remedy of such inconveniences as are really felt would take the wind out of their sails. They agree, indeed, as all such meetings do, that a National Assembly, elected by the people, is required, but they cannot take any step to call it into life.

There are only two ways in which the convocation of such a Parliament is possible. It must come from a unanimous call of all the Governments, produced by irresistible manifestations of the people, or it must be summoned by one State strong enough to enforce its will upon the other Governments, and confident that the people generally would go with her. There is no chance of the first course being tried, for the simple and satisfactory reason that the German people generally are very well off, enjoy a fair amount of political liberty, and are too sensible to risk these advantages for the chance of obtaining an object which is, for the most part, a sentimental one. There is no chance, that Prussia, the only State which would have the power to frighten the small States into acknowledging such a Parliament, will do so. A national Parliament would not be to her interest just now; she has ceased to be the leader of Germany; the Prussian Government must be reconciled to the people, or must submit to them, before it can ask the confidence of Germany, and invite the people of the smaller States to dethrone their own sovereigns, or deprive them of some portion of their power, for her profit. Whilst some of the States which the Prussian liberal press has been wont to denounce as reactionary and bigoted possess Constitutions which have never been violated, and under which the sovereign and the people have worked together harmoniously for the welfare of the land, the Prussian Constitution, although the creation of a reactionary period and chary enough, therefore, of privileges to the representatives of the people, has been persistently violated by the King and his Ministers. At this moment the King of Prussia and his people have hurled defiance at each other, and are preparing for a strenuous conflict. Victory will, no doubt, rest with the people in the end, but so long as the struggle lasts the influence of Prussia in Germany is annihilated. The people of the other States of Germany will naturally believe that a King who violates the Constitution of his own state, and would reduce the Parliament to a mere consultative assembly, will have little respect as holder of the central power for the conditions upon which it was granted him and the directions and remonstrances of a national Parliament. The King of Prussia is quarrelling with his people out of sheer obstinacy. He will not ask the Houses of Deputies for what he wants, and they will not let him have it until he acknowledges their right to say yes or no, as they please.

The army reorganization, the subject of this quarrel, equally dates from that eventful year 1859. When the Prussian Government, fearing an extension of the war into Germany, mobilized its army, it was found that many important reforms were needed. The creation of the Prussian army dates, it is known, from the period of disaster in which the nation lay at the feet of the great Napoleon. Although it bears hardly upon the people, it is endeared to them by the successes which it enabled them to achieve. Every Prussian has to serve three years in the regular army; remains some years in the reserve, during which he is liable to be called upon to serve again in the regular army at the will of the King; then passes into the first division of the Landwehr, liable to be called upon to fight at home or abroad; then into the second division of the Landwehr, only to fight in defence of the country. Of course, the burden of this system is the time of actual service, and in practice the Governments of late years have only required two years actual service, and the nation has become accustomed to it. But the King and his advisers in reorganizing the army insist upon the whole three years, and extend the term of service in the reserve. These changes are exceedingly unpopular,

the people feel that two years is quite enough for a young man to lose, and they object, too, to the increased cost of the army under this system. In 1860 the Government, acting in a constitutional manner, laid a bill for carrying into effect the alterations of the law involved in the reorganization, before the Lower House. The bill, however, was withdrawn; but the Government got the money it needed, and went on with the reorganization. In 1861 it persisted in the reorganization, and had still the funds to carry it out. The House, which met in the beginning of the year, was known to be strongly opposed to the reorganization. It was dissolved on another question; but the new House was even more strongly resolved to resist it. Instead of laying a bill for regulating the reorganization before the House, the Government presented the budget, and asked the means to carry its pet scheme out without leave. The House, resolved not to be overridden, has struck out of the budget all the items, amounting to about six million thalers (nine hundred thousand pounds sterling), which can be considered as occasioned by the reorganization; but it took care to let the Government understand, in the course of the debate, that it would have voted all these amounts, the larger part of which, inasmuch as three quarters of the financial year have expired, have been already expended, if the Government, on the other hand, would meet the country, accept two years service, and treat the Landwehr legally. The Government refused any compromise until after its defeat, when it for a moment seemed disposed to accept one, but the Minister apparently spoke without the authority of his master, and the King has now called to his counsels a statesman who is avowedly an enemy to all liberal institutions.

That is the present state of affairs in Prussia. It is not calculated to diffuse an ardent love for Prussian supremacy throughout Germany, and inasmuch as the execution of any of the favourite schemes of a united Germany necessarily imply that supremacy, it is probable that any genuine proposition for reforms of the Confederation made by the Governments of the smaller States, will, after a time, win popular adhesion.

IN answer to several inquiries made of us, we are authorized to state that the Treasurer of the Fund for the Relief of Confederate Prisoners, is J. H. Ashbridge, Esq., of the firm of J. H. Ashbridge and Company, of New Orleans and Liverpool.

The "Pan-Handle."

OUR last impression furnished an historical sketch of "Mason and Dixon's Line," by which survey the dispute long pending between the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania was adjusted. In continuation of the subject, we now present an account of the line that separates the latter State from Virginia, and which forms what is commonly designated the "Pan-Handle." This completes the artificial boundaries of the Northern and Southern sections of the late American Union, except those between Missouri and Iowa, and the Territories in the Far West. The remaining divisions are marked by the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

Several years after the voyage of Columbus, the Cabots discovered and laid claim, on behalf of England, to all the territory in America from 68 degrees N to the Floridas, or at least from 30 to 45 degrees N, being the extreme bounds of the Carolinas and the New England States, which was in 1584 named "Virginia," in honour of Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1606, these possessions were divided into two parts by King James. The first, Southern Virginia, comprehending the now States of North and South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and part of Pennsylvania, embraced between 34 and 41 degrees N latitude, was granted to the London Adventurers' Company; the second, extending from 41 to 45 degrees N latitude, which included part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the New England States, was patented to the Plymouth Adventurers' Company. The first corporation did not begin its operations until 1608, the second not until 1620, when a new charter was granted to it on November 3, under the title of "Council for the Affairs of New England." During the year 1623, the first company managed the concerns entrusted to it so badly that its charter was suppressed on July 15, 1624, and subsequently the second company shared the same fate. In 1625, King Charles the First published a proclamation that the Government of the colonies should in future depend upon himself, and he placed their administration under charge of a House Council, who

appointed, with his concurrence, a resident committee, subject to their control. The soil thus reverting to the Crown, charters were granted for Massachusetts in 1628, for Maryland in 1632, and for other provinces from time to time, leaving Virginia proper under the immediate dominion of the King, who, up to the period of Independence, appointed her civil officers, while the patentees of the neighbouring settlements had all such authority delegated to them. Hence Virginia has been called the "Old Dominion;" the Crown exercising sovereignty over all soil not disposed of by special grants; and she has been regarded as the mother of States, as well as statesmen.

George Calvert, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who was appointed, by the favour of Sir Robert Cecil, to a post in the State Department in 1604, and knighted in 1619, became a Catholic, and for a long while concealed his religious opinions; he was an original member of the Virginia Company, but withdrew therefrom in 1622, obtained the grant of Avalon, on the S.E. coast of Newfoundland, where he began a little colony. With the growth of Puritanism, the cry against the Catholics was so great that he resigned his office, frankly avowing his adherence to that faith. He, however, retained favour at court, and for past services was created an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Baltimore. He twice visited his colony; he did not like the cold region, or the opposing claims of the French and Spanish, whose fishing vessels had visited that coast for a century, or the danger of collision with English fishermen, who regarded with hostility his exclusive possession of certain shores and harbours. Finding out these disadvantages, he paid a visit to Virginia in 1628, where he was not very warmly received, owing to the Protestant feeling being so strong in that colony. He found, however, a large unoccupied region north of the Potomac, which he readily obtained from Charles the First, naming it "Maryland," in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria. The line due east from the mouth of the Potomac across the Chesapeake to Delaware Bay formed his southern boundary, on the east the Delaware Bay, on the north the fortieth degree, on the west a line due north from the head of the Potomac. Before the patent was passed, he died, and the charter limiting the grant to unsettled lands, was issued to his son and heir, Cecilius, on July 20, 1632. The first settlers arrived on February 24, 1634. The Virginians looked upon the Marylanders as intruders, but Governor Harvey took the part of the new-comers, and being retained in office until 1639, quelled all ill-feeling.

On March 4, 1681, William Penn, who had adopted the principles of the Quakers while a student at Oxford, obtained a charter for Pennsylvania, creating him "true and absolute lord" thereof, with property in the soil, and ample powers of government, but the "advice and consent of the freemen of the province" were necessary to the enactment of laws; the Crown retained the right of veto, and Parliament to levy taxes. It appears that Penn had arranged the boundaries of his province in such a manner as to have the very best water communication; considering that the Maryland grant extended on the north only to the 40th degree, he arranged for territory from that limit, the 39th line, in the south, which he designated as the beginning of the 40th parallel, so as to include a portion of Chesapeake Bay, giving an outlet to the ocean by it as well as by Delaware Bay. His possessions in the north were to extend to the southern extremity of latitude 43, the 42nd line, making three degrees north and south, should the Delaware River run that far North; if not, up to its head; the western boundary was to be five degrees from the eastern coast of the province. This, with the Dutch and Swedish occupancy of lands on the Delaware, which were captured by the Duke of York and ceded to Penn, as well as an error in regard to the situation of Cape Henlopen, caused the difficulty with Maryland, which was finally settled in the manner related in our article on Mason and Dixon's Line. By which arrangement Pennsylvania is only about 155 miles north and south, while otherwise her breadth would be about 208.

Although all disputes with Maryland were brought to a close, the boundaries between Virginia, west of that State, and Pennsylvania, were a source of much difficulty. Penn's heirs claimed that the compromise with Maryland, which made the dividing line 36.44 N., had nothing to do with Virginia, and that west of Maryland the soil of Pennsylvania should extend south to the 39th line, or the beginning of the 40th degree. Virginia, on the other hand, in 1753, claimed, in the name of the King, the whole of Western Pennsylvania, by reason of her people migrating thither. In March, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, wrote to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania:—"I am much misled by our surveyors, if the forks of the Monongahela be within the province of Pennsylvania." There were conflicts between the two States in reference to the ownership of lands west of the Alleghenies. The proprietor of Pennsylvania, in 1768, had purchased large tracts from the Indians on the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers, and had appointed commissioners to make sales thereof, but the settlers did not heed them, stating that they were uncertain as to which colony they belonged, probably having a secret wish to acknowledge the right of Virginia, as their cost in that case would be only one-fourteenth that of the fixed price in Pennsylvania. In 1774, Lord Dunmore, who was then Governor of Virginia, likewise opened land offices in that district, furnishing warrants, at two shillings and sixpence, with trifling purchase-money—say, ten shillings per 100 acres—and even that was not demanded. This was held out as an inducement to the people to apply to his agents instead of to those of Pennsylvania. The territory being claimed as the property of the King of England, it

was alleged it was only disposable by the authority of Governor Dunmore, who established two Virginian courts in the vicinity; but on May 3, 1779, this course was changed; Virginia having become a State by the Declaration of Independence, passed a municipal regulation recognizing actual settlers, from January 1, 1777, who had made a crop of corn, as freeholders entitled to a farm not exceeding 200 acres. There would have been open hostilities concerning this affair had not the difficulties with England commenced. Lord Dunmore was obliged to escape on board a ship in the James River, on June 8, 1775, in consequence of his having had placed a spring gun in the arsenal at Williamsburgh, which wounded a "rebel," in his attempt to break open the same in order to obtain arms. The affairs of Virginia were conducted from that time by a Provincial Convention until the election of Patrick Henry, who was chosen Governor on June 12, 1776.

Although the "Articles of Confederation" were passed by the second Continental Congress on the 15th day of November, 1777, they were not ratified by all the States, until March 1, 1781; the dispute in reference to the western portion of Pennsylvania could not, therefore, be referred to a Federal court under article 9 of that document until after that date. In the meanwhile, in 1780, the boundary was settled by mutual agreement. The Pennsylvanians, relying on the terms of their charter, had claimed that west of Maryland their boundary should be the 39th degree of north latitude; the Virginians insisted on the 40th degree. It was finally agreed that Mason and Dixon's Line should be continued to a point five degrees west from the Delaware; and as a western boundary, exactly parallel to that river could hardly be run, a due north line drawn from that point should constitute the western boundary of Pennsylvania. Under this arrangement Pittsburgh, that had been under the dominion of Virginia, returned again to the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. The space left between the limits of that State and the Ohio was, therefore, retained by Virginia, and from its peculiar form upon the map, has ever since been denominated the "Pan-Handle." On March 3, 1792, the Governor of Pennsylvania purchased from the United States' Government about 200,000 acres of land, north of the line of 42 degrees N., on Lake Erie, for \$151,740 $\frac{4}{10}$ Continental money.

These lands were a portion of those ceded by the State of New York, on September 6, 1780, to the General Government, about which time Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, made similar cessions, Maryland having withheld her consent to the "Articles of Confederation" of 1777 until the territory of the respective States was in a measure thus equalized.

The two Virginian counties of Accomac and Northampton, on the extreme end of the peninsula, between the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, were settled by the earliest colonists, and Lord Baltimore's grant, extending east from the mouth of the Potomac only, caused the Southern boundary of Maryland to be fixed at the 38th line north latitude.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

THE FIRST VISIT OF DEATH.

Camp 3rd Ala. Vol., near Norfolk, — May, 1862.

Last night, some time after "taps" had sounded, the tent lantern put out, and we were composing ourselves to sleep, the report of a musket broke upon the deep stillness of the camp. Was it an alarm? Was the enemy approaching? The conjecture was improbable, for no enemy was so near that the first signal of his approach should be given by our own sentinels. Every man was instantly upon his feet; from all the tents rose the buzz of excited conversation, when the stern voice of the orderly-sergeant ordered "Silence! no man to leave his tent." The conviction at once flashed through our minds that some dreadful accident had occurred. A few minutes afterwards a corporal rushed to our tent, with orders for Drs. — and —, privates in our mess, to proceed with all possible haste to guard-quarters, where the regimental surgeons required their assistance. A lieutenant had been shot—was dying at that very moment—this was the hurried information of the breathless messenger, in answer to our anxious inquiry. He did not know the name or corps of the dying man—we had not been long enough together for each of the subaltern officers to become personally known to all the men—could only say that he was slight of figure, and fair in complexion. The imperfect description applied to the brevet-lieutenant of our own company—a general favourite, and on guard this very day—and a simultaneous rush was made to the opening of the tent. But the order, "No man to leave quarters," again thundered forth, and we were fain to obey. The suspense was fearful, and became agonizing, when presently a special detail was noiselessly made from each tent in the company—for what purpose was not told. The oldest members of the messes had been selected; they were not to load; the bayonet alone was to be used; above all, the most absolute silence was enjoined and preserved. Again, all sounds were hushed in the excited camp, save

only the distant tramp of rapidly marching men, which from time to time our ears, closely pressed to the earth, could catch. Thus we lay for hours, some surmise more dreadful than the rest being occasionally communicated in a low whisper from neighbour to neighbour.

At last one of our medical messmates returned. It was not our lieutenant that had been shot, but an officer of a country company in the left wing. He had expired after brief suffering; his last words, "That I should die thus—not on a battle-field." The murderer was a sentinel. His own company disowned him; no one had any personal knowledge of him; he had joined on the way to Virginia, since the company was formed. Was considered an intruder, an unfit associate. There were ugly rumours about his antecedents. A fearful excitement prevailed in the murdered officer's company; the remaining officers would not answer for the men; some of the hotheaded youths had sworn summary vengeance upon the murderer. A strong guard, drawn close to the inner lines of the camp, alone prevented them from at once attempting their mad design. The criminal himself was protected by a picked guard. Patrols intercepted all unauthorized communication between the inner and outer lines. Such was the statement of our messmate, and we had not finished our whispered comments upon it when the reveillé summoned us to our morning duty.

This morning, after the first drill, and before the order of "break ranks" was given, the captain briefly related to us the tragic events of the night. He enjoined us to form no rash opinions, and especially to abstain from comments, either among ourselves or with others, assuring us that the offender would be tried by the proper authorities, and that, in all probability, his crime, though great, was not intentional. There is, of course, but one topic of earnest conversation throughout the regiment; but expressions are more temperate. A feeling of pity, even, is manifested for the unfortunate man who, perhaps, is guilty only of stupidity or gross awkwardness. His friendless condition in his own company, which with some raises such grave suspicions against him, is urged by others as a claim on our sympathies, and a private in our ranks who has earned a high reputation at the bar volunteers to be his counsel, if the colonel will grant permission. In the Wetumpka Guards the excitement has also much abated since the object of their wrath is removed to the city. Some few still sullenly speak of reaching him even there; but, upon the whole, the sense of justice and the spirit of discipline predominates, and no trouble is apprehended. They have certainly sustained a great loss, for Lieutenant Storrs was an officer of great promise, and in his private life a gentleman of high social respectability, esteemed for many excellent qualities of head and heart.

This evening, at dress parade, the death of Lieutenant Storrs was officially announced at the head of the regiment, and the customary mourning ordered. A few feeling words of eulogy on the deceased and of sympathy with the bereavement of his company followed the announcement, but no allusion whatever was made to the manner of his death, except that "he died on duty." The city papers, which have just reached camp, briefly chronicle the occurrence, and attribute the fatality to the "accidental discharge of a gun."

To the surprise of the entire regiment, the homicide was never tried by a court-martial. Though the offence had been committed within the lines of a military camp, and in time of war, it was argued that in the absence of any formal proclamation of martial law, the offender was amenable only to the law of Virginia, and to the authorities of that State he was accordingly handed over. Undoubtedly, our military superiors gladly availed themselves of this pretext, if pretext it was, to avoid the necessity of applying the sterner code of war, and also to remove beyond the camps a topic of constant and, perhaps, dangerous irritation. The trial, which took place some weeks afterwards, was conducted with the time-honoured formality and solemnity that distinguish a Virginian court of justice, and the imposing scene, so novel to us from the more southerly States, produced a wholesome impression upon the entire regiment. The fate of the prisoner remained for a time doubtful, though he was defended by most able counsel—the barrister who is mentioned in the preceding note as having volunteered his services—but it being proved that his musket, although a new one, had a fault of construction, he was acquitted of any worse crime than gross carelessness, and escaped with a term of imprisonment. Months afterwards, when he had paid the penalty of the law, the poor friendless man made a last visit to the regiment to receive his dismissal from service; and in honour to frail humanity be it said, no one thought of insulting him by word or gesture.

A DINNER PARTY IN CAMP.

— May, 1862.

Up to this time we have been under command of our Lieutenant-Colonel, Tenant Lomax, of Montgomery. Colonel Withers, being at the time of his election the Mayor of the City of Mobile, a few weeks elapsed before he could transfer the city government to his successor. Last Friday the announcement that he had arrived at Norfolk, and would, within a few days, assume the command, caused some little trepidation in the regiment, for if our present commander is strict in discipline, the new one has the reputation of being stern to severity. The rural companies especially, who are familiar with many more or less apocryphal stories of the summary dealings of the Mayor of Mobile, look to his advent as their colonel with something very much like awe. His first unofficial visit to camp, and the complimentary remarks he is said to have made to the officers upon the appearance of the regiment at the review, have softened this harsh impression, and it is generally admitted that, though he may be a severe disciplinarian, he appears to be a just and generous man, who will not unnecessarily resort to harshness. That he is an officer of tried capacity, the most inveterate prejudice cannot deny. He is a soldier by education and graduated with distinction at West Point. In the Mexican war he won the rank of colonel, and was appointed by the commander-in-chief civil and military governor of an important province. The rumour is already current that he will not command us long as colonel, but will soon be appointed by the President a brigadier.

With the colonel arrived two ladies upon whom our company has special claims, and looks upon almost as members. One is the bride of our second-lieutenant, married only a few days before we received our marching orders; the other, the young wife of our orderly sergeant, and the daughter of the colonel himself. Both these ladies accompanied us from Mobile as far as Montgomery, where they remained until our destination should be ascertained, and our location comparatively permanent. They will now take up their residence in Norfolk, where it is probable some of us may soon need them as nurses—that is, if the Federals have not so utterly lost their senses as to leave us undisturbed in our present untenable position. We are not a little proud of our lady members, and they, in return, are not a little proud of us. Almost every man in the company is a friendly acquaintance of long standing to one or both, and it may be that among the younger members of the company there are those who once contended for the prizes which our lieutenant and orderly sergeant have drawn. In fact, the roll of Company A might almost serve as the list of male visitors at their respective homes.

Their appearance in camp was quite a holiday. We did the honours of our humble tents; they peeped, looked, and wondered at our improvised house-keeping arrangements, and had a thousand questions to ask. They laughed heartily when some young gentleman whom they had known for his care and taste in dressing came up in undress uniform, laden with a pile of the ration bread, which kept tumbling down when he caught a glimpse of the unexpected visitors; another struggling under a load of ration pork, or jauntily swaggering along with a bucket of water in each hand; still another surprised, broom in hand, with head tied up in a handkerchief, sweeping the space before the mess-tent. Upon the whole, the domestic inspection was favourable to us; they could not understand how we managed to live so comfortably, left all to ourselves; and we, elated by the compliments, invited them to dinner. The invitation was accepted, and yesterday, Sunday, fixed for the grand occasion. There being no battalion drill that day, and Divine Service not held until after dress parade, we had nearly the whole afternoon free. Two o'clock was accordingly the appointed hour.

The inviters were my mess, No. 5. The guests invited, besides the ladies themselves, their husbands, the captain of our company, the colonel, who considered himself sufficiently represented by his daughter, and the general commanding, who sent his aide-de-camp, a personal friend of several members of our mess. Altogether, it was thought throughout the regiment to be the most important thing that ever was done by a set of mere privates; but there being nothing in the military code to prevent privates from giving dinner parties which did not interfere with their duties, and the social position of all concerned being established beyond a doubt, the affair was humoured by those in authority. The captain even lent us his commodious tent. A deal table of sufficient size was quickly constructed by amateur mechanics, and its rough surface concealed under several layers of table cloths. Crockery, napkins, and other essentials were sent for from town, either hired or bought, as the case might be. Wines and provisions were judiciously selected by the caterer of the mess;

our own black cook, the servant of one of our messmates, was entrusted, under the superintendence of a committee of one, with the details of the *cuisine*. Another of our number was appointed butler, another gentleman-waiter; and thus the memorable dinner came on. In an artistic point of view it was not, perhaps, a perfect success; there were, unquestionably, some of the discomforts of a pic-nic; there were also some discoveries of things forgotten which ought to have been there, and of others thought of which might well have been dispensed with; but I venture to say that none of the twelve that yesterday sat down to the table ever before knew how much enjoyment might be derived from a dinner. The zest was heightened by the dull boom of the enemy's cannon, which interrupted our desert, but alarmed no one, not even the ladies, to whom we soon explained that it proceeded from Fort Calhoun, familiarly called "the Rip Raps," on a rock half way between Fortress Monroe and Sewell's Point. Upon this rock the Federals have recently placed a long-range gun, called the Sawyer Gun, with which they practice every afternoon upon our outposts, but without much chance of ever hurting any one, for several of their shells, which have been dug up, were found to be filled with sawdust instead of powder, probably through some treachery among the operatives of their arsenals.

The novel banquet was brought to a sudden close, after a duration of four hours, by the tap of the drum, which called us to dress-parade. Leaving the more fortunate ones of the party, whose rank exempted them from this duty, to entertain the ladies, and exacting a promise that our fair guests would not leave until we had had the honour of escorting them to their carriages after parade was dismissed, we were soon in our places in the ranks—twelve months "enlisted men" once more. Much as life in the extreme South habituates one to strange contrasts, this trifling event is so out of keeping with our position and its duties, and is so strikingly characteristic of the composition of the army on which the fate of our young Republic rests, that it deserves a conspicuous place in my note-book.

Reviews.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF LORD MACAULAY.*

If Macaulay could have seen himself as others—his friends we mean, not his enemies—saw him, he might have composed an autobiographical essay as witty and amusing as his sketch of Walpole, whom he describes as a Republican by profession, and a gentleman usher at heart, and which might have been in many respects as brilliant as his essay on the life of Warren Hastings. Macaulay was the architect of his own fortune; but whilst we acknowledge the splendour of his intellect, it is impossible to help regretting his Whiggery. We do not make the observation in a party sense. If Macaulay had constituted himself the advocate of Toryism, we should not less deplore the political partisanship of a man who was fitted by natural gifts to write history, rather than to take any active part in the political drama. As a politician, he was a brilliant inconsistency. It is true he never forgot his party allegiance, and even as an historian he looked at men and measures through Whig spectacles; but when, on one occasion, he called himself a Conservative, he did not make a hypocritical profession. In his writings, and to a less extent in his speeches, we can perceive that his ardent love for Whig principles was the accident of birth and association, and that if he had been born thirty years later he would, in all probability, have cast in his lot with the Conservative party. He was a Whig because he was his father's son, and the associate of his father's friends, and not from intellectual conviction.

Macaulay was peculiarly fortunate as a politician. He was not a great debater, though his parliamentary speeches are fine specimens of House of Commons' oratory. He had good cause to be grateful to the Whigs, who not only introduced him into public life, but embraced every opportunity of rewarding his devotion rather than his services. We refer especially to his Indian appointment; he was not a lawyer, yet he was placed at the head of a law commission that was to inquire into the jurisdiction of the courts of justice and police establishments, and the operations of the laws of India. And seeing that his salary was equal to £10,000 a year, we are not surprised that the appointment was denounced as a *job*, and that

upon his return from India, the *Times*, as well as other leading journals, should have assailed him. "The mission of Mr. Babington Macaulay to India was, morally considered, there is reason for believing, a nefarious job; financially considered, a most prodigal and unprofitable waste of the public money. The only definite and simple characteristic of the mission provided for this party-speechmaker was, that he was secure in the enjoyment of £10,000 per annum." This is severe, but how much more severely would the Edinburgh reviewer of Montgomery's poems have treated such a transaction. We do not impute any improper motive. Macaulay was a man of the highest private and public integrity, and though we do not pretend that he was indifferent to the large emoluments of office, yet he doubtless accepted them under the impression that his services fully deserved the remuneration. He went to India with the expectation of benefitting 70,000,000 of his fellow subjects; but even if his legal acumen and administrative capacity had rivalled his eloquent diction, his mission could only have resulted in disappointment. It is impossible for a commission of foreigners in three years to gain an elementary knowledge of so vast a subject as the operation of laws which govern 70,000,000 of an alien race.

Macaulay professed adherence to the extreme Anti-slavery party, to that party which was not contented with declaring that the negro ought to be free, but that the negro was the equal of the white man, because all men are naturally equal. If Macaulay ever believed this doctrine, his faith must have been rudely shaken by his Indian experience. In our Eastern Empire he found races as physically and mentally superior to the negro as the European is to the effeminate Asiatic. If, then, the negro is fit to be treated as the political equal of the European, much greater must be the fitness of the native Indians for this equality. But not so, and Macaulay was no sooner brought into contact with an inferior race than he perceived the fallacy of the doctrine. So marked is the difference that he tells us that "to be an Englishman is a rank in India," and in one of his minutes he observes:—

What is the great difficulty which meets us whenever we meditate any extensive reform in India? It is this; that there is no helping men who will not help themselves. The phenomena which strikes an observer with the greatest surprise, and which, more than any other, damps his hopes of being able to serve the people of this country, is their own apathy, their own passiveness under wrongs. He comes from a land in which the spirit of the meanest rises up against the insolence or injustice of the richest and the most powerful; he finds himself in a land where the patience of the oppressed invites the oppressor to repeat his injuries.

Self-government would be the greatest curse we could inflict upon India, and if the people of India left to themselves could govern themselves, still it is impossible for Europeans to live with them on any other terms than that of masters. But because the rule of England must be absolute it need not be tyrannical, and, indeed, with despotisms tyranny is the worst possible policy, because loyalty is then made to depend solely on fear, instead of being also supported by respect and affection.

The rejection of Macaulay by the electors of Edinburgh, on the ground of his Roman Catholic tendencies, is not an act that can be easily defended, but it may be palliated. Macaulay was so tolerant that we defy anyone, from reading his *History*, to tell whether he was a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. We know he was a political Protestant, but do not those glowing eulogies of Romanism indicate the religion of his heart? We are aware he was a Protestant, but not from his writings. Again, how loudly he proclaimed his full toleration for the creeds of India. Such toleration is indifferentism and irreligion, and is not a quality that public men should parade. A statesman may act tolerantly without confessing, or even feeling, an equal veneration for all religions or forms of religious worship. The popular mind does not discriminate between the atheism that rejects all religions, and the toleration that equally respects all religions. It regards the one as irreverent as the other.

Happily, the last honour bestowed upon Macaulay was for services not rendered to a party, but to England, and to the cause of constitutional liberty. But for his "*History of England*" he would not, probably, have been raised to the peerage; and no one denies that the eloquent historian of his country deserved a place in the Painted Chamber.

Mr. Arnold has not produced a life of Lord Macaulay, but his book is an imperfect sketch, furnished with ample quotations from speeches and writings; nevertheless it is a volume that will repay perusal.

* The Public Life of Lord Macaulay. By the Rev. Frederick Arnold, B.A. (London: Tinsley Brothers.)

A NORTHERN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF HARPER'S FERRY.

(From the *New York Times*.)

Another serious reverse has overtaken the national arms. Harper's Ferry, the Union stronghold on the Upper Potomac, has been overwhelmed by the rebel hordes, and on Monday morning at 8 o'clock, surrendered after three days' fighting. What so many feared was successfully accomplished; the heavy siege guns on the Maryland heights were successfully attacked in the rear, and we lay at their mercy.

A glance at the map will enable us to understand why it could not be held against such powerful odds. The village is situated on the Potomac (sixty-six miles from Washington, and eighty-two miles from Baltimore) where it forms a conjunction with the Shenandoah, these two rivers uniting their energies, as it were, for cutting a channel through the lofty range of mountains before them. On the east bank of the Potomac, which here runs in a south-easterly direction, are the precipitous Maryland Heights, thousands of feet high, and consisting of three distinct ranges, known as the Elk, South, and Catoctin Mountains, the two former being more directly opposite the ferry. On the right bank of the Shenandoah, which flows into the Potomac from a south-westerly direction, are the famous Loudon Heights, where the guerilla loves to make his retreat. These are also very lofty and steep. Clustering around the base and climbing up the sides of the point formed by the junction of the rivers is to be seen the village proper. About three-quarters of a mile up there is a small valley extending across from river to river, and on beyond the Bolivar Heights, which command Harper's Ferry. The Maryland Heights not only command Harper's Ferry and Bolivar Heights, but the Loudon Heights and the country for miles around. Artillery planted on them have been known to do splendid execution to the distance of four miles. A few weeks since four rebel cavalymen, who had taken up their abode in a school-house at that distance down the valley, were entirely annihilated by a hail from the heights.

Being well aware of the strength of this position, our forces posted some weeks since two 126-pounders, one 96 rifled, and four brass Napoleons part way up the mountain, in a spot which had been cleared. Recently the clearing had been enlarged, giving the guns a wider range. These seven guns were able to keep any force at bay approaching up the valley, and dismount any guns planted on the surrounding summits. As Jackson once said, whoever held them successfully was able to bid defiance to the world. The artificial defences of the place consisted of a heavy line of earth entrenchments, with a deep trench in front, crested on the brow of Harper's Ferry proper, and extending from the Potomac nearly across to the Shenandoah. These were built several months since by 1,000 contrabands in the employ of the Government. There were also rude earthworks thrown up on Bolivar Heights last week, designed to protect infantry in musketry fire. In the event of our forces being driven from these, it was designed to have them fall back to the former. On the left of Bolivar Heights formidable hedge entrenchments prevented a sudden approach from that quarter.

About the commencement of the month, Colonel Dixon II. Miles, of Bull Run memory, who succeeded General Sigel (General Saxton's successor) to the command of the post, began to apprehend a forward movement by the enemy. On Monday, September 1, the 87th Ohio, Colonel Banning, was sent down with two howitzers to the vicinity of Nolan's Ferry to prevent their crossing. They took up a position on the Maryland side of the canal, which runs parallel with the river. The enemy appeared and succeeded in crossing, when Colonel Banning destroyed the canal-bridge, killed five of the enemy, and withdrew before the large force with no loss. From that time it was known that the enemy had entered Maryland, and Colonel Miles began to strengthen his position at every point. His force consisted of the 12th New York State Militia, Colonel Ward; 87th Ohio (three months' regiment), Colonel Banning; 126th New York, Colonel Sherrill; 111th New York, Colonel Segoin; 1st Maryland Home Brigade, Colonel Halsey; 8th New York Cavalry, Colonel Davis; 1st Maryland Cavalry, Colonel Russell; a detachment of the 1st Maryland Cavalry (Home Brigade), two companies of 5th New York Artillery, commanded by Captains McGrath and Graham; 15th Indiana, and one or two more Western batteries. All of the infantry, with the exception of the three months' men, were raw troops. General White retreated about this time to Martinsburgh, via Harper's Ferry, leaving a portion of his command here. On Thursday evening, being obliged to evacuate Martinsburgh, owing to the approach of "Stonewall" Jackson, the remainder of General White's brigade fell back to the ferry.

THE FIGHT OF FRIDAY.

On the morning of this day the enemy had begun to make their appearance, three miles away, on the Maryland Heights, near Solomon's Gap, having ascended from the rear. During the week we had advanced to the extreme top of the mountain, and constructed a barricade of trees 400 yards in front of what is known as the "look-out," and not far from an open clearing. Colonel Ford, of the 32nd Ohio, appointed to guard the heights, desired very much to make the fight at Solomon's Gap, through which they would have to enter, believing that he could hold it successfully. Being, however, overruled in his wish, he deployed on Friday afternoon portions of his own and the 126th New York as pickets, under Major Hewett, 32nd Ohio, along the mountain this side of the Gap. Skirmishing commenced at about half-past 3 o'clock, continuing until sundown. Owing to the thick underbrush the skirmish was of a bush-whacking character, as, indeed, was all the fighting on the heights. The Garibaldi Guards, 39th New York, were in the meantime scouting still further to the left. Under cover of night, Major Hewett deployed his men as pickets from one side to the other of the mountain, and then went down to headquarters to ask for reinforcements, believing that the enemy would attack him in force on the morrow. He was promised two or three regiments as soon as they could come up in the morning.

Few slept that night. At daybreak the line of battle was formed about 300 yards in front of our barricade as follows:—Companies K and B, 1st Maryland Home Brigade, held the extreme right, the 126th New York next in order, 32nd Ohio front and centre, Garibaldi Guard extreme left. The reinforcements were sent up late, eight companies of the 3rd

Maryland Home Brigade not reaching the field until 8 o'clock, and the 11th New York not until near noon, too late to render any assistance to companies I and H of the 1st Maryland Cavalry. "Russell's Roughs" advanced on foot, with revolver and carbine in hand, in front of the line of battle near to the clearing. The enemy appearing on the other side, they fell back. The rebels then, about 7 o'clock, opened with musketry on the front and right, and made two partial charges, in which they were handsomely repulsed. Fighting became general along the whole line, continuing one hour. At the end of this time the rebels received reinforcements and advanced with terrific yells, at the same time beating the long roll. The 126th New York then became disorganized, and the whole line fell back to the barricade, fighting as they receded. Having reached the barricade, a new stand was made. Colonel Sherrill, of the 126th, gallantly dismounted from his horse, and, with revolver in each hand, rallied his wavering troops. The balls fell thick and fast around him, but he never flinched, calling upon his boys to stay by him, until he was shot in the mouth by a musket-ball, and borne to the rear. Two-thirds of the regiment rallied, and fought well during the rest of the engagement. We maintained our position for several hours, Company K of the 1st Maryland Home Brigade, with its handful of men, preventing a flank movement on the right, but, the enemy turning our left flank, we were obliged to fall back again for some distance. The 8th Company of the Maryland Home Brigade then coming to the support, we advanced, re-occupying the look-out. Again, however, the enemy succeeded in flanking us on the left, and we were obliged to fall back, first to the guns, and afterwards down the mountain.

Our large guns on the heights commenced shelling the woods in the rear at 10 o'clock, and kept it up until half-past 3, p.m. (one hour and twenty minutes after the order to spike them had been given.) They were then dismounted, spiked, and otherwise rendered ineffective. Too much praise cannot be awarded to Captain McGrath, when commanding the guns, for the skilful manner in which he manned them. A detachment of Fremont's, more familiarly known as "Jackass" guns, were taken to the heights during the day, and rendered valuable assistance. They were manned by company 1, 12th regiment New York State Militia. Colonel Fort, though seriously indisposed, left his coach repeatedly to go upon the field.

Captain Russell, of the Maryland Home Brigade, who exchanged the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Williamsport for his captaincy, displayed much fearlessness and courage, at one time mounting the breastworks in full view of the rebels, who were close upon it. Lieutenant St. Clair, company B, 32nd Ohio, also exhibited much heroism. First Lieutenant Samuel A. Bares, of the 126th New York, showed so much coolness while endeavouring to rally his wavering companions as to attract the attention of Colonel Miles. Lieutenant-Colonel Downy, of the 3rd Maryland Home Brigade, was also complimented by the Colonel for his courage and skill in handling his troops. Corporal Chapman, of the 126th New York, brought down a rebel Colonel. During the engagement the 126th unfortunately fired upon one another, killing three. By a premature explosion, two members of Captain McGrath's battery were blown to pieces. I was standing close by at the time, watching the splendid firing of the piece. God deliver me from ever again witnessing such a sight as those mangled and disfigured bodies presented! One lived for several moments, but died as we were lifting him into an ambulance.

While several members of Company K, 1st Maryland, were taking breakfast, after the first repulse of the enemy, five different balls struck the table. W. Hemen, of the 126th New York, had his hat shot off; Gordon Williams, of the 32nd Ohio, had his right lock of hair shot away. A rebel ball carried away a portion of the gun-stock belonging to M. H. Bingham, of Company C, 3rd Ohio, and glancing struck W. Koff's gun, of the same company.

At 4 o'clock the regiments retreated down the mountain in good order, and the Maryland Heights was thence-forward lost to us.

Who gave the order for their evacuation I am unable to say. Certain it is that every soldier was ready to stigmatize its author, whoever he may have been, as a coward or traitor. And yet it may have been best, under the circumstances. Had more troops been drawn from Bolivar Heights for the defence of the large guns, our position then might have been weakened as to invite an easy and successful attack from the enemy, who had made their appearance in that direction in large numbers.

No sooner had our troops retired to the valley before the rebels occupied the heights above the guns and deliberately commenced a musketry fire upon the village below, which was returned by our soldiers. A shell from one of our batteries posted near the bridge, however, caused them to skedaddle in quick time. Everybody retired that night feeling that all was lost unless reinforcements arrived, and expected to be awake on the morrow with the booming of artillery from the evacuated heights.

Morning came, but with it no signs of the enemy, except in front. Our guns and camps on the mountains remained just as we had left them, and yet the silence was ominous of no good. One rifled 6-pounder and one 12-pounder Napoleon remained posted at the bridge to guard it and prevent an approach from Sandy Hook below. The 1st Maryland Home Brigade took position near the pontoon bridge to destroy it should the enemy attempt to make a crossing, while a portion of the 87th Ohio was so posted as to guard the approach from Winchester. Four 20-pound Parrots, three 24 howitzers, and several 12 and 6-pounders were planted in the graveyard half-way up the hill, and behind the first line of intrenchments, to open on Loudon and Maryland Heights. They continued shelling them for several hours. The line of battle was formed on the breastworks behind the Bolivar Heights, nearly as it had been the day before—viz., Colonel D'Uzay occupied the extreme right with his brigade, consisting of the 65th Illinois, 111th, 115th, and 39th New York, Garibaldi Guard, Captain Phelps' New York, and 15th Indiana batteries, and two sections of the 5th New York Artillery, Colonel Trimble's Brigade, consisting of the 32d and 60th Ohio, 126th and 135 New York, detachments of the 3d Maryland Home Brigade, 9th Vermont (deployed as skirmishers), and Rigby's Battery, occupied the extreme left. The 12th New York Militia remained posted behind the first intrenchments, and a portion of Captain Pott's battery were moved up to the Bolivar Heights and planted near the Charlestown road. General White commanded the heights. Major M'Intyre all the artillery, and General Miles held command over all the forces. Colonel Baring, acting Brigadier-General, whose forces consisted of all the infantry and artillery (5th New York and Pott's Battery) behind the first line of intrenchments, continued to shell the neighbouring

heights. At about 12 o'clock two companies of the Garibaldi Guard and two of the 65th Ohio bravely ascended the Maryland Heights, secured some of their camp equipage, and brought down four of the pieces of artillery which had been left spiked. This was a daring deed. On the day before a portion of the Garibaldians, who were doing picket duty, barely escaped capture, no word having been sent them to retreat. Hour after hour passed by, and no signs of the enemy appearing on the heights, we were beginning to think that they were foiled in their plans, and that the only force we should have to contend with was that in front.

"The hope, however, was dispelled when, at 10 minutes to 2 o'clock, they opened a furious fire simultaneously from Maryland, Loudon Heights, and Sandy Hook, with howitzers. Our artillery replied with much spirit, Captains M'Elrath and Graham, of the 5th Artillery, silencing the Loudon batteries. Shot and shell flew in every direction, and the soldiers and citizens were compelled to seek refuge behind rocks, in houses, and elsewhere. The enemy opened two more guns on the Shepleydown, and a full battery on the Charlestown roads. Heavy cannonading was thus brought to bear upon us from five different points. Yet we held our own manfully until it closed, toward sunset. About dusk the enemy in front opened a musketry fire on our left, which was replied to by the 32nd Ohio, 9th Vermont, and 1st Maryland. It continued some time, when our forces were obliged to contract their lines, the rebels having turned our left flank.

An attempt to storm Rigby's battery about 8 o'clock, which did fearful execution, signally failed. During the afternoon the 11th and 115th and 39th New York moved down the hill to the outskirts of a piece of woods, where they took up position for the night. By some mistake, the 11th fired into one another about 9 o'clock, killing several. All became quiet and the men slept on their arms. During the night, the 126th New York fell back to a ravine running at right angles with our line of defence, and the 9th Vermont changed position, so as to support Rigby's battery. Under cover of the night the enemy planted new batteries in every direction.

Monday morning the rebels opened fire on Bolivar Heights at 5 o'clock, which was replied to until 8, when our ammunition gave out. The rebel batteries were so arranged as to enfilade us completely. To hold out longer seemed madness. Where is McClellan, that he does not send us reinforcements? Heavy firing is heard in the direction of Martinsburgh and Sandy Hook, indicating the presence of Sigel and Banks, but why are no reinforcements sent to us? Fully one week and a half has elapsed since the enemy crossed into Maryland, evidently with the design of capturing this place. Are we to be left to our fate?

A few minutes after 8 a council of war was held. The brave Colonel D'Uzay for one voted never to surrender, and requested that he might have the privilege of cutting his way out. White flags were run up in every direction, and a flag of truce was sent to enquire on what conditions a surrender would be accepted. General A. P. Hill sent back word that it must be unconditional. Further parleying resulted in our obtaining the following liberal conditions, which were accepted:—

The officers were to be allowed to go out with their side arms and private effects; the rank and file with everything save arms and equipments.

A murmur of disapprobation ran along the whole line when it became known that we had surrendered. Captain McGrath burst into tears, exclaiming, "Boys, we have got no country now." Other officers exhibited a corresponding degree of grief, while the soldiers were decidedly demonstrative in their manifestations of rage. Yet, what could be done? Rebel batteries were opened on us from seven different directions, and there was no hope of reinforcements reaching us.

I afterwards ascertained from Confederate officers that the forces which beleaguered us were not far short of 100,000. General D. H. Hill's army, consisting of several divisions, was posted on the Maryland Heights, and General Walker, with several brigades, on Loudon. Those directly in front of us were commanded by Jackson and A. P. Hill, and consisted, among others, of Jackson's old division, now commanded by General Stark (at present under arrest), Ewell's division, General Gregg's South Carolina Brigade, numbering six regiments, General Branch's brigade of North Carolinians, Generals Pindar's and Archy's brigades, 2nd Louisiana and 2nd and 3rd Virginia brigades.

As soon as the terms of surrender were completed, Generals A. P. Hill and Jackson rode into town, accompanied by their staff, and followed by a troop of Loudon soldiers, who straightway commenced looking for "those d— London guerillas," referring to Captain Meus's Union Company, who were fortunately not to be found. General Hill immediately took up his headquarters in the tavern stand, next Colonel Miles's. "Old Stonewall," after riding the river, returned to Bolivar Heights, the observed of all observers. He was dressed in the coarsest kind of homespun, seedy and dirty at that; wore an old hat which any Northern beggar would consider an insult to have offered him, and in his general appearance was in no respect to be distinguished from the mongrel barefooted crew who follow his fortunes. I had heard much of the decayed appearance of the rebel soldiers, but such a looking crowd! Ireland in her worst straits could present no parallel, and yet they glory in their shame.

As soon as Jackson returned from the village, our entire force (11,500) was mustered on Bolivar preparatory to stacking arms and delivering over generally. The artillery taken comprised the following:—Twelve 3-inch rifled guns, six James's, six 24-lb. howitzers, four 20-lb. Parrott guns, six 12-lb. guns, four 12-lb. howitzers, two 10-inch Dahlgren, one 50-lb. Parrott, six 6-lb. guns, and several pieces of "Fremont's guns" of but little value. Seven of the whole number were thoroughly spiked. But few horses were taken, the cavalry having secured most of them. The Commissary Department comprised six days' rations for 12,000 men. This embraces nearly all the Government property which was surrendered.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR TO THE NORTH.—If any one would sum up the results impartially, he would find that thus far the war has cost the lives of 200,000 men, and the limbs and health of as many more; that it has added one thousand millions of dollars to the Federal, and half as much to the Confederate debt; that it has divided the North and South into two irreconcilable nationalities, retarded the progress of the country for half a century, and enriched the previously superabundant vocabulary of American slang with the word "skedaddle." If there are any other results they may be traced in the daily encroachments of the Federal Executive, and in the gradual disappearance of almost every public right and constitutional liberty for the establishment of which Washington and his comrades resisted to the death the whole might of Great Britain.—*The Times' Correspondent.*

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by **WALTER AND MOORE**,
Norfolk, Va.; **F. RIMAILLO** AND **NEYREY**,
New Orleans.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND. American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by **E. G. BEESLEY**, Cotton Broker,
2, Byrom-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
T. ROBINSON & CO.,
India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by **Andrew Stewart**, 1, Rufford-place,
Liverpool.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by **J. and A. CAUGHEY**,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.

A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 10 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a SALESMAN,
also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and attention,
together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Lagier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Rue de la Paix, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chausée d'Antin in Paris.)

MRS. E. PRESTON,
31, BURY STREET, ST. JAMES, S.W.
Furnished Apartments and Bed Rooms to Let.
References to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. J. E.
Macfarland, and Henry Fitzee, Esq.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED

BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANLEY BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somer bound, 5s.
POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition.)
A Tale, illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company, New Orleans.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months ending 30th April, 1861	831,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April, 1861	257,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861	1,442,959 95

The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem forty per cent. of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 10th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPATT, Secretary.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the outstanding certificates of profits to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after the second Monday in February next; also, to declare a dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the net earned premiums of the Company, for the year ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates will be issued on and after the second Monday in February next.

TRUSTEES.

Geo. W. West, Vice-President.	M. Mason.
D. Johnson.	R. P. Hunt.
A. Mittenberger.	Martin Gordon, jun.
J. Lewis.	C. A. Oliver.
Jas. A. White.	A. Gault.
Douglas West.	Maria Augustin.
	Omer Gaillard.

Now ready, in 1 vol. 8vo. price 10s. 6d. cloth.

THE SOUTH VINDICATED:

Being a Series of Letters written for the American Press during the Canvass for the Presidency in 1860, with a Letter to Lord Brougham on the John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of the Presidential Contest, and its consequences.

BY
THE HON. JAMES WILLIAMS,
Late American Minister to Turkey.
WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY **JOHN BAKER HOPKINS**.
London: LONGMAN, GREEN, and Co., 14, Ludgate Hill.

Price 6s. Annual Subscription, prepaid, 21s. Post free.

THE HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW, No. II. (OCTOBER, 1862.)

CONTENTS.

1. PERRAUD ON IRELAND.
 2. POOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.
 3. GENERAL AVERAGE.
 4. HAVIL.
 5. VICTOR HUGO'S "MISÉRABLES."
 6. THE EARLIEST EPOCHES OF AUTHENTIC CHRONOLOGY.
 7. DOLLINGER'S "HEATHENISM AND JUDAISM."
 8. MANUSCRIPTS AT CAMBRIDGE.
 9. CARDINAL WISEMAN AND "THE HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW."
 10. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.
 11. CURRENT EVENTS.
- WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, London; and South Frederick-street, Edinburgh.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to effect a direct trade alliance between the European and the Southern Press, through the medium of advertising. The most practicable mode of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Capitalists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Countries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised, classified, and liberal SYSTEM OF ADVERTISING. Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous inaction, but will commence its irresistible ebb and flow the moment peace is established. One of the most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to be used by the North will be the medium of advertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies are already organised in every Northern city, and only bide their time. We must see to it that our papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements and the advertisements of Southern Importers, Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be space left in any Southern newspaper for the advertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will our papers present to their readers a faithful mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old World, and of our business men at home, and thus attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of Northern advertising, has had so much influence in binding the South to the North, and its enemies. Through the medium of a liberal advertising patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained against the stagnation in their business, which proceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manufacturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c., &c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property, &c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, accompanied by a private letter (which shall be strictly confidential), stating your terms of advertising, &c.
We will soon appoint agents in each important sea-port and inland city of Atlantic, and previous to the 1st of January, 1863, on account of its geographical position. We respectfully ask for this enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance, and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

Office:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year ending 28th February, 1861 699,328 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending 28th February, 1861 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending 28th February, 1861 \$66,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue of 1859.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable on and after 1st June, 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE: 128, Camp Street.
Amount of Premiums for year ending 31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st December, 1861 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December, 1861 1,358,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent. interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable on and after 15th March, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned premiums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent. interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Company. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the first day of August next.

Geo. Campbell.
John Pemberton.
P. Mason.
P. Pont.
C. Bonold.
G. Mittenberger.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Commission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE, Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton Factors and Commission Merchants, GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Merchant, offers facilities to European Consignors of Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifications furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN, Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

H. D. WEEDE AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN, Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO., Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO., Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO., Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW ORLEANS.

Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO., Importers and Dealers in Hardware, PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE, GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS. This immense establishment of capacity to manufacture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON, TREDEGAR IRON WORKS. Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines, all descriptions of Machinery, Billed Cannon, &c. RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO., General Commission Merchants, RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO., Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton, Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE, Commission Merchant, ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM, Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON, Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

BRITISH AND NORTH AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL SHIPS.

NOTICE.
These Steamers call at CORK HARBOUR on both Outward and Homeward Passages, to receive and Land Mails.

Freight by the Mail Steamers to Halifax and Boston, and to New York, £3 per ton, and 5 per cent. primeage.

PARCELS.—Parcels containing samples of Goods on board will be taken free of freight by the Mail Steamers.

Freight on other Parcels 5s. each and upwards, according to size.

Parcels for different Consignees, collected and made up in Single Packages, addressed to one party for delivery in America, for the purpose of evading the payment of duty, will, on examination in America, by the Customs, be charged with the proper Freight.

Dogs not taken on any terms.

The British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, draw the attention of Shippers and Passengers to the 23rd section of the New Merchant Shipping Act, which is as follows:—

"No person shall be entitled to carry in any ship, or to require the master or owner of any ship to carry therein, aquaritos, oil of vitriol, gunpowder, or any other goods which, in the judgment of such master or owner, are of a dangerous nature; and if any person carries or sends by any ship any goods of a dangerous nature, without distinctly marking their nature on the outside of the package containing the same, or otherwise giving notice in writing to the master or owner, at or before the time of carrying or sending the same to be shipped, he shall, for every such offence, incur a penalty not exceeding £100; and the master or owner of any ship who refuse to take on board any parcels that he suspects to contain goods of a dangerous nature, and may require them to be opened to ascertain the fact,

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum. Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXIII. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free speech and a free press, every interest—political, social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent, commercial, however remote, however small the class to which it addresses itself—has long had its recognized representative in Journalism, through which it seeks to obtain a share of the public attention. The one solitary exception has heretofore been in the case of the Confederate States of America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual blockade which excludes them from communion with the rest of mankind, than from the commercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed supplies. The disruption of the American Union—despite repeated warnings—started Europe without at once awakening it to a full consciousness of the reality and importance of the event. So little had the internal politics of America entered into the routine of European thoughts, that even now—when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by far the greater portion of the intelligent European public. When the catastrophe occurred, the Northern States had the ear of the Governments and of the peoples; and so zealously have they retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and distorting was the medium through which alone the South's voice could be heard, that Europe may fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of the English press has treated the weaker party in that spirit of fair play upon which every Englishman prides himself; and, as the struggle progressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a perplexing subject, which stands in honorable contrast to the flippancy and indecorum of American Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern interests and Southern opinions, to which the Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the public at large might look for reliable intelligence of the progress of events, and for valuable indications of the manner in which the South itself views and weighs the importance and bearing of those events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The measure of success which may reward the effort will necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the friends, and of the private, as well as official, representatives of the South in Europe. This co-operation has been most generously accorded us. There is a large amount of Southern intelligence which reaches Europe through various private channels. Still more important information is obtained from Northern sources, which finds no outlet through the muzzled press of those States. Much of such valuable material has already been placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our arrangements are such that our friends may rely on this respect upon a scrupulous and sound discretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible misapprehension—that it is not the sole object. Literature and General News—in fact, every ingredient of a Weekly Journal—will command our earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that liberal patronage which is promised us in advance. "THE INDEX" will be represented by competent Correspondents at the different capitals of the Continent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of the character of a Magazine, without departing from its proper sphere as a Review of current events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and practically familiar with the subject and all questions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is necessarily committed to the advocacy of the principles of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11, Grace-court, Fleet-street; and Published for the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, Fleet-street, London E.C.—October 2, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 24.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK	
America	369
England	370
Europe	371
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	372
Manchester Letter	372
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
Private Letter	372
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	373
Washington	373
LEADERS—	
Aspect of the Abolition Edict	376
The Condition of the Federal Army	377
The Factory Folk	378
Manifesto of the Republicans of Italy	379
Editorial	379
AMERICAN CONFEDERACIES	379
REVIEWS—	
Blackwood:—Ten Days in Richmond	381
Fraser:—The Two Constitutions	382
A Novel:—A Bad Beginning	382
LETTER TO THE EDITOR:—	
The Decree for a Servile War	383
ADVERTISEMENTS	384

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

For a moment the war news is less interesting than the political movements. Mr. Lincoln has issued a proclamation—not of emancipation, as it has been hastily called, but rather, of servile war against those States which on the 1st of January, 1863, shall refuse to submit to the Federal yoke. A careful perusal of this curious document will at once show that it is simply a decree of vengeance, to which emancipation is only incidental and contingent.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
PROCLAMATION.

Washington, Sept. 22.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare, that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and the people thereof, in which States that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the efforts to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued; that on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and for ever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to make an additional Article of War,"

approved March 13, 1862, and which Act is in the word and figure following:—

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:—

"Article.—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labour who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labour is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

"Section 2.—And be it further enacted that this Act shall take effect from and after its passage."

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an Act entitled "An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:—

"Section 9.—And be it further enacted that all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them, and coming under the control of the Government of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found on (or being within) any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captures of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

"Section 10.—And be it further enacted that no slave escaping into any State, territory, or the district of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offence against the laws, unless the persons claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labour or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labour of any other person, or surrender up any person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service."

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce within their respective sphere of service the Act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall, upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people (if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed), be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Done at the City of Washington, this 22nd day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, and of the Independence of the United States the 87th.

By the President,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Lincoln, it will be perceived, has no objection to slavery, either in theory or practice. He regards it as a blessing to be enjoyed by "loyal" States—a benefit of which "disloyal" States are to be deprived. What Mr. Lincoln does object to is the presence of the black man. In this he faithfully represents the bitter animosity of the North to the negro. He desires to banish the coloured race from the continent—to deprive them of their home and country. Mr. Lincoln forgets that the negro has a strong attachment to the land of his birth, and is not willing to be deported; or, if he remember it, thinks that to transport negroes to places remarkable for their insalubrity is as good a fate as the black man ought to expect from his Abolitionist friends. But what we desire to direct attention to in the above proclamation is, that it does not in any way profess to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, but, on the contrary, will protect the system in "loyal" States. It treats the slaves as property which the "rebels" are to have taken from them. We need not stop to remark that according to the Constitution of the United States, the President has no more right

to emancipate slaves than he has to suspend the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* in England. In issuing this proclamation, he has most distinctly and unequivocally violated the letter and spirit of the Constitution, but by this time the people of the North are used to seeing their laws and Constitution trampled upon by the Lincoln Government.

Well, how does Mr. Lincoln confiscate the property of the rebels? Does he tell them that when he has conquered the South he will free the slaves? Not at all. Does he tell the South that hereafter, where his armies penetrate, where they have possession, though but for a few hours, he will liberate the slaves? Not so. He declares the slaves on the 1st of January, 1863, "thenceforth and for ever free," and that the Government of the United States, and the military and naval forces of the United States "will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom." We wish our readers to consider well these words, and to compare these statements. What do they mean?

What do they amount to? The slaves are invited to rebel against their masters. Three months' notice is given them, and at the end of that time, they are told, if they make any efforts for actual freedom—that is, if they will massacre the white population, for the black man can do nothing else for his actual freedom—the armies and fleets of the United States, so far from opposing them, will in no way repress such act or acts, but will even assist them. There is no obscurity about this passage of the proclamation; its intention is clear and unmistakable; and we dare not trust our pen to criticise the conduct of a Government which, beaten by an enemy greatly inferior in numbers, and, till lately, in resources, seeks to gain a triumph by stirring up a servile war. We will only say this, that it is worthy of a Government that confides in B. F. Butler, and gives promotion to Turchin.

Mr. Lincoln refers to those citizens who have remained loyal throughout the "rebellion," and guarantees to pay them for their slaves, but who will guarantee Mr. Lincoln's ability to pay?

Happily the proclamation for a servile war in the South will not have much influence. The negroes will not hear of it, or certainly not regard it. They have been faithful during this war, and have refused the opportunity offered them by such men as Hunter. Where the Federal armies are some disturbances may be expected, but the decree comes out after the Federal armies have been driven, for the most part, from the Southern territory. We say, advisedly, if Mr. Lincoln had been under the guidance of Southern advisers he could not have issued this decree at a time when it could do so little harm to the South.

The *New York Times*, in commenting on the proclamation, says:—"The wisdom of the step taken—we refer at present to that clause in the document which declares free the slaves of rebel States after the 1st January—is unquestionable; its necessity indisputable. It had been declared by President Lincoln, that as soon as this step became a necessity he should adopt it. Its adoption now is not a confession that the military means of suppressing the great rebellion have proved a failure; but simply that this is a point at which any other legitimate appliances that can be called in shall also be availed of. Slavery is an element of strength to the rebels, it left untouched; it will assuredly prove an element of weakness—it may be of total destruction—to them and their cause, when we make such use of it and its victims as lies in our power." Despite this, the reason, why other legitimate appliances may be called in to aid the North is the failure of military measures; and we beg to remind our readers of the

change of tone that has come over Northern advocates, both in Europe and America. Formerly we were told of the overwhelming superiority of the Federals; that it was twenty millions to six millions, and that the South must succumb. Now we are told the South cannot be conquered whilst the slaves do the work at home. Grant that in the Confederate States there are three and a half millions of slaves, and that these, added to the whites, are equal to twelve millions. Still the Federals have twenty millions; and it is five to three; pretty good odds in favour of the North. Or are we to understand that slave labour is so much more productive than other labour? Or that unless the North is more than two to one she has no chance against the South? Supposing out of the twenty millions of Northerners four millions had to attend to agriculture, and we set these against the slaves of the South, it still leaves the numbers sixteen millions to eight millions. We are quite aware that the North is not strong enough to conquer the South, but the plea set forth that the South succeeds because of the agricultural help derived from her slaves, is absurd.

Why did Mr. Lincoln issue this proclamation? On September 13, he had delivered to the Chicago Emancipation Committee a reply to their letter concerning emancipation. He therein stated that he did not favour an emancipation proclamation, as it would be inoperative if issued, and if the slaves were armed their arms would fall into the hands of the rebels. On September 22, only nine days later, the emancipation proclamation was published. It will be in vain to tell us that the decree of the 22nd is not the Abolitionism pure and simple demanded by the Chicago Committee; for it is, at all events, as much as that committee could expect, and it has been received with the most enthusiastic delight by the ultra-Abolitionists. Why, then, such a sudden change in policy? It is evident Mr. Lincoln's opinions were not so altered in nine days, and that he acted from pressure, or, from a new view of surrounding circumstances. The *New York World* ascribes the change to a fear of foreign intervention. Now, from the 13th to the 22nd September nothing happened to make intervention appear more imminent; and even Mr. Seward cannot imagine that Christian Governments will be less inclined to interfere because the North confesses it has no chance of conquering the South except by stirring up a servile war. The true explanation of this sudden change of policy upon the most momentous question that has come before the Washington Government is the exigencies of the position of the Lincoln Cabinet. It was not in favour with the Republicans, it was not esteemed by the Democrats; it was denounced by the Abolitionists. It was found difficult to raise troops to continue the war, and still more difficult to maintain the Presidential authority. It became known to the Government that the Abolitionists were preparing to place Fremont at the head of affairs; and under the circumstances it was thought better to conciliate the Abolitionists, who have at once accepted Mr. Lincoln's action, and given him their allegiance *vice* Fremont. Whether this agreement will be lasting, or whether it will compensate for the enmity of the Democrats, we cannot say. It is not impossible that the Democrats may accept the situation, and that the world may once more behold the power of terrorism to hold a nation in subjection.

The Border States have already, as far as they have had the opportunity, protested against the proclamation; but this is no loss to the North, for the Border States have long been thoroughly Southern. But more important to Mr. Lincoln is the address of the Governors of sixteen States approving the decree. We give the text of the telegram announcing this adhesion:—

The Governors of sixteen Union States assembled on September 24, at Altoona (Pennsylvania), and adjourned on the 25th to Washington, where they presented an address to President Lincoln, expressing their determination to support his constitutional authority, approving the emancipation proclamation, and suggesting the expediency of raising a reserve force of 100,000 men.

The Governor of Maryland objected to sign the address approving the emancipation proclamation.

So far, Mr. Lincoln has been successful. He has been serenaded at Washington, on which occasion he made a speech, saying "he issued the proclamation after full deliberation, and under a heavy sense of responsibility. He trusted in God that he had made no mistake. It was now for America and the world, he said, to judge the proclamation, and it may be, to take action upon it." It is evident the speaker was not quite truthful, because of the change of policy in nine days; and there is something repulsive in his "trusting in God he had made no mistake" in seeking to subjugate a free people by bringing on them the unspeakable curse of a servile war. However, it is not fair at any time to criticise an after-serenade speech. Besides the approval of the Governors and serenaders, the

New York Republican State Convention expresses profound satisfaction.

But how can we find out the real feeling of the North with regard to the proclamation? The press is muzzled; the liberty of speech, as well as the liberty of the press, is gone. No man who is not ready to be immured in a cell for months without trial will express an opinion against any act of the Government. Still, there are two circumstances which enable us to form an estimate of the public sentiment.

Two days after the proclamation was issued, "President Lincoln suspended the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and declared martial law throughout the United States with respect to all persons arrested for aiding the rebellion, or hindering the draft." That is, he has placed the personal liberty of every citizen of the United States at the disposal of the military, for any one may be arrested and kept in prison without trial, upon the charge of aiding the rebellion, or hindering the draft. Why was this done? To place the entire country under martial law is a bold proceeding, seeing there is no invasion or revolution in the Northern States. Mr. Lincoln had heard of, or feared, active opposition to his proclamation, and by making the personal liberty of his subjects contingent upon his nod or favour, he seeks to strike terror into the hearts of those who might dare to oppose him. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the declaration of martial law throughout the United States, is a proof that the project of a servile war in the South is by no means universally popular.

Another sign of the measure not commanding confidence is the panic in Wall-street. On the evening of Sept. 22 (before the proclamation was issued) gold was 17½ premium; on the evening of Sept. 29, seven days later, gold was 23½ premium. The *Journal of Commerce* expresses the opinion of the mercantile community when it suggests that the proclamation can only lead to a continuation of the war.

The *New York Herald*, though obliged to assent to the action of the Government, counsels a remodeling of the Cabinet.

The *Louisville Journal* declares, though the assurance was hardly necessary, that Kentucky will never acquiesce in President Lincoln's proclamation.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, has offered the following resolution in the Confederate House of Representatives:—

Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States of America, That the signal success with which Divine Providence has so continuously blessed our arms for several months past would fully justify the Confederate Government in dispatching a commissioner or commissioners to the Government at Washington city, empowered to propose the terms of a just and honourable peace.

This was before the issue of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation.

The war news that has come to hand this week is of a less exciting character than usual. It certainly disposes of the alleged Federal triumphs. We learn from Southern sources that the Confederates at Antietam Creek numbered 60,000 men. Not only did the Confederates retire in perfect order, but a portion of the army remained in Maryland for some time after the main body had crossed the Potomac. Nor have the Federals been able to follow their enemy. The report of their crossing the river was false; they made several attempts to do so, but were repulsed. At the latest date, McClellan was reported to be constructing a pontoon-bridge, to enable his army to pass into Virginia.

The detailed accounts of the surrender of Harper's Ferry, and the quantity of booty taken, proves that the capture of that place was well worth the expedition into Maryland; and it is also manifest, but for that movement, which drew McClellan's forces from the support of Harper's Ferry, it could not have been captured with such a small force and without loss. The Southern journals state that the Confederates took forty-six pieces of artillery. The Federal General White has been placed under arrest, pending an investigation of the circumstances attending the surrender of Harper's Ferry.

The Confederates are reported to have destroyed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad between Harper's Ferry and Cumberland.

The detailed accounts of the battle of the 17th are sickening. They leave little doubt that 30,000 were killed and wounded.

According to Northern accounts of the surrender of Mumfordsville, the Confederates captured about 4000 Federal soldiers.

The following is reported *via* New York:—

The Federal General Rosecranz defeated the Confederates under General Price, at Juka, Mississippi, on Sept. 19. The Federal loss was estimated at between 4000 and 5000 killed and wounded; that of the Confederates was believed to be heavier. General Price was retreating southward.

The reports as to General Bragg's movements are contradictory. Some assert that he was about to attack Louisville, and others that, in conjunction

with General Kirby Smith, he would first encounter General Buell's army. The Confederates were within a few miles of Louisville.

The Governor of Louisiana has threatened General Butler with retaliation if the misconduct of the Federal troops should be continued outside the limits of the city of New Orleans. General Butler replied that if the threat was carried out he should also retaliate. We do not doubt it. The Federal Commander is quite capable of wreaking his vengeance on women and defenceless citizens. We also learn by telegraph that—

At New Orleans General Butler has ordered all foreigners to present themselves, with the evidence of their nationality, to the nearest Provost-Marshal to be registered, as in the course of ten days it may be necessary to distinguish disloyal from loyal citizens, and honest neutral foreigners.

What is to be done to the "disloyal" is not stated. Are they to be murdered as was Mr. Mumford?

It is said that naval expeditions are fitting out at Port Royal and Pensacola, and that the Federals intend to attack the forts of Mobile. These are merely rumours.

The Governor of New York State issued an order for a draft of 40,000 men, or at least 10,000, to make up the President's call for 300,000 men. Bounties of £90 and even £100 have not been sufficient to attract recruits; yet it is reported that a further draft will be ordered to bring the Federal army up to 1,000,000 men. Certain it is that but a remnant of the old 700,000 men remains; and a large levy will be required to make up a million. One enthusiast at a war meeting proposed to raise 3,000,000 men, and settle the affair.

We shall be curious to see whether Messrs. Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips, who are always preaching bloodshed, will, in the face of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, still skulk at home whilst the victims of their fanaticism are perishing in the field.

The last Northern reports state that the army is going into winter quarters, and that the measure has been strongly denounced by the Federal press.

We also learn that:—

General Davis shot General Nelson, commanding at Louisville, killing him instantly. The affair occurred through a personal dispute at Gathouse.

ENGLAND.

The weekly increase of pauperism in the distressed districts has again reached 6000. Of this amount Manchester contributes 1000, and Ashton-under-Lyne 1100. There are 800 new paupers in Blackburn. The total number is now above 190,000: representing probably 150,000 pauperized, and 100,000 more thrown out of work, by the American blockade. President Lincoln and his Cabinet have much to answer for before God and man; and "the bill" which, according to Mr. Hosea Biglow, will be sent by Heaven to the individual citizens of every nation engaged in a war of aggression, will be heavy enough in this case to appal even the conscience of an American—accustomed as he is to gigantic figures.

The Lord Mayor's Committee received last week £3200, and distributed £3000.

There exists in Manchester an Association with the special object of procuring the abolition of the Indian import duty on cotton, cloth, and yarn, which amounts to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, and which is supposed by some persons to operate injuriously against the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire. This Society has just published a letter on the subject, which it has elicited from Mr. Laing. That gentleman very properly regards the question from an Indian point of view. If the duty is beneficial to India, it ought to be retained, whether or no it be agreeable to Manchester; if its repeal would serve the interests of the Indian population, and is compatible with the necessities of the Indian Treasury, it ought to be repealed, even though Manchester had no interest in the matter. Now, the Indian Government is not in a condition to part with half a million of money, which is the actual produce of the tax. It cannot, with due regard to the safety and quiet of the empire, reduce the large European force which is at present kept there; it cannot diminish its civil expenditure; it cannot obtain from the Home Government a fairer adjustment of the burdens which are shared between them. It cannot diminish expenditure; it cannot hope for a large increase of revenue; and, if it could, the cotton duty is not the first which ought to be reduced or abolished. There is the income-tax, imposed for five years, which is endured with patience only in the belief that at the end of that time it will cease. In this country, much as the income-tax is detested, it serves to adjust the burden of taxation fairly, and is not likely to be done away with. But in India it works ill, and ought as soon as possible to be dispensed with. There is also an export duty of 3 per cent. on rice, which is exceedingly objectionable in principle; and the rice grower has a

claim to relief prior to that of the English manufacturer. Moreover, if the duty on cotton manufactures, which is only 5 per cent, were reduced or repealed, there would be an immediate demand for the repeal of other duties, also levied on English manufactures, which are as high as 10 per cent; and this would involve a loss to the Indian Exchequer of above £2,000,000 sterling per annum, which it could not possibly endure. The only possible reason for giving a preference to the cotton manufacturer must be sought in the fact that there is a native competition with his wares, which is in some sense protected by this duty. Now the manufacturer in India already enjoys a valuable natural protection, which gives him a considerable advantage to counterbalance the inferiority of labour and dearth of capital in that country. He buys his cotton and sells his cloth without having to pay for either the freight between England and India, and he has, therefore, a protection to the amount of the double freight. Mr. Laing admits that it is hard to add to this protection that of a 5 per cent. customs duty. He might also have said that, as it is not the desire of the Indian Government to foster Indian manufactures at the expense of English, and as the revenue will fall off in proportion as the duty has that effect, whenever the tariff becomes seriously injurious to the English manufacturer, it will have ceased to be the interest of the Indian Government to maintain it. But he concludes with a rather curious suggestion. It is the interest of India to maintain the duty. It is said to be the interest of England to abolish it. Then let England offer an equivalent. About £70,000,000 will be required, from first to last, for the completion of the railways now in progress or in prospect in our Eastern dominions; and on this capital the Indian Government has guaranteed interest at 5 per cent. Let the English Government guarantee only 4 per cent.; that interest, with the Imperial security, will be amply sufficient, and the Indian Exchequer will be relieved from a liability to the extent of 1 per cent., or £700,000 a year; the English Exchequer will incur no risk, for the railways are certain to pay more than 4 per cent.; and the cotton duty might then be repealed. There are not a few persons, we may remark, who would go further than Mr. Laing, and guarantee the whole of the Indian debt, hereby saving India at least a million a year of actual expenditure. If India were lost to us, we should practically have to pay her debt; and therefore we risk nothing by a formal undertaking to do so, while we enable her to borrow at 3½ instead of 5 per cent. We cannot pretend to guess how Mr. Laing's proposition will be received in Manchester, but we do not think that it will find general favour in England.

Last Sunday witnessed a renewal of the Garibaldi-Papist riot in Hyde Park. This time there were three parties to the affray—the Garibaldists, the Irish, and the police. The former began the quarrel, inasmuch as if they had not attempted to renew their meeting the Irish would have had no opportunity of displaying their pugnacity, and no mischief would have been done. But, except in being present at all, they were the least to blame of all concerned. They were endeavouring to hold their adjourned meeting, when a mass of Irish labourers attacked and drove them from the mound which served for a platform. Aided by about a dozen soldiers, the Garibaldists became in their turn the assailants; and it then appeared that the Irish were armed with heavy sticks, which gave them a fearful and very cowardly advantage. They were beaten, however, in spite of their superiority both in numbers and weapons, and several times routed by their antagonists. The soldiers behaved well; they fought fairly, and did not attempt to use their arms. One Italian used a knife, but no other of the party followed the example. At last a small body of troops were sent to bring in the military truants, and these cleared the mound and kept possession until the police relieved them. The conduct of the police was utterly inexplicable, and in the last degree disgraceful—we speak not of the men, who obeyed orders, but of those who gave them orders to do nothing. 400 men were in the park—a force amply sufficient to have dispersed the assemblage, and prevented any serious disturbance; but they confined themselves to making isolated arrests. Sir George Grey, probably, deserves the credit of this piece of management. On a previous occasion he ordered the police to disperse a peaceable meeting with brutal violence; and the severe censures which his misconduct on that occasion provoked seem to have determined him for the future to let the rabble have their way. The office of Home Secretary is really of sufficient importance to be filled by a man of some degree of capacity and common sense—but, during his whole official career, its present occupant never displayed either the moral courage or the practical judgment which are absolutely required by the duties of the post. The most unaccountable pardons that ever

purported to emanate from the mercy of the Crown have evinced his utter want of firmness; the most extraordinary acts of administrative perversity, of which any Minister was ever guilty have demonstrated his unseasonable obstinacy. But his name covers a multitude of sins; and while his party remains in office, no one hopes that a Whig so highly connected will suffer the penalty of his imbecility and wrongheadedness, in the shape of exclusion from further opportunities of mischief.

Mr. Gladstone has been *fileted* at Newcastle, and delivered a rather remarkable speech. He glorified the French Treaty, under which our total exports to France have risen from nine and a-half to twenty-one millions sterling, and our exports of British produce and manufactures from four and three-quarters to ten and a-half millions. He expressed his admiration of the conduct of the Lancashire operatives, under the severe distress inflicted on them by the American blockade. On the great topic of the day, he spoke as follows:—

"I for one, exercising my own poor faculties as I best could have never felt that England had any reason connected with her own special interests for desiring the disruption of the American Union. I can understand those who say that it is for the general interest of nations that no State should swell to the dimensions of a continent. I can very well understand the arguments of those who think that it is not particularly to be desired, in the interests of the negro race, that the American Union should be reconstituted. But I confess that, for reasons which I need not now explain, I do not think that England has had any interest in the disruption of the Union, and my own private opinion has been that it would be rather for the interest of England if that Union had continued. I am aware that that is not the opinion generally entertained, but at any rate we must all feel that the course which Her Majesty's Ministers have endeavoured to pursue—namely, that of maintaining a strict neutrality,—has been a right course, and has expressed the general sense of the community. Where two parties are greatly exasperated with one another it is not at all unlikely that he who desires to maintain a strict neutrality between them will offend both, because the state of mind in which his conduct will be judged of by either is not one in which you can fairly expect from them perfectly impartial conclusions. But what we may expect is that our honest observance of neutrality up to this date will be recognized after this unhappy struggle shall have ceased, and when all the circumstances shall be calmly reviewed. (Hear.) I must confess, however, that it appears to me that if either party has a right to find fault with us it is the Confederate rather than the Federal party. If we have deviated at all from neutrality, our deviation has been against the Confederates, and not in their favour. The course we have taken has been this:—We have preserved a perfect neutrality, but we have permitted the export of arms and warlike stores. We permitted it to both parties,—to the Confederates, whose ports were blockaded, and to the Northerners, who have been able to import whatever arms and stores they pleased. (Hear, hear.) I believe that that course has been right and just, and the statement of the fact proves that at any rate we have not had a bias influencing the policy of this country against any fair claim to consideration on the part of the Northern States. (Hear.) But now, gentlemen, I would for a moment make an appeal to you on behalf of the people of the Northern States—I mean so far as regards our appreciation of their position. Great allowances are to be made for them. Greater allowances are to be made for heat and exaggeration in the state of public opinion in that country under present circumstances than perhaps could ever before fairly be claimed for any other nation. Only consider what their previous history has been. They have never drunk the bitter cup of misfortune, disappointment, and mortification. They have had but to will that a thing should be done, and it was done. Their course has been a course of prosperity and advancement without example and without a single break. Well, it is not in human nature that a people who have been subjected to an experience so flattering and so soothing to human self-love as that should at once learn with a perfect good grace to accommodate and submit themselves to the necessities of their condition. It is easy for us to do so when we suffer. We have suffered before. We have gone through the very agonies of this dismemberment against which the Northern people of the United States are now striving. We have gone through it and now know that it was not a bad thing for us after all. (Hear, hear.) But they have not gone through it, and I say let us bear with them all we can; let us maintain towards them a kindly temper; let us not allow ourselves to feel the smallest irritation when we see ourselves adversely criticized on the other side of the water; and let us be very cautious about indulging in adverse criticisms upon them on this side of the water. Depend upon it that that course, steadily pursued, will bear its reward. We know quite well that the people of the Northern States have not yet drunk of the cup—they are still trying to hold it far from their lips—the cup which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of. We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation. (Loud cheers.) I cannot say that I have viewed with any regret their failure to establish themselves in Maryland. It appears to me too probable that if they had been able to establish themselves there the consequences of their military success in that aggressive movement would have been that a political party favourable to them would have obtained power in that State, that they would have contracted actual or virtual engagements with that political party, and that the existence of those engagements, hampering them in their future negotiations with the Northern States, might have created a new obstacle to peace. (Hear.) Now, from the bottom of our hearts we should desire that no new obstacle to peace should start up. We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States so far as regards their separation from the North. (Hear, hear.) I cannot but believe that that event is as certain as any event yet future and contingent can be. (Hear, hear.) But it is from feeling that that great event is likely to happen, and that the North will have to suffer that mortification, that I earnestly hope that Englishmen will do nothing to inflict additional shame, sorrow, or pain upon those who have already suffered much, and who will probably have to suffer more. (Hear.) It may be that a time might arrive

when it would be the duty of Europe to offer the word of expostulation or friendly aid towards composing the quarrel. If it be even possible that such a time should arrive, how important that when that word is spoken it should address itself to minds not embittered by the recollection that unkind things have been said and done towards them in Europe, and, above all, in England, the country which, however they may find fault with it from time to time, has we know the highest place in their admiration and esteem. (Cheers.)

Speeches to the same effect have been delivered by Mr. Locke King, and Mr. Alcock, the Liberal members for Surrey.

The *Times* of Saturday reported the proceedings of the meeting of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Society, under the presidency of Lord Auckland, Bishop of the Diocese. Attention was called by the Right Rev. Chairman to the superiority of French popular education over that of England, both in regard to quantity and to cheapness. The Report of the Society was read. It contained some severe reflections on the recent measures of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, which were evidently devised in a spirit of hostility to the Established Church. Grants for Church schools had been refused to parishes where it was shown that large Dissenting schools existed. Attempts had been made to force on Church schools what is called a "conscience clause," which would enable the parents of children attending such schools to exclude from the school course of study the Catechism of the Church, and practically all religious teaching whatever. The mingled, alarm, dislike, and contempt which Mr. Lowe has excited among all the friends of religious education found strong expression in the Report and in the speeches of both lay and clerical orators.

Mr. Herman Merivale C. B., one of the highest permanent officers of the Colonial Department, has read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, now sitting at Cambridge, a very valuable paper on the utility of colonization. He explains the great importance of emigration to a country so densely peopled as the United Kingdom; the value of the security given to the emigrant by the protection afforded to the colony by the mother country, and the consequent encouragement given to the diffusion of a population which, if pent up at home, might become miserable, discontented, and dangerous. The essay affords a complete though indirect reply to the extravagant theories of Mr. Goldwin Smith and other politicians of the same materialist school.

The *Iona*, a fine iron steamship, well known to Highland tourists when she plied between Glasgow and the north-west coast of Scotland, was some time ago purchased by persons favourable to the Confederate cause, for the purpose of running the blockade. She left Glasgow on Thursday, and proceeded to Gourrock Bay to adjust her compasses previously to her departure for America. She was there run into by the Chanticleer, a fine new vessel which was returning from her trial trip preparatory to going out to her station in China. The Chanticleer first grazed with her starboard the right paddle-box of the *Iona*, then struck her about a dozen feet nearer the stern, carrying away her after funnel and mainmast and cutting her right through the centre, to within two feet of her left side. The collision took place at ten minutes past 7, and the two vessels remained in contact for half an hour, hanging to each other. It was apparent, however, from the damage done to the *Iona* that she would soon sink. Accordingly the whole of the crew were removed to the Chanticleer, and the two vessels were then separated. Not long afterwards the *Iona* went down in water 150 feet deep. She was heavily laden with stores for the Confederate Government. The damage done to the Chanticleer was inconsiderable.

EUROPE.

ITALY.—Garibaldi and his followers have been amnestied, nominally at the request of the Princesses Clotilda and Maria Pia. The deserters from the Royal army are excepted. This is hard measure. Those who deserted to join the Italian hero in 1860 won not merely pardon, but glory; those who committed the same fault in 1862 might reasonably plead their example, and hope at least for mercy.

Conforti, Minister of Grace and Justice, has resigned, and Ratazzi fills his post *ad interim*. The resignation is attributed to a motive highly creditable to the ex-Minister. Many judicial appointments in Sicily had been given, as was only just, to Garibaldians or extreme Liberals. After Aspromonte, the Cabinet proposed to get rid of these men, not on any charge of misconduct, but simply on account of their opinions. Conforti held that judicial offices are non-political; and refused to sanction the very dangerous precedent of dismissing a magistrate on merely political grounds. We do not vouch for the truth of this story; but as the amnesty, of which he was a staunch advocate, has been conceded, we know of no other reason for

Signor Conforti's resignation than that above stated.

Signor Mazzini, for a few months Triumvir of Rome, and for thirty years the prophet of Italian unity, has just published a letter in which, in the name of the Republican or National party, he repudiates all further alliance with, or allegiance to, the Italian Monarchy. The letter is very long; full of that eloquent declamation in which Italians exceed all other nations, and in which the writer surpasses all other Italians; but its purport may be told in a very few words. The Monarchy has done nothing for Italy. Central Italy was revolutionized and annexed by the people. Sicily and Naples were won by the party of action, under the leadership of Garibaldi. Under the same leadership, Rome and Venice would ere now have been won, if Monarchy, crouching to the foreigner, had not stopped the way. The Royal bullet that wounded Garibaldi has severed the last tie between the Crown and the nation, and the party of action is free to take its own course, without or against the Royal Government. Signor Mazzini is not quite accurate as to facts; and in his speculations as to what might have been done, he is utterly regardless of possibilities. The sad, terrible lesson, expressed by the first Napoleon in the celebrated phrase that "Providence is always on the side of the heaviest battalions," is one which he is unable to learn, even after repeated experience of its truth. The Austrian Quadrilateral, which is to fall before the moral force of an awakened people, defied that moral force when embodied in the armies and expressed by the artillery of France and of Piedmont. The French, who are to be driven from Rome by a popular uprising instigated by Mazzini and headed by Garibaldi, proved themselves strong enough, fourteen years ago, to take Rome from the Government of which the former was the chief, and from the army of which the latter was the general. Believing intensely in the justice of Heaven, the Italian exile forgets, not only that he is not an infallible interpreter of the Divine will, but also that Divine justice is proverbially tardy in its operation. Heaven is *patiens quia aternus*; Mazzini is one of the most impatient of mortal men. He despairs of and renounces the Kingdom of Italy because it has not in two years possessed itself of two provinces defended by two of the greatest military Powers in the world. Cannot his very intensity of faith teach him patience? Cannot the terrible calamities which have resulted from his own precipitancy teach him to tolerate the slow and cautious steps of those who have taken his task out of his hands? Is there, in very truth, something in long exile which deprives men of the power to understand not only the affairs of their own country, but the teachings of history, the warnings of experience, and the universal "logic of facts?" Are the leaders of Italian liberalism, in the field and in the council, doomed to afford one more memorable and melancholy instance of the well-known "*Quem Deus vult perdere*?"

BELGIUM.—The *Independance Belge* stated that the command of the Northern armies had been offered by President Lincoln to General Changarnier, and refused by him. The General has contradicted the story. We cannot but think that the North has in General McClellan as good a Commander-in-chief as it is likely to find. It is more gratifying to national vanity to depreciate generals than to confess to want of soldierly quality in their armies; but we doubt whether the best of European officers could win great victories with the Federal troops.

The Prussian Chamber of Deputies, by an overwhelming majority, has approved the resolution submitted to it by the Committee on the Budget, demanding the immediate presentation of the Budget of 1863, and declaring the expenditure by Ministers of money not voted by the Chambers to be unconstitutional. Amendments were moved, in the hope of bringing about a compromise, but without success.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, October 8.

Our last report left the market in a quiet state, which lasted till Saturday, the sales each day ranging from 2000 to 3000 bales; Surats, owing to the large quantities coming on the market, were rather easier, but American and long-stapled cotton were firm. At noon, on Saturday, the Australasian was telegraphed off Queenstown, and her news arrived at 4 p.m. Great excitement was created, when it became known that Lincoln had issued a proclamation for the abolition of slavery in all the rebellious States, after January 1, 1863—the most diverse opinions were expressed, as to its probable effect on the cotton market, many persons believed that it would lead to another rush of speculation, and a large and rapid advance, considering it fatal to all hopes of conciliation or compromise; others, again, regarded it as the precursor of discussions in the North which would split up the Union, and thus accelerate

a peace. Some few hundred bales were sold in the afternoon after the news arrived, at rather higher prices.

On Monday, the market opened with a very unsettled feeling, many persons expecting a business of 20,000 or 30,000 bales, while others thought it would scarcely hold its ground. As the day went on, however, it became evident that a fresh current of speculation had been started, though not so strong as the sanguine had expected; the sales summed up 10,000 bales at $\frac{1}{4}$ advance for Surats, and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for American, for which the demand was very lively. Yesterday a good steady business was done, reaching 7,000 bales at full prices. To-day the "Bohemian" news are to hand announcing that the Convention of Governors at Altoona had endorsed President Lincoln's proclamation, thereby lessening the chance of dissension breaking out in the North. The news gave increased tone to the market, and prices are again rather dearer, the demand running chiefly on good Surats; the sales reached 10,000 bales and quotations may be given as follows:—28 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Middling Orleans, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Mobile, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Bowed, 22d. for Fair Sawginned Surats, 19d. for Broach, 18d. for Omrawuttee, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Dhollerah, and 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Comptah. For Cotton to arrive there has been a good demand, and 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. is freely offered for Fair Dhollerahs due within the next two months, and 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for Broach.

It is not to be denied that the news recently received from America is of the deepest importance. It has become the fashion with a large portion of the English press to treat in a flippant, sarcastic tone every measure emanating from the Northern Government, and they have done their best to ridicule this last movement as futile and unavailing. This view has been hastily adopted by many persons, imperfectly acquainted with American politics, and thus a very erroneous impression has been diffused among commercial circles of the true import of this measure. But those who are most intimately acquainted with the character of the revolution that is now running its course in America, take a very different view of the subject. To them it is a step of vital importance, and carries with it consequences appalling to contemplate. There is too much ground for believing that it marks the triumph of the extreme anti-slavery party, and the irrevocable commitment of the North, to a war of abolition, with all its fearful concomitants. The fact that sixteen governors of the Free States have heartily endorsed the proclamation of Lincoln, sufficiently shows that he will have the support of the influential part of the Northern people; and though there is sure to be much dissatisfaction among the democratic party and the wealthy commercial class, who have thriven on the Southern trade, it seems very unlikely that it will be able to offer effectual resistance to the policy just inaugurated.

It is hardly possible now to see what basis for negotiation remains between North and South. The former has undertaken to destroy that institution which the South clings to as the very life-blood of its system. It has initiated a policy which, if successful, will kindle the flames of servile war, and involve the Southern States in indescribable anarchy and bloodshed. With such a prospect before them, it may be expected that the hitherto of the Confederates will pass all bounds, and the war will become tenfold more bloodthirsty than before.

Hitherto, the manufacturing interest has been buoyed up by the hope of the re-opening of the Southern trade—not greatly impaired in value—but now it is needful to face the dismal contingency of its possible extinction.

It may be expected that when the gravity of the crisis is fully appreciated, another period of great excitement will supervene in the markets for cotton and cotton goods.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, October 7.

We have again to report another week of extreme dullness in our yarn and cloth market, for notwithstanding the small rate of production in these staples, stocks are very little, if at all, lower than they were a month ago.

In ordinary times when the demand is slow, holders, as a rule, are inclined to accept offers a little under quotations, but at present there is not the slightest disposition shown to give way on the part of any one but to wait for a better demand, which is generally thought must set in soon, owing to the probability of the American struggle being prolonged.

Export yarns have been less enquired for than usual, especially those qualities suitable for the Continent, our German friends asserting that there is a general disposition at present on the part of their clients to close their works for a time, the present state of things being very unsatisfactory to them.

Home trade yarns continue very firm, but the amount of business done in them has been very small.

Cloth of all kinds continue to be held for extreme quotations, as the amount of production has been reduced to a very low ebb, and it is reported here that in Ashton-under-Lyne, there will not be one hundred looms at work, after the expiration of another week.

To day there have been enquiries for some of the inferior makes of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. shirtings, for which 17s. 6d. was offered, but we hear of no sales.

The general tone of to-day's market has disappointed many who expected to find a better business doing, in consequence of the President's proclamation (brought us by the Australasian) tending to the inducement of a belief that the Federals do not in tend to relax in their endeavours to subdue the South, during the next three months at least.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

PRIVATE LETTERS.

The following letter has been forwarded to us from Liverpool. It is written by a well informed gentleman residing in New York:—

New York, Sept. 23.

As I write, we have very little additional from the "victorious" army of McClellan. The victories were capped on Saturday by a rumour that "Stonewall," with his entire army, had surrendered themselves as prisoners; but as there don't seem to be any great fuss in the papers over this most important event, I incline to the belief that the report must be premature, and that the "Dare-devil," as the *World* calls him, is not yet ready to surrender.

There is another report not confirmed, and that is the one asserting that the Federals have crossed the Potomac in pursuit of the rebels, and that there was every probability of their being pursued to the doors of Richmond, which the Federals would enter as conquerors. The Federals under Porter, who commanded the only column not in the awful battles of Tuesday and Wednesday, did attempt in all their fresh strength to follow the wary foe, but no sooner had the Federals landed on Virginian soil than they were driven back across the Potomac into Maryland, thoroughly defeated.

Here ends the pursuit of the rebels for the present, and a writer, in reviewing the eventful week, speaks only the truth when he says, "The rebels have suffered but little at our hands, and, counting in the moral annihilation of 12,000 of our troops at Harper's Ferry, we can scarcely claim a victory. Lee's retreat over the Potomac was a masterpiece, and the manner in which he combined Hill and Jackson for the envelopment of Harper's Ferry, while he checked our columns at Hagerstown Heights and Crampton Gap, is probably the best achievement of the war." Another writer says, "During their march into Virginia the Confederates saved all their trains, and lost but two guns, one of which they spiked." But why was not the "audacious and insolent" enemy pursued? The truth is out. The Administration had not men enough for the undertaking! Beaten, dispirited, demoralized, and starved, as the rebel army was said to have been, the great North had not the men to follow the "ragamuffins" up; and what would really have been a victory (the bagging or capture of a large portion of the army) was not accomplished.

Halleck, it is said, was uncertain how to act. The crossing of the Potomac may have been all in the rebel programme for an attack upon Washington *via* Arlington, and not a man around the capital must leave his post until the enemy lets a little daylight upon his plans and purposes. The rebels lead the way, and the *grand armee* of the North follows!

Many persons have supposed that there was an immense army around Washington independent of McClellan's troops. Such is not the case. The large number of reinforcements that are said to have been arriving were in fancy only, and Halleck himself told a distinguished person a few days since that the reason why the rebel army was allowed to leave Maryland was because the Government had not troops enough to prevent it. The renewal of Wednesday's terrible struggle, on Thursday, by the Federals, was also not attempted for fear of defeat, as McClellan had not men enough to risk another encounter.

Report says the Governors of the Northern States are holding the troops back—but why is this? They (the Governors) are to meet in convention to-morrow to "deliberate upon the condition of affairs," and meanwhile the troops raised under the last call are withheld. That there is something in the wind is apparent, but to know what that something is we must wait the proceedings of the convention.

From Kentucky we hear that the victorious Bragg was believed to be marching upon Louisville, and the general in command of that city had ordered all the women and children to leave immediately; Jefferson Ferry had been seized for military purposes, the stores were closed, and the work of preparation for defence was everywhere visible. Buell is said to be after Bragg, but if so, he leaves Morgan in Cumberland Gap at the mercy of the foe, and cut off from help from any quarter. It is evident we shall soon have stirring times from this section. Some have thought that Bragg would never dare to have attacked Louisville (a city of 70,000 inhabitants), and they still think he will not; but his friends say that this city was down in his memoranda of operations, and if so, he will undoubtedly try the movement on.

The vessel that ran the blockade at Mobile on the 4th proves to have been the *Ovieto*, under command of Captain Bullock. Captain Bullock is just the man for such lucky hits, as he knows every wave of the Southern waters, and what he undertakes is done. Commander Preble, who failed to "sink or capture" the rebel craft, has been cashiered, though there are hundreds of cases of a far greater dereliction of duty, wherein the offender has not even been censured. There is a report that a vigorous attack will shortly be made upon Mobile; but the latest advices we have from there (5th inst.) assert that her citizens are ready, and that they will defend the place to the last—if need be, to the sacrifice of every life. Nothing more is said of the reported attack upon Charleston, and it was doubtless a canard.

An incident that will attract attention is the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln freeing all the slaves in the rebellious States on the 1st of January, 1863. Startling, is it not? Very; yet of no more real consequence than the old buttons on a cast-off pair of breeches. The better policy would be first to secure the cage, and then the bird; but, perhaps, this they intend to do. They will have to be more fortunate, however, than they were last week, when, during the flush of battle, a despatch was sent—"Lee and Jackson will be captured to-morrow!" But were they? They have since spoken for themselves.

So with the rebellious States; the Federals must not be too sure that they will "occupy and possess" them all by the New Year, and without this occupation, in all their length and breadth, this proclamation is a mere waste of breath—not worth the paper it is written upon. To think of dealing with a matter over which one has no control is regarded as little better than madness; yet the Washington authorities imagine themselves capable of liberating 4,000,000 human beings, upon whom they have not the slightest claim. They will be laughed at by all sensible men at the North, while in the South the proclamation will receive only ridicule and contempt. They will defy its words, and scorn its threats.

Slavery is entirely a local institution of the States, and the Northern Government has no more right to meddle with it

than 1 have to transfer Lord Palmerston's property to the Emperor Napoleon.

We have New Orleans' advices to the 13th. The political news is of no consequence.

In this market cotton is, for the moment, dull, and nominally 54 to 55, for middling. Gold higher and quoted at 18 prem.; Exchange at London, 29½ to 30.

NEW ORLEANS MARKETS.

[From the *National Advocate*, September 13.]

There were no arrivals of produce reported yesterday from the coast, other than two or three small droghers. The stock of sugar declines daily, and the supply of molasses is much reduced. Without sugar, without cotton, and no tobacco arriving, what has our community to give in exchange for Northern productions and Western produce? Where is our basis for business? Not even the ordinary articles of tar and rosia are there a dozen dray loads in the city.

A very large portion of the receipts of Western produce and provisions from the North, particularly flour, pork, beef, bacon and grain, consist of an accumulation of old, inferior, unmerchantable and mixed lots, apparently remnants that have long been in store and excluded from the market by the regular trade. The supply of sugar and molasses is light and with a fair demand prices have tended in favour of sellers, while freights have continued dull and ruled at still lower rates.

SUGAR.—The supply is light and meeting with a fair demand, firmer prices have been realized, the sales embracing about 350 hhds. in several lots at 9c. for Low Fair, 9½ for Fully Fair, 9½ for Prime and 4½c. per lb. for Cistern Bottoms.

MOLASSES.—The supply is light and with a good demand prices have advanced. About 1000 barrels sold in several lots at 25c. for Fermenting in store, 31c. for Prime Plantation Fermenting and 34½ to 35c. for Choice Reboiled.

FLOUR.—Good Superfine to Choice Extra is selling slowly in a retail way at \$5 to \$7 per barrel. 500 barrels sour sold to-day at \$4 37½c. per barrel.

CORN.—We heard of no sales by the regular trade to-day. The last reported were at 65 to 70c. at wholesale and 85c. per bushel at retail.

OATS.—We have heard of no sales of any amount to-day. The last reported were at 70c. at wholesale and 85c. per bushel at retail.

BRAN.—The last retail sales reported were at \$2 60c. per 100 lbs. A day or two since a lot of Inferior sold at auction at \$1 80c.

CHEESE.—Northern may be quoted at the reduced rates of 12½ to 13c. per lb. at wholesale and 15c. at retail. 264 boxes Northern sold at auction at 9 to 11c. per lb.

BUTTER.—The supply is very light; it is retailing at 30c. per lb. 216 firkins sold at auction at 23 to 24c. per lb.

WHISKY.—Rectified is retailing at \$1 50c. to \$1 75c. and that mixed with Louisiana rum at \$1 to \$1 20c. per gallon. 10 barrels Old Rectified sold at auction at \$1 60c. per gallon.

LARD.—We have heard of no sales to-day. Prime in kegs is selling at wholesale at 16c. and retailing at 17 to 18c. per lb. Twenty-six tierces sold at auction at 13c. and 23 barrels at 14½c. per lb.

BEEF.—Good Northern, in half-barrels, is held by dealers at \$14. 92 barrels sold at auction at \$10 50c. to \$13 per barrel.

HAY.—Good Northern may be quoted at wholesale at \$40 to \$42 per ton. It is retailing at \$50; 111 bales sold at auction at \$41 per ton.

PORK.—We have heard of no private sales of any moment to-day. 50 barrels of Mess sold at auction at \$15 37½ per barrel.

BACON.—We quote at wholesale 5 to 6½c. for Shoulders and Sides, and 10 to 12c. for Sugar Cured Hams; at retail 7 to 8c. for the former and 12 to 15c. per lb. for the latter; 214 tierces Shoulders sold in lots at auction at 4½ to 6c. and 6½ to 6¾c. and 105 tierces Sugar Cured Hams at 9 to 10 and 11½c. per lb.

COFFEE.—The supply is light and in few hands. Rio is retailing at 25 to 30c. and Java at 35 to 40c. per lb.

FREIGHTS.—There is a limited business doing at \$2 50c. per hhd. of Sugar on sailing vessels for Northern ports, and \$1 50c. per barrel for Molasses; \$16 per hhd. of Tobacco for Havre at which rate a vessel was taken; 50 shillings per ton for Oil Cake to Liverpool, and \$65 per 1000 for staves for Bordeaux.

In addition to the above stated articles the following were sold at auction: 460 barrels Potatoes at \$4 75c. to \$5 and \$6 50c. per barrel; 35 barrels Eggs, 65 to 75 dozen to the barrel, at \$10 50c. to \$12 per barrel; 50 barrels Onions at \$10 25c., and 120 barrels Corn Meal, at \$3 per barrel; 10 barrels Beans at \$3 75c. to \$4 25c. per bushel; 300 boxes Soap, at \$4 75c. to \$5; and 50 boxes Lemons, at \$7 to \$7 50c. per box; 350 boxes Starch, at 9½ to 10½ and 13½c. per lb.; 200 dozen Brooms at \$2 85c. to \$3 10c. per dozen, and 20 half-barrels Shad, at \$3 50c. per half-barrel.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, September 23.

Very great alarm prevails in Wall Street, in consequence of the enormous amount of Government scrip of the various kinds now afloat. Mr. Chase seems to be filling up every channel of credit, and there will soon be an overflow. The bankers and money brokers until recently discounted freely contractors' bills, with Federal securities as collateral, but they have taken fright, and seem indisposed to continue such operations. Every holder of "green backs" is desirous of changing them for something that has value, and hence the rise in railway and other stocks, while United States loans are neglected. Mr. Chase's interest-paying securities cannot fall below par, so long as the inconvertible legal tender notes circulate, but all other stocks and bonds must appreciate during the temporary period of inflation, until the force of circumstances brings specie again into use as currency. Exchange and gold are advancing in value, and, to hazard a suggestion, it may be stated that the steamer leaving here on October 4, will carry out quo-

tations for the former of 40 and for the latter of 30 per cent. The Federal interest due in specie on November 1, is \$7,000,000, and it is likely that the high rate of premium will cause the authorities of Washington to prohibit the exportation of the precious metals.

The collection of Federal taxes is postponed until January 1, when, probably, neither that or the emancipation scheme will go into effect.

The Democrats are gaining ground, and will, no doubt, elect a majority of their candidates in October and November.

The estimated losses in the recent battles in Maryland including Harper's Ferry, are immense on the Northern side, and on the Confederate unknown. Official reports are purposely kept back. McClellan's army is so badly cut up, that the fight cannot be renewed.

WASHINGTON, September, 23.

I wrote in my last that just as I was closing my letter we received accounts of the retirement of Lee across the Potomac. We have now full information relative to the severe battle of Wednesday last, and its results. It appears to have been a desperately contested affair. I have conversed with intelligent men who witnessed it, and it is conceded that at nightfall no advantage had been gained by either side. The losses were enormous. The Federals cannot have suffered less than 15,000 in killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Confederates is not known. Thursday was devoted to the burial of the dead, and taking care of the wounded. Friday, it was generally believed, would witness a renewal of the contest, but upon pushing forward his skirmishers, McClellan discovered that the entire body of the Confederates had safely crossed the Potomac. On Saturday McClellan made two efforts to cross the river, but was repulsed with loss. The Confederates occupy the Southern bank of the river in force, and appear determined to remain there. If Lee remains in his present attitude McClellan will not be able to go forward, and will be always threatened in his flank or rear. McClellan's army was so badly cut up in the late fight that it cannot do much, and the new regiments are not in a condition to be used to any advantage. Some of the new regiments that were carried into this late battle suffered terribly. The public are undoubtedly disappointed at the military aspect on the Upper Potomac, and the reflecting and judicious see very clearly that no essential advantage has been gained by the Federal forces, and that if Lee retreats further up the valley, he gains strength as he retires, whilst the Federals become weakened.

The news from the West is quite as important as that from Virginia. I wrote you in my last that, in my opinion, the surrender at Mumfordsville opened the way to Louisville. The public attention does not appear to have been attracted to it, but to-day we hear that Bragg and Kirby Smith are rapidly approaching the city. Nelson will meet them, and endeavour to check their advance; should he be defeated, Louisville must fall into their hands. The fate of this city will be decided within the next three days, and if captured by the Confederates, will give them the command of the valley of the Ohio. Buell is coming up from Tennessee, but he will be too late to take part in the coming fight; and if Bragg is victorious, he will then probably capture Buell's army, as the latter will have no way of escape. The capture of this large Federal force will be so severe a blow to the Government as almost to paralyze them. However, all this on my part is, at present, speculation; if, however, you hear that Louisville has been captured, you may feel pretty certain to hear afterwards that Buell's army has been either captured or dispersed.

But transcending all other events in its importance, is the proclamation just issued by the President, proclaiming general emancipation. You will find a copy of it in one of the newspapers sent you by this steamer. It does not propose to go into effect until Jan. 1, 1863, and then will not take effect in States which shall be represented in Congress. This document is one of the most important that has ever been issued by any ruler. If it could be executed it would result in all the horrors of San Domingo. It would place every woman and child in the Southern States at the mercy of the negroes; and it consigns all that rich country to ruin and desolation. I wait with anxiety to learn the opinion of Europe in reference to it. Irrespective of its inhumanity, its consequences in arresting the annual production of the great staples of commerce, must cause a revolution in all the commercial countries of the world. The manufactures of Europe, with all their affiliated and dependent interests, are threatened with a terrible peril. I write this immediately upon the publication. I have not yet heard any expression of opinion in regard to it, but I think that it must create at once decided expressions of opposing

sentiment. I believe that the Democratic party will take ground against it; and certainly it will cause the solidification and union of the people of the Border Slave States against the Federal Government. We approach an intensity of the great crisis which is upon us, and nobody can tell what each succeeding day may develop.

WASHINGTON, September 19.

We are in the midst of terrible fighting on the Upper Potomac. The contests now transpiring there far exceed in desperation and carnage any that have yet taken place. The retreat of Pope to Washington, although accompanied by severe loss and the demoralization of his army, perhaps was a disappointment to Lee, who possibly counted upon its entire capture. When the Union forces had succeeded in reaching their fortifications, and placed themselves under cover of their gunboats, they were safe. The Confederate army was now upwards of 100 miles from their base of supplies, and suffering for provisions. It, therefore, was necessary that they should get into a country where these could be obtained. It was, no doubt, under this necessity, and with a view of testing the temper and determination of the people of Maryland, as also to capture the Union forces in Northern Virginia in and around Harper's Ferry, that Lee sent forward his advancing columns across the Potomac. As you already know, these entered Frederick, and from thence went to Hagerstown, within six miles of the Pennsylvania State line. Whilst in this neighbourhood the Confederates obtained all the provisions that could be found, and sent them southward. The people of Maryland responded very feebly to the movement that had been made. The Unionists stood aloof or run away, and those who had been warmly sympathizing with the Secession movement appeared constrained and uncomfortable. The women were very demonstrative. A few recruits were obtained. In the meantime Pennsylvania had been thoroughly aroused; and 50,000 men had been concentrated to prevent any advance into the state. McClellan was coming up rapidly from Washington with an army of not less than 80,000, composed mainly of the veterans of the war. This force would soon strike in the rear of Hagerstown, and Miles was at Harper's Ferry, with 15,000 men, ready to intercept the retreat of the Confederates. The force of the latter at this time on Maryland soil was probably 30,000. Jackson and Hill now determined to abandon any further advance towards Pennsylvania, and to capture Miles at Harper's Ferry. The former therefore moved rapidly from Hagerstown to Williamsport, crossed the river into Virginia, whilst Hill came down on the Maryland side. Their advanced guard was seen on Friday coming up the Maryland heights. The possession of this position was the important point. After a desperate fight the Confederates drove away the Federal column, and then invested the Ferry completely. The fight went on all day Saturday and Sunday mainly with artillery, and the loss on either side was very trifling. Miles found that he was surrounded, and must surrender unless McClellan could come up and drive away his besiegers. On Saturday night his cavalry, about 2000 in number, managed to get away and cut their way through an unguarded point. They carried the news of his peril, and that he must surrender unless the Confederates were driven away. McClellan was now at Middletown with his army, about twenty miles from the Ferry, but between him and the Confederates was the South Mountain, which had to be crossed, and on which the Confederates were strongly posted. On Sunday he tried to cut his way through this obstacle. The position was occupied by a small force of the Confederates under Longstreet. The battle was fought all day, and at night the Federals got possession of the crest of the mountain, after severe loss, among whom was one of the best generals in the service, General Reno. On Monday morning McClellan was ready to move forward to the relief of Miles, but it was too late. At the very hour that he was ordering his army to move forward, Miles was capitulating to Hill and Jackson. This surrender has been the most important in extent of this war. The Confederates captured not only the position of Harper's Ferry, but the enormous number of 11,583 prisoners, with all their equipments, guns, ammunition, &c. Fifty pieces of artillery, some of them 20-pound Parrots, 72,000 rations and an immense amount of quartermasters' stores of every description. Miles was mortally wounded after hoisting the white flag, and has since died. The bulletin that will announce this success will scarcely have been exceeded in its military importance by any, except such as were issued by Napoleon in his earliest victories. So close, however, were McClellan's columns towards its relief, that the paroled prisoners had not marched the

miles before they were met by the Union army. The conquest of Harper's Ferry having been completed by the Confederates, the Federal troops marched towards Sharpsburg, to attack a body of the Confederates at that point. On Tuesday afternoon the armies came in sight of each other, and a battle commenced, which was desperately contested until night, and with no apparent advantage to either side. On Wednesday, Jackson came up from Harper's Ferry, and united his forces with the Confederates, whilst McClellan received a reinforcement of 30,000 men. The battle commenced at daylight, and was fought throughout the whole day. It was undoubtedly the most severely contested of all the battle-fields. We have no despatches from McClellan, and have merely to rely upon the vague and contradictory reports that come from the parties who have straggled in from the field. On Wednesday night the combatants rested in their positions, not very different from those they had occupied in the morning. Perhaps the Federals had gained something in some quarters, but the entire battle-field had been fought over more than once, its ground alternately being held by either party. The Federal loss has been very severe. We know that General Mansfield has been killed, and Generals Hooker, Dana, Sedgwick, and Dureza, wounded. Such has been the carnage, that it is only the names of the most prominent that are sent over the wires. As to the numbers lost, thus far it is all conjecture. I think 15,000 would not cover the Union losses. We know nothing of the Confederate casualties. The reports that come in are purely imaginary. Unquestionably their loss must be very serious; but they fight on advantageous ground. General Longstreet is reported to be wounded and a prisoner. This is now contradicted, and is probably untrue. The latest and most reliable accounts from the Union side acknowledge that the day's work was indecisive. Such an acknowledgment, and with the absence of any published despatch from McClellan, is to my mind, strongly suspicious of defeat. On Thursday (yesterday) there was no renewal of the engagement. We hear that it must continue to-day, but we know nothing about this. The Confederate forces appear to occupy strong ground between Sharpsburg and the Potomac River. They may be compelled to fall back towards the river and recross it; but all Northern Virginia is now free of Union soldiers; so if they are forced to retire their retreat could not be much molested, as they would leave a desert behind them, and the pursuing column would soon be beyond supplies, and forced to stop. I have thus brought down to the latest moment (9 a.m., Friday morning) the military movements on the Upper Potomac. Many people believe that the fate of the war hangs upon these battles. I do not think so. Victory or defeat to either side can only embarrass; but both parties appear determined to continue the struggle until exhaustion sets in, and when that may come it is difficult to know.

From the West we have nothing definite. Bragg is undoubtedly moving northward in Kentucky. The army that was threatening Cincinnati appears to be retreating. It is probable that it may unite with Bragg and move on Louisville. Buell (Federal) is rapidly coming up from Tennessee to defend this city. There must be within a few days some severe fighting in this direction.

We hear that the steamer 290 has run into Mobile. She is said to have a large cargo of guns and ammunition. The Confederates have made considerable accession of guns and equipments lately by their captures. I suppose that Lee has captured, since he moved from Richmond, not less than 20,000 prisoners, 100 pieces of artillery, 30,000 muskets, rifles, &c., &c., with millions of dollars worth of stores, ammunition, &c., &c. The history of his campaign thus far has been the most brilliant ever recorded, except those of Napoleon's Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1800. I have no doubt that Europe will appreciate all that he has done. Voluntary enlistments still continue, and the requisition for 600,000 men will be filled without drafting. In addition to this, at least 100,000 men have gone into the field from this State alone, to defend the State in case of invasion.

Since writing the foregoing we have news from Kentucky of the surrender of Mumfordsville, with 5000 Federal troops, with all their munitions of war, equipments, &c., &c., to the Confederate army under Bragg. This is another great Confederate victory, and very important, as it opens Louisville to the Confederate army. Kirby Smith and Bragg can now unite and in three days be at Louisville with 60,000 men. I can see nothing to prevent its falling into the hands of the Confederates, with all its supplies and materiel.

As I write, we are in receipt of news that the battle has been renewed this morning at Sharpsburg; and we shall hear something definite, probably, by to-night or to-morrow morning, and it will go out by this steamer.

Exchange to-day is dull at 122. Gold fluctuates violently from 116½ to 117½—it changes every hour.

Everything is, of course, in a state of great excitement whilst the military news is so important. We are living in wonderful times, and even are getting old more rapidly than was ever known. Every man is kept in a strain of excitement.

The surrender of Mumfordsville includes ten pieces of artillery and various other munitions of war.

2 p.m.

The city is in a blaze of excitement at the despatch just received from McClellan, announcing that he has gained a decided victory, and that the Confederates are crossing the Potomac. He says Pleasanton is driving them across. I think that the truth is that Lee finds it well to put the river between himself and the Union forces. Everything depends upon whether McClellan can follow after him. The retrograde movement of Lee was what I expected.

PROVOST MARSHAL AND CELL No. 4.

(From the *New York Evening Express* of Sept. 12.)

Provost Marshal and Cell No. 4 is described by a "World" sufferer. The writer vouches that his statement of facts is true of the horrors of Cell No. 4.

THE PROVOST MARSHAL'S OFFICE.

The Provost Marshal's office is located at the corner of Broome and Elm-streets, in the building known as Police Headquarters, the entrance being upon the Broome-street side. Ascending a short flight of stone steps, you reach a hallway, and at the second door to the left an officer stands to direct you to enter at the next door beyond, as the crowd must go in at one door and out at the other.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OFFICE.

Previous to the appointment of the Provost Marshal to his present office, he received a telegram from Secretary Stanton to repair to Washington. He did so. Upon his return he related the following incident:—

"When I arrived there I sent in my name to the Secretary, who at once ordered that I should be admitted. When I came in, Secretary Stanton took two chairs and placed them so that we could sit face to face, near together. He told me to sit in one, and he occupied the other. Said he, 'Mr. Kennedy, I sent for you because I wanted to know you, and because I believe you to be a live man like myself. We shall have a good deal of business together, and I like to know the man that I am to entrust my orders to.' 'And I tell you, gentlemen,' said the Provost Marshal, 'Secretary Stanton is a live man.'"

When the document finally came from the Secretary of War empowering the General Superintendent to act as Provost Marshal, the reporters were called in and handed a copy of the first order issued by him in his new capacity to captains of all the precincts, announcing the fact of his appointment and giving them some directions how to proceed under the new regime.

Taking one of these papers from the hands of a reporter, the Provost Marshal looked it over carefully, and handing it back to the clerk, exclaimed:—

"Here! give him one properly signed."

The clerk had omitted to write "General Superintendent Metropolitan Police and Special Provost Marshal" after the name.

SCENES IN THE OFFICE.

Of the large number of arrests made by order of the Special Provost Marshal a small proportion only have been mentioned in the public prints. Such as he has seen proper to give have been published, and those only. It is impossible, therefore, to describe many of the scenes that transpired in the office. One or two will suffice as a sample.

CASE OF MR. PLUMB.

Upon the morning of the arrest of Mr. D. Plumb, of the firm of Plumb and Co., mercantile agency in Broadway, the reporters were notified that two important arrests were to be made by the Provost Marshal's guard—a prominent Abolitionist and a rank Secessionist were to be brought up together.

After some two hours' patient waiting the accused parties appeared in charge of the officers. The Provost Marshal arose as they entered. In answer to Mr. Plumb's inquiry, which he made as became an American citizen, "Why am I under arrest?" the official assumed a very grave countenance, adjusted his eye-glasses, surveyed the accused from head to foot, and proceeded to read the affidavit against him.

Mr. Plumb (smiling).—Why, sir, I thought this was all settled; you have had me here once on this same charge, and I thought you were satisfied about it—I think I can set the matter right.

Provost Marshal.—Very well; we shall see, sir.

Mr. Plumb.—Can I have an opportunity to do this?

Provost Marshal.—Well, sir, you can make your written affidavit in the matter, and I will forward it to Washington, together with the affidavits against you, but you must remain here until directions are received concerning your case.

The Provost Marshal sprung the bell communicating with the detective office. Sergeant Young appeared. Mr. Plumb was about to speak, but, before he could do so, the Marshal said:—

"This officer will take you in charge and afford you facilities for making an affidavit. You must remain in custody for the present. That's all, sir."

A wave of the hand, and he was delivered over to the officer, who conducted him down stairs to the basement through the detective office, the sitting room, into the bedroom occupied by the officers, and directly by the ominous cell doors that stared blank for a victim as they passed. He was afterwards brought out to the detective office and furnished with writing materials.

THE ALLEGED SECESSIONIST.

As the folding doors closed after Mr. Plumb, the Provost Marshal took up another affidavit, and turning to the reporter said:—

"Here we have another case upon exactly the other extreme. A Secessionist, who says he would fight for the South." The same ceremony of reading was gone through with, but this party was more demonstrative than Mr. Plumb.

"I can prove every word of that affidavit false, if I have opportunity. I can go and get witnesses that will show me to be a loyal man."

Provost Marshal.—You will remain here for the present; you can make your affidavit and it will be forwarded to Washington. Meantime I shall hold you.

"But, sir, one of these witnesses against me is a mere boy who has worked for me."

Provost Marshal.—No matter, sir. I have no doubt you could do very well if you had that boy to manipulate, but I do not mean you shall see him. I believe what he has said.

Before any reply could be made, the imperative "that's all, sir!" was uttered, the bell was sprung, and the officer appeared and took his charge below.

REFUSING TO GIVE A NAME.

Upon another occasion an individual was brought in for refusing to give his name to an enrolling officer.

Provost Marshal.—What is your name, sir?

Unknown.—Well, I declined to give my name there, and I think I shall here.

Provost Marshal.—Oh, you think so. Now I'll tell you what I think. I think you'll give it before you've been here a great while.

He sprung the bell again.

"Here is a man who won't give his name. Take him down, and give him No. 4. He will probably give his name before many hours."

The young man, who was not above twenty years of age, seemed like a person hardly *compos*. He was pale-faced and gaunt-looking, was seadily dressed, and had the appearance of having just come off a night's debauch. He was taken down to the detective office, again interrogated, and again declined to give his name.

"Give him No. 4," said the officer in charge; and he was at once seized and hurried off to the fated locality.

NUMBER FOUR.

Horror of horrors! Possibly no place since the black hole of Calcutta, or the prison hulks of the revolution, could compete with cell No. 4 at police headquarters.

Under the reign of the Provost-Marshal it became part and parcel of the machinery of the office, and was used as occasion called to hold fast the worst class of the prisoners arrested, or such as were considered the most flagrant cases.

Passing through the outer room of the detective office in the basement, you come into the sitting-room—a close, badly-ventilated chamber—the larger half of which is underground. Midway in the room at the right is a small half-glass door cut in a partition, through which you enter upon a narrow corridor facing four small cells. These are numbered, beginning at the south end, one, two, three, four, the latter being at the extreme right as you enter the corridor, which is scarcely wide enough to admit the passage of a man.

The sides of cell No. 4 are sealed up with boards to the top. It is about three feet wide by six in depth. A stationary board fifteen inches wide is put up on the right hand for a sleeping pallet, and a three-cornered pine block, fastened at one end of the board, serves as a pillow—there being neither bed clothes, mattress, or straw. A water waste and dipper in one corner complete the furniture of the cell. The sides of the place are thickly coated with whitewash in the vain effort to purify it. The door is composed of iron bars about one inch in width, and a quarter of an inch in thickness, arranged crosswise, so as to intersect each other at every two and a half inches. At the top is a small aperture eight inches square.

The entire place swarms with vermin. In Dog days, when the cell door was shut, and the door and window leading to the outer apartments were closed, the atmosphere was stifling in its character, while the vermin ran riot over the unfortunate victims; who could neither lie down nor sit down, from very agony, sometimes imploring, in heaven's name, to be let out, if only for a few moments. In the hottest weather of the season three persons have been confined in this cell at once, two of them sitting on the board and the third lying at full length on his face upon the floor, and all evidencing untold horror and misery.

Sergeant Young has often given directions to have the prisoners taken out at night, and allowed them to lie round on the floor of the outer room.

HOW THE UNKNOWN FARED.

The individual above alluded to who would not give his name, was put in No. 4. The door of the cell was shut and bolted and the outer door closed also, although it was one of the hottest days of the season. In fifteen minutes his cries were heard, the door opened, and he was found in a profuse perspiration, with the vermin crawling over and tormenting him.

"For God's sake, let me out of this," he said, "and I will do anything you want."

The man or beast that No. 4 cannot tame is beyond the reach of the most ingenious torture. Every delinquent who is alluded to as an atrocious villain, is wished no worse fate than incarceration within its walls. "No. 4" is a by-word among the officers and frequenters of headquarters, and is promised, as a sort of bugbear, to such inmates of the detective office as behave themselves unruly.

One of the individuals who had been arrested for some criminal offence, upon reading an account in the paper of a rebel victory, laid the paper down as if in disgust, and remarked, "That's the way with our boys, just prick 'em, and they run." The words were reported up stairs, and the order came down:—

"Place him in No. 4. He will be pricked where he can't run."

The history of this awful receptacle for prisoners can never probably be fully told; and we have only briefly sketched it to show some portion of the machinery used in conducting the business of the Provost Marshal's office.

That will do for one day, and henceforth, cell No. 4 is historical. No wonder, on such a record, a citizen feels degraded enough to say, that American citizenship has no immunities. The Editor says that:—

"There is no ignominy to which, in these parts, it is not exposed. We are simply indebted to the sovereign grace of the Provost Marshal if we breathe this upper air at all. 'In the palace lives a man who can cut my head off,' says *Quemay*, describing the guarantees of Louis Fifteenth's monarchy. At the corner of Elm and Broome-streets, sits a man who can put us in No. 4, snuff up our own condition.

"Torquemada tortured, but he did it in a clean, gentlemanly way. He was content with ingenious applications of wood, and irons, and fire and water. Fanatic as he was, he never degraded his cause by making loathsome vermin the ministers of its vengeance. It has been reserved for Provost Marshal Kennedy to bring into requisition this new sort of *peine forte et dure*—the old anguish made all the more tolerable by an overpowering disgust."

The Provost Marshal, it ought to be said, is not the principal of this torture, but the agent. Would it not be more fair and manly to hold up the principal, rather than the agent.

THE ENGLISH PRESS ON MR. LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

(The Times, Oct. 7.)

It is rarely that a man can be found to balance accurately mischief to another against advantage to himself. President Lincoln is, as the world says, a good-tempered man, neither better nor worse than the mass of his kind—neither a fool nor a sage, neither a villain nor a saint, but a piece of that common useful clay out of which it delights the American democracy to make great Republican personages. Yet President Lincoln has declared that from the 1st of January next to come every State that is in rebellion shall be, in the eye of Mr. Lincoln, a Free State. After that date Mr. Lincoln proposes to enact that every slave in a rebel State shall be for ever after free, and he promises that neither he, nor his army, nor his navy will do anything to repress any efforts which the negroes in such rebel States may make for the recovery of their freedom. This means, of course, that Mr. Lincoln will, on the 1st of next January, do his best to excite a servile war in the States which he cannot occupy with his arms. He will run up the rivers in his gunboats; he will seek out the places which are left but slightly guarded, and where the women and children have been trusted to the fidelity of coloured domestics. He will appeal to the black blood of the African; he will whisper of the pleasures of spoil and of the gratification of yet fiercer instincts; and when blood begins to flow and shrieks come piercing through the darkness, Mr. Lincoln will wait till the rising flames tell that all is consummated, and then he will rub his hands and think that revenge is sweet. This is what Mr. Lincoln avows before the world that he is about to do. Now, we are in Europe thoroughly convinced that the death of slavery must follow as necessarily upon the success of the Confederates in this war as the dispersion of darkness occurs upon the rising of the sun; but sudden and forcible emancipation resulting from "the efforts the negroes may make for their actual freedom" can only be effected by massacre and utter destruction. Mr. Lincoln avows, therefore, that he proposes to excite the negroes of the Southern plantations to murder the families of their masters while these are engaged in the war. The conception of such a crime is horrible. The employment of Indians sinks to a level with civilized warfare in comparison with it; the most detestable doctrines of Mazzini are almost less atrocious; even Mr. Lincoln's own recent achievements of burning by gunboats the defenceless villages on the Mississippi are dwarfed by this gigantic wickedness. The single thing to be said for it is that it is a wickedness that holds its head high and scorns hypocrisy. It does not pretend to attack slavery as slavery. It launches this threat of a servile rebellion as a means of war against certain States, and accompanies it with a declaration of general protection to all other slavery.

Where he has no power Mr. Lincoln will set the negroes free; where he retains power he will consider them as slaves. "Come to me," he cries to the insurgent planters, "and I will preserve your rights as slaveholders; but set me still at defiance, and I will wrap myself in virtue, and take the sword of freedom in my hand, and, instead of aiding you to oppress, I will champion the rights of humanity. Here are whips for you who are loyal; go forth and flog or sell your black chattels as you please. Here are torches and knives for employment against you who are disloyal; I will press them into every black hand, and teach their use." Little Delaware, with her 2000 slaves, shall still be protected in her loyal tyranny. Maryland, with her 90,000 slaves, shall "freely accept or freely reject" any project for either gradual or immediate abolition; but if Mississippi and South Carolina, where the slaves rather outnumber the masters, do not repent, and receive from Mr. Lincoln a licence to trade in human flesh, that human flesh shall be adopted by Mr. Lincoln as the agent of his vengeance. The position is peculiar for a mere layman. Mr. Lincoln, by this proclamation, constitutes himself a sort of moral American Pope. He claims to sell indulgences to own votaries, and he offers them with full hands to all who will fall down and worship him. It is his to bind, and it is his to loose. His decree of emancipation is to go into remote States, where his temporal power cannot be made manifest, and where no stars and stripes are to be seen; and in those distant swamps he is, by a sort of Yankee excommunication, to lay the land under a slavery interdiction.

What will the South think of this? The South will answer with a hiss of scorn. But what will the North think of it? What will Pennsylvania say—Pennsylvania, which is already uneasy under the loss of her best customers, and not easy under the absolute despotism of the present Government at Washington? What Boston may say or think is not, perhaps, of much consequence. But what will New York say? It would not answer the purpose of any of these cities to have the South made a howling wilderness. They want the handling of the millions which are produced by the labour of the black man. Pennsylvania desires to sell her manufactures in the South; New York wishes to be again broker, banker, and merchant to the South. This is what the Union means to these cities. They would rather have a live independent State to deal with than a dead dependency where nothing could be earned. To these practical persons President Lincoln would be, after his black revolution had succeeded, like a dog-stealer who who should present the anxious owner with the head of his favourite pointer. They want the useful creature alive. The South without its cotton and its sugar and its tobacco would be of small use to New York, or even to Philadelphia; and the South without the produce of its rice and cotton, and its sugar and tobacco, would be but a sorry gain, even if it could be obtained. If President Lincoln wants such a conquest as this, the North is, perhaps, yet strong enough to conquer Hayti. A few fanatics, of course, will shout, but we cannot think that, except in utter desperation and vindictiveness, any real party in the North will applaud this nefarious resolution to light up a servile war in the distant homesteads of the South.

As a proof of what the leaders of the North, in their passion and their despair, would do if they could, this is a very sad document. As a proof of the hopelessness and recklessness which prompt their actions, it is a very instructive document. We gather from it that Mr. Lincoln has lost all hope of preserving the Union, and is now willing to let any quack try his nostrum. As an act of policy it is, if possible, more contemptible than it is wicked. It may possibly produce some partial risings, for let my armed power publish an exhortation to the labouring class of any community to plunder and murder, and there will be some response. It might happen in London, or Paris, or New York. That Mr. Lincoln's emancipation decrees will have any general effect bearing upon the issue of the war, we do not, however, believe. The negroes have already abundantly discovered that the tender mercies of the Northerners are cruelities. The freedom which is associated with

labour in the trenches, military discipline, and frank avowals of personal abhorrence momentarily repeated does not commend itself to the negro nature. General Butler could, if he pleased, tell strange stories of the ill success of his tamperings with the negroes about New Orleans. We do not think that even now, when Mr. Lincoln plays his last card, it will prove to be a trump. Powerful malignity is a dreadful reality, but impotent malignity is apt to be a very contemptible spectacle. Here is a would-be conqueror and a would-be extirpator who is not quite safe in his seat of government, who is reduced to such straits that he accepts a defeat as a glorious escape, a capitulation of 8000 men as an unimportant event, a drawn battle as a glorious victory, and the retreat of an invading army which retires laden with plunder and rich in stores as a deliverance. Here is a President who has just, against his will, supplied his antagonists with a hundred and twenty guns and millions of stores, and who is trembling for the very ground on which he stands. Yet, if we judge only by his pompous proclamations, we should believe that he had a garrison in every city of the South. This is more like a Chinaman beating his two swords together to frighten his enemy than like an earnest man pressing on his cause in steadfastness and truth.

(The Morning Herald, Oct. 7.)

Notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding his own solemn oath of obedience to the constitution, Mr. Lincoln has ventured on an act of high-handed usurpation such as would hardly be dared by any monarch of a consolidated empire whose subjects enjoy even the semblance of a Parliamentary Government. He has proclaimed, on his own responsibility, a total revolution in the status of more than 3,000,000 persons, and the confiscation of property to the value of some three hundred millions sterling. Such an act has no legal force whatever, and never can have any while the constitution of the United States remains in existence. Nor has its author cared to give it even the faintest semblance of legality. He, whose powers are merely executive, has assumed to make law by mere proclamation. He has not even condescended to go through the form of summoning the Federal Congress to enact, with legal ceremony, the manumission of the slaves of rebel States. He does not say a word, he probably does not entertain a thought, of calling Congress together as early as possible to relieve him by an act of indemnity, if not from the legal consequences of his act, yet at least from some part of the terrible responsibility attaching to this monstrous violation of the law. The act is, therefore, as nakedly and grossly illegal as any official act possibly could be. It would not have had any legal effect even if it had been perpetrated by Congress. The flagrancy and openness of its unconstitutionality would have been less striking; but in such a matter neither a presidential ukase nor an act of Congress would be of any more value than an enactment by the British Parliament confiscating all lands in the State of New York, or a proclamation of Lord Palmerston's suspending the *habeas corpus* in Missouri. The Federal Legislature, like the Federal Executive, has but limited powers, and to interfere with the internal affairs of the individual States is expressly forbidden to it. Not only, then, has Mr. Lincoln done that which he had no right to do, but he has done that which the whole Federal Government and the whole of the people adhering to it have not the right and cannot confer the right to do. And if ever the Constitution were restored and the Union resumed, any slave who should claim his freedom under the present proclamation would find his case summarily dismissed by any Federal judge whatsoever; and an appeal to the Supreme Court would only result in the formal condemnation of President Lincoln's present act as unconstitutional, if not treasonable. Legally, therefore, even under the legal fiction which supposes the Union to be still unbroken, the proclamation is altogether void and of none effect.

Politically, it is worse than void. The "rebel" States are beyond the jurisdiction of the President, except in the few places where a Federal garrison occupies some Southern town, or a Federal army, encamped on Southern soil, trembles for its own safety, and exercises no power whatever, beyond the range of its guns. Butler, no doubt, may deprive the citizens of New Orleans of their slaves as well as of their other property; and if there were any hope that the slaves would be better treated by their deliverers than by their masters, we might overlook the legal wrong, in consideration of the substantial justice done. At Norfolk, a few negroes may exchange the homes to which, on the whole, they have been well treated and contented, for a life of misery and brutal ill-usage, amid the rabble of the Northern cities. But this is all. The negroes of the South, with these few exceptions, will remain as they are, the slaves of the citizens of the Confederate States, held as slaves under the laws which the States have retained from colonial times, and under those which the Confederacy has inherited from the late Union. The effect on their condition will, we earnestly hope, be simply none—we hope so, because the only effect which the proclamation could possibly have, would be to render that condition worse by far than it ever yet has been. It is the belief of those who instigated, and those who approve the proclamation, that it will be followed by a general negro insurrection, or at least, by a series of isolated negro revolts. If it were so, the crime of President Lincoln would be among the most infamous recorded in history, and his name would rank in the world's annals with that of Nana Sahib. For a negro insurrection would out-do the worst horrors of the Indian mutiny; it would make a Meerut of every plantation, a Cawnpore of every undefended village; and it would end in a fearful retribution, costing hundreds of lives, and leaving the condition of the slave in the South infinitely worse than it was even in our own West Indian possessions. The negro is capable of lust and rapine; he may be excited to incendiarism and to murder; but he will never make a stand in arms against the white man. Revolt would be crushed; vengeance would be taken; and a reign of terror would be inaugurated. Or, failing insurrection, the suspicions of the masters might be aroused, and their yoke thereby rendered cruel and galling. This is the only effect which could possibly be produced in the South by the President's proclamation; and, therefore, we are glad to know that the Southerners, who have long expected it, believe that it will be as null in practice as in law; that the negroes will remain contented, and the masters confident in their attachment, as heretofore.

If Mr. Davis had himself directed the course of his rival, we do not think he could have dictated a measure more likely to divide the North and to unite the Border States firmly with the rest of the South; or one more calculated to weaken the Federal Government and to strengthen the hands of the domestic adversaries who are already beginning to conspire for its overthrow.

(The Morning Post, Oct. 6.)

Abraham Lincoln, finding his authority waning, even where it is still nominally recognized, has determined to vindicate it where it is entirely ignored. He has failed to subjugate the Southern States by his legions, and in his extremity has decided on effecting his purpose by a scratch of his pen. On and after the first day of January, 1863, he decrees that the 4,000,000 of slaves at present kept in subjection in the Southern States shall be free. The President wills it, and of course all must obey. On reading his proclamation, one can only regret that so zealous and powerful an Abolitionist should have seen fit to limit the sphere of operation of such unparalleled beneficence. Why are the slaves of the Southern States thus signally favoured, and those of Africa left still in thralldom? Why has not the President of the United States of America enfranchised the slaves of the entire universe.

It is scarcely possible to treat seriously of this singular manifesto. If not genuine, the composition would be entitled to no little praise as a piece of matchless irony.

(The Standard, Oct. 7.)

President Lincoln, under the constitution of the United States, has no power to issue any such proclamation. Neither does Congress possess the power; and during the last session it was never once proposed that Congress should assume the power. The proclamation has, therefore, no legal force. President Lincoln might as well have issued a proclamation to the effect that on and after the 1st of January, 1863, debtors should abstain from paying creditors, or that "then, thenceforward, and for ever," there should be no more buying and selling, or any more wearing of shoes and stockings. Still of late he has done many things which admittedly he had no right to do; and it may consequently be thought that he is as much justified in meddling with slavery as with the liberties of the Northern people. But—and let this be marked—President Lincoln distinguishes between slavery interference and interference with American liberty. At once he suspends "the writ of *habeas corpus*, and declares martial law throughout the United States with respect to all persons arrested for aiding the rebellion or hindering the draft;" but only on the 1st of January, 1863, is there to be emancipation. Northern apologists will, of course, say that it is magnanimity, giving another chance to the misguided Southerners before their doom is sealed. We deny this; and, instead of magnanimity, pronounce the delay unstatesmanlike and unworthy. We see in it nothing but craven fear lest France and this country should think the time had come for them to intervene. It is, we believe, an appeal to France, and this country against the logical consequences of Federal incompetence and military overthrow. Had President Lincoln been sincere about emancipation, or possessed sufficient nerve to accept or resist the pressure recently put upon him, no such proclamation would have appeared. Either he would have gone straight and manfully to the mark, as in the case of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or he would not have said a word about slavery. As the proclamation stands, it is the wretched makeshift of a petty-foggish lawyer. President Lincoln is aware that by January 1, 1863, Congress will have resumed its sittings, so he puts off the slavery question for Congress to deal with. This is the step President Lincoln has taken; the sham with which he attempts to deceive England and Europe.

(The Daily Telegraph, Oct. 7.)

Its real significance may be summed up in a single sentence. It is a wide-world proclamation that the President and his accomplices have come to the end of all plausible expedients, and that they have undisguisedly fallen back upon the most extravagant yet most common-place "dodge" of the faction that placed them in power. In doing so they not only abandon the pretence of acting for the whole public of their country, but mock the sacrifices of their fellow-citizens in blood and treasure by rendering the restoration of the Union impossible.

(The Daily News, Oct. 7.)

President Lincoln's Proclamation on Slave Emancipation has not, as far as at present appears, the importance which some persons in England are disposed to attach to it. Like most of the acts of the Executive of the United States, it is feeble and halting. It was right and wise to declare free the slaves of rebels; it should have been done outright and not as a conditional threat, to take effect three months after date. Had it been issued a year ago, or when the Federal armies advanced on leaving winter quarters, it would have saved the Government of the Union much discussion, and would in all probability have seriously crippled the enemy. Now it cannot take effect before the Federal armies are ready to advance and execute the projected movement upon the Slave States. Had it been issued when President Lincoln had the support of an united and enthusiastic public, its effect in imprinting a policy on the war would have been incalculable. Issued now, when the pro-slavery party in the North is taking courage, it may prove but one more element of weakness. Mr. Lincoln's great mistake from the first has been not to perceive that revolution could only be met by revolution. No doubt it was the mistake also of a majority in the North; but a year ago the people would have followed a leader who knew his own mind. The issuing of the proclamation will prove a wise or a vain act, according as it is backed with more or less energy in the field. There is, however, one kind of praise which, although not very complimentary, may be given to it. The Proclamation cannot make matters worse. It cannot aggravate the condition of the negroes. At the South the black man will still be valued, as he always has been, for use as long as he remains in his master's power. As to those who have escaped or may escape, the Confederate Government cannot use them worse than they do now. At Harper's Ferry there were a mixed multitude of free negroes and escaped slaves when the place was taken. Jackson—"the Puritan Jackson," as we have seen him s'yed—swept the whole lot off, and sent them into slavery. After the last of Pope's battles, a party of negroes went out under the protection of a flag of truce to bury the dead. When they had performed their work a corps of Confederate infantry advanced upon them and made them all prisoners and slaves, and a shout of exultation burst up from the whole South, the chivalrous South, at this treacherous violation of the laws of war. This truculence must be provided against in future. If Mr. Lincoln affects to give liberty to men, he must give them arms with which to defend that possession, and give them officers. To make soldiers of all the blacks who show their courage and energy by escaping is the surest, perhaps the only way, to prevent servile war.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through HENRY HORZE, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 2s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1862.

Aspects of the Abolition Edict.

PRECISELY as we predicted, the North has played its last card. The proclamation of emancipation to the slaves in every State or part of a State which shall be in rebellion after the 1st of January next is a desperate measure; but it is one for which all who had carefully watched the current of American events must have been fully prepared. We do not attribute the credit or discredit of the step to the President personally. He has defined his own position in regard to it more clearly than he perhaps intended. Some time ago, when discussing with the representatives or pretended representatives of the Border States his scheme of emancipation by transportation, with an indemnity to the consenting States, he warned them that he had been vehemently pressed to take upon himself the responsibility of proclaiming general emancipation, and that he might at any time be compelled to yield to this pressure. More lately, in a correspondence with Mr. Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, he declared that if he could restore the Union without freeing a single slave, he would do so; and if he could not restore it without setting free all the slaves, he would set them free. So recently as September 13th he wrote to the Emancipation Committee of Chicago, to state his objections to the very steps which he has now taken; objections perfectly sound, if not indicative of any brilliant foresight or strong sense of duty. A proclamation of emancipation, he remarked, would probably be altogether devoid of efficacy; and an attempt to arm the slaves against their masters would only result in putting arms into the enemy's hands. It is clear, therefore, that when the campaign in Maryland began the President was still disposed to refrain from any violent and wholesale interference with slavery. Had that campaign really issued in a Federal victory, he would probably have adhered to that determination. But the indecisive result of the bloody struggle drove him to despair of success by any legitimate military operations; and "yielding to pressure," he issued his decree for the emancipation of all slaves in every State which shall be in rebellion three months hence—that is, in all human probability, of all slaves except those of Delaware and Maryland. We need not inquire closely into his motives, or those of his immediate advisers. It is possible that, by the President and his Cabinet, the proclamation was intended rather as a sop to Europe than as a measure of American policy. Mr. Seward may have recommended it as a means of preventing the possibility of French and English intervention. It may have been believed that England would be deluded by the pretence of Abolitionist intentions, would accept in good faith the specious promise of a crusade against slavery, and would submit for the future to see her weavers starved and her ships illegally seized, without a murmur. This may have been the hope of the Cabinet, or of some of its members; we hardly think that it was so. The Federal Government has shown, by appointing the notorious Captain Wilkes to the West Indian command, a disposition rather to defy than to conciliate Great Britain. It is possible that there

was a hope that the awful threat of an anti-slavery war might frighten the South into submission. It is certain that a large number of Northern Republicans expect, by exciting servile revolts, to withdraw thousands of officers and men from the Confederate army for the defence of their own homes. But whatever may have been the immediate motive which led to the issue of this proclamation, it clearly emanated from no feelings of justice or generosity towards the negro race. The only boon which Mr. Lincoln ever offered to that race was transportation—transportation either to the barbarism of Liberia, or to the wilds of Central America. And now he offers liberty, not where he can give it, but exactly where he can not. He does not promise to liberate the slaves in those States which are still occupied by Federal troops and subject to Federal rule, but only to emancipate those who are beyond his reach—those who are held in servitude under the laws of States which have both practically and formally ceased to be members of the Union. He offers emancipation, not as a President, but as Commander-in-chief of invading armies; not as Great Britain gave it to her black subjects in the West Indies, but as she and others have tendered it is to those districts which they have assailed in war. With this sort of Abolitionism no honest man can have any sympathy whatever.

In the first place it must be noted that the proclamation has no legal effect whatever. The President has no legislative power; he is simply an executive officer, whose authority is strictly limited by law, and who, in overstepping the bounds imposed by law, not only exposes himself to impeachment, but renders his acts null and void. He has assumed in this case to make law, which he cannot do, and which he is punishable for attempting; he has violated his oath of office, and set the Constitution at naught in the most flagrant manner. Without even the sanction of Congress, he has legislated on a point over which Congress has no control. A declaratory amendment to the Constitution expressly denies to the Federal Government that right of interference with the internal affairs of the States which Mr. Lincoln has now assumed. And therefore, even if his decree were invested with the form and authority of an Act of Congress, no honest lawyer in America would pretend to consider it of any effect; and on the first case which should arise under it, the Supreme Court would assuredly pronounce it null and void. Legally, therefore, the Presidential ukase is just as valid as would be a decree of the Czar, or an Act of Parliament, pretending to bind the citizens of Ohio or Massachusetts. Constitutionally, it is an act of high treason; at common law, it is a simple nullity.

Mr. Lincoln has indeed asserted, with that amazing ignorance of American history which distinguishes the Republican party, that the States derive their existence from the Union, have no *status* but what the Union bestows upon them, and when they break away from this have no rights or legal position whatever. As a matter of fact, this is not the case; but if it were so, it would only justify him in treating the seceded States, when conquered, as subject provinces—not in assuming to legislate for them while as yet they enjoy a *de facto* independence. The right to punish rebellion when it has been suppressed does not justify the exercise by a belligerent of civil jurisdiction over a country with an organized Government and a vast army in the field, whatever may be the legal status of that Government and that army. In such a case, confiscation becomes pillage, executions for treason are justly regarded and retaliated as murders; and the pretence to abolish slavery stands on precisely the same footing. Conquest might give the North the rights of a conqueror over the institutions, the property, and the lives of the conquered; while the contest is waged on equal terms, the assumption of legislative authority over the hostile territory is as much an outrage on the laws of war as we have shown it to be a violation of the constitutional law of the Union. Mr. Lincoln and the Federal Congress have never possessed the right of sovereignty over the Southern States in virtue of

the law; they have not yet acquired that right by conquest; and in pretending to exercise it, whether by the arrest of citizens, or the confiscation of property, or the emancipation of slaves, the Government have put themselves outside the pale of international law, as they had already put themselves outside the pale of the Constitution—and they expose themselves to immediate reprisals; as, if law be ever restored in the North, they have incurred the risk of ultimate impeachment.

As regards the South generally, the proclamation will be practically what it is legally—"void and of no effect." It will not induce a single man to quit the ranks of the army for the defence of his house and family against the imaginary danger of servile insurrection. Where they have been left to themselves, the slaves have no desire whatever to rise upon their masters, and "assert their manhood" and inaugurate their freedom by the murder of women and children. There is no more chance of such an event than of an insurrection of the English peasantry to slaughter the families and sack the houses of their landlords. True, the slaves are more excitable, less intelligent, and in every way inferior to European labourers; but they are, at the same time, in more intimate relation with their masters, more closely cared for, equally well fed, clothed, and lodged; more contented in dependence, and more attached to those on whom they depend. They do not like work, perhaps, but they have no desire for liberty; they love their masters, and they have an instinctive hatred of the Yankees. Where no Federal camp has been placed as a missionary station of Abolition, their loyalty is as reliable as any sentiment of an ignorant and impressionable people ever can be. But where Federal troops have been for some time stationed; where they have gathered round them an idle mob of negro camp-followers; where they have seduced the female servants of Southern families, and inveigled them into their quarters; where they have preached revolt and spread demoralization—there the worst mischiefs may be apprehended. The troops are expressly forbidden from repressing any efforts which the slaves may use to secure their freedom, even if those efforts should consist in arson, midnight massacre, and all, or more than all, the horrors which have made the names of Delhi and Cawnpore infamous to remotest posterity. The Nana Sahib of New Orleans, expressly in view of such a possibility, has disarmed the white population of that city; and the protest of the foreign inhabitants showed that they considered the danger serious, if not immediately imminent. In Norfolk, in New Orleans, and perhaps in the neighbourhood of the Federal army in the West, there may be reason to apprehend outrages which it makes man's blood run cold to contemplate. But these outrages cannot affect the issue of the war; they will lead to no general insurrection or extensive series of servile revolts; they will not weaken the Southern army by a single regiment; they will but lend a fiercer fervour to its courage, and add the thirst of vengeance to the nobler and more generous feelings which have hitherto stimulated the Confederate soldiery to endurance and to victory. They will prolong and embitter the struggle; they may bring about a war of extermination; but they will not avert the inevitable separation which, in all but legal form, is already accomplished, or serve to retain for the North a single acre of Southern territory.

The extreme Abolitionists of the North and West are, of course, frantic with delight. The *Tribune* invokes a blessing on the President; the pulpits and platforms of New England will, no doubt, resound with his praises. The flagging zeal of the Western States, which contain at once the stannest Abolitionists, and the best fighting elements that remain to the North, will be revived. Recruiting may, perchance, prosper; drafting may become popular. The Republican party, led, as are all parties in times of revolution, by its tail, will probably give its unanimous approval to the President of its choice—provided he too submits to be ruled by the most violent leaders of the violent section which now controls the party, and threatens to dominate the North. The

cue has been given by the Governors assembled at Altona, Pa., and by the Republican Convention of the Empire State; and it will probably be taken up in every quarter. The revolution and the revolutionary leaders will be in the ascendant; the Federal Government will be swept along with the tide, or thrust aside by it; the war will be directed by self-constituted war committees, and the command will be in the hands of men like Fremont and Mitchell, who are neither soldiers nor patriots, but known fanatics and suspected criminals. Such a war may be as long as the wars waged by the Convention and the Directory; but against the veterans of the South, led by such generals as the South has found in her hour of need, revolutionary fury can but expend itself in vain.

We do not suppose that the Constitutional party and the respectable classes of the North—the men who regard the law, or the men who value the security of their wealth, and have hitherto hoped for the restoration of their trade—will submit to ruin, commercial and political, without an effort to save themselves and their country. Those who loved the Union for its own sake will not care to fight against Secession under the flag of Abolition. Those who desired to restore the Union for the sake of Southern trade will not fight to turn the South into a barren wilderness. Supported by all who have anything to lose—by all who in the hour of national frenzy retain any calmness of mind or sobriety of thought—the Democratic party will, no doubt, make a desperate attempt to regain the helm; but it can hardly hope to succeed. The time is past when sober counsels might have prevailed; and the only result of an effort to enforce them must be the destruction of the moderate party, and the inauguration of a reign of terror which shall cause the comparative gentleness of Cameron, Seward, and Stanton to be remembered with regret. Unless Europe should interfere—and interference seems now less probable than ever—it must be feared that we are destined to witness a protracted struggle, constantly increasing in bitterness and ferocity, and leading only to the utter exhaustion of both the belligerents—possibly to the enslavement, and certainly to the ruin, of the aggressor.

The Condition of the Federal Army.

THE fortune of the war has ceased for the moment to engross the attention of Europe. Just now the political action of the Washington Government overshadows every other question, and it happens that Mr. Lincoln has chosen a time for the promulgation of his decree of emancipation when there is a pause in hostilities; not an absolute truce, either by compact or by circumstances, for both east and west the crack of the rifle, the roar of artillery, the muster of troops, and the daily additions to the inmates of the hospitals, attest the continuation of the deadly conflict. But compared to the past few months, from the 17th to the 29th Sept., the date of the latest advices, there was quiet and repose. We hear only of skirmishes and preparations for the coming campaign. It is one of those pauses which the friends of humanity might hope would induce reflection and make peace possible. It is a season when men might well ask themselves for what they are fighting. The battle-field of September 17, where miles of ground were covered with the dead, dying, and wounded; where 30,000 men were killed and maimed; where the badly wounded were left to perish, and only those likely to recover removed to the crowded sheds, where the surgeons were busy day and night in amputating legs and arms, and, according to an eye-witness, “a large hole was quickly filled with the amputated limbs”—surely such a scene might have induced reflection, and have inclined the most ardent warrior to peace, if it could be attained without dishonour. But not a word of peace is spoken except in the Confederate House of Representatives, where the member for Tennessee proposed a resolution that commissioners should be sent to Washington to offer to negotiate on equitable terms. Europe will not think less kindly of the South

because, in the flush of victory, her first thought is for the cessation of war, though her benevolent intentions are frustrated. The answer to the humane proposition is given before an envoy can be despatched or appointed. Mr. Lincoln and his friends are not tired of bloodshed. Two hundred thousand dead from disease and wounds, and as many crippled, have not checked the lust for dominion or for vengeance. Peace! Listen to the answer of the Washington Government:—“True, you are the victors. You have driven us from your territories; our great army has melted away; enormous bounties scarcely induce our people to enlist. But we will go on; we will not hear of peace; we will do our best to stir up a servile war in your midst; we will strive to rouse the savage nature of the now docile negro, and if, in getting his “actual freedom,” he murders your wives and children, we will protect him. If we cannot conquer you in the field, though we are two to one, we will do our best to make your country a howling wilderness.” So the war must go on; and God defend the right! In the battles to come the men of the South will not fight less manfully—will not feel a less cheerful dependence on the favour of Heaven, because the first use they wished to make of victory was to proffer peace to their implacable enemy.

The truth about the Maryland episode is oozing out slowly but surely. New York is no longer so jubilant, Wall-street is no longer so confident. General McClellan's victories are nowhere, except in his despatches. On the 11th of September he left Washington at the head of an immense army, to prevent the Confederates carrying out their rumoured intention of invading Pennsylvania. He met a small force of the enemy on the 13th, which kept him employed until the 17th; when the Confederates being reinforced, an engagement ensued, which on account of the slaughter, if for no other reason, ought to be memorable. Who gained that battle? The Confederates had not more than 60,000 men engaged, yet they wounded thirteen Federal generals, and after fighting from morning till night, remained in front of the enemy. The Federal commander was so prostrated that he could not, until the morning of the 19th, make a movement to ascertain the position of his foe. He knew not whether he had gained a victory or had been thoroughly defeated. A few hours later he heard that the Confederates were crossing the Potomac in good order, with all their equipment and wounded. Then he indites a despatch, and claims a great victory, and declares the Confederates are being driven across the Potomac. If any one will be at the pains to read McClellan's Maryland despatches, he will find they are as mendacious, though not so flaming, as the despatches of Pope. We do not desire to disparage General McClellan unnecessarily, but the facts extort this observation. It is quite possible that McClellan was deceived by his generals of division, or his despatches may have been edited at Washington. The affair on September 17 was clearly not a Northern victory. The Federals have not been able to follow their enemy; and when the last mail was despatched to Europe, the Northern army had not only been driven out of Virginia, but could not re-enter that State.

But the North has lost considerably by the Maryland expedition. The capture of Harper's Ferry is of vast importance in its material, moral, and strategic aspect; as we may gather from the quantity of stores taken by the Confederates, and the anger of the Federal people at the disaster. This Southern triumph was achieved with little or no loss, which could not have been the case if McClellan had not been engaged in Maryland, and therefore unable to despatch succours to the beleaguered garrison. The capture of Harper's Ferry is one of the most solid gains of the campaign, and was due to a well devised and admirably executed plan.

The present position of the Northern armies is plain enough, and yet inexplicable. McClellan has not more than 150,000 men under his command, and a portion of that force consists of the new levies. In the West the rapid movements of Buell, and his inability to prevent or even delay the progress of the Confederate arms, is a sufficiently indicate that those

who say he has 160,000 men at his disposal exaggerate his means. What, then, has become of that great army of the North? We asked this question some weeks back, and we repeat it now because the disappearance of that host is forced upon our notice. There is only one explanation, and that is—that when we are told with bated breath by the friends of the North, that 200,000 men have perished, and a like number have been crippled, either in limb or health, since the Washington Government called all the earth to witness the vastness of its armaments—which, whether it pleased Heaven or no, must crush the South—they tell us no more than the truth. What, then, is the great result of the campaign? Not that the invader has been driven out of Virginia; not that his power has been crushed in Tennessee; not that he has had to abandon other States on which he had a hold at the commencement of the campaign; not that his fleets have been defied by the nascent navy of the South; not that he has been beaten on every field where he has been unaided by his fleets; not that the armies of the East and West have only been saved from capture or annihilation by seeking the shelter of gunboats; not that the Confederates have taken from their enemy costly and imperial equipments and munitions of war—these gains, we admit, are severally and conjointly immense—but the great result, the crowning and so far decisive triumph is, that the armies of the United States have ceased to exist; for what now keeps the field, besides the new levies, is but a remnant of those seemingly invincible legions that were in being last spring.

We learn, by telegram, that the Federal army is going into winter quarters, and that the Federal press strongly opposes this proceeding. Now, we think, the merest tyro in military science will perceive that, if General Halleck and General McClellan have recommended and insisted on such a suspension of hostilities as is involved in the army going into winter quarters, they have acted not only with sound discretion, but upon the most palpable compulsion. Ever since the battles of June it has been known that the North could not carry on the war without fresh troops; yet, in spite of the most urgent appeals to patriotism, unheard-of bounties, and threats of drafting, it has taxed all the influence and energies of the Government to get together 300,000 men. But if at the end of June 300,000 fresh troops would have been sufficient, we must remember that since then disaster after disaster has fallen upon the North, and this number of recruits is now but an instalment of the whole number necessary to place her in a position to carry on hostilities. There is good reason, indeed, for the apparently extravagant demand for an army of a million of men. The South is now vastly stronger both in her organization, in her discipline, and in her equipments, than she was when 700,000 men were sent forth to subjugate her. It is, then, we repeat, but reasonable for the North to ask for more than 700,000 men to accomplish the task which that number failed to do under much more favourable circumstances. But the new levies being indispensable for carrying on the war, must not some time be allowed for their collection and organization? Mr. Lincoln may put his foot down as heavily as he will, but he cannot conjure up an army ready equipped and fully disciplined. Grant that the draft is to be rigidly enforced, and that its enforcement, owing to the fanatical ardour of the Abolitionists, does not give rise to any serious disturbances, and that within a few weeks the railroads from every part of the Union are freighted with recruits; what then? Is General McClellan to launch an undisciplined rabble against the veteran troops of the South, commanded by generals whose genius is worthily compared to that of the greatest captains of ancient or modern times? If he did so, or if General Halleck sanctioned such conduct, suffered the raw recruits to be led, not to fight but to be slaughtered, these generals would deserve the hearty execrations of their countrymen. Hostilities will not altogether cease; but unless battles are forced on the North by the Confederates the programme of the Federal army going into winter quarters will be carried into effect.

Yet, it must be confessed, it is not without cause that the Federal press denounces the proceeding. It is quite as aggravating, quite as disheartening, as it is necessary. What happened last year? McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac. He refused to operate until he had changed that mob of recruits into an army. Month after month was devoted to drilling and organization, until at length the most fastidious martinets were enchanted with the perfection of the work; and, as we all know, not only Northern, but European military critics, whilst fully admitting the devotion of Southern troops and the military capacity of Southern commanders, predicted that this Army of the Potomac could not fail to conquer. The winter was passed in drilling, the spring was spent in besieging fortifications defended by wooden guns; and, when the summer came—the Southern summer, which never comes without bringing in its train fever and pestilence—McClellan commenced the real work of the campaign; and that Southern summer witnessed a series of Federal disasters unparalleled in the annals of any other nation. The winter is the season when the Northern troops can best carry on war in the South; but, by a singular fatality, the ensuing winter, like the last winter, must be devoted to preparation; and so, perhaps, when Yellow Jack puts in his annual appearance in 1863, the Federal armies may be just ready, as they were in 1862, to do battle with the Confederates. The North has been fighting when she should have rested; she is about to rest when she should fight. We do not wonder at the discontent manifested by the Federal Journals, but ere long they may be still more chagrined. Certainly they will have far greater cause for dissatisfaction if the South, by refusing to allow the retirement of the Federal army into winter quarters, should force the Federal commanders to drill their recruits on the field of battle.

The Factory Folk.

THE patience of the hundreds of thousands of families deprived of work, and almost deprived of bread, by the American blockade, has been the theme of just and well-earned praise from all parties and all organs of opinion. It has been greater than was expected, even by those who knew them best. But it has not excited among those who were in some degree acquainted with their modes of thought and habitual temper, that surprise which has been manifest in the admiration of those who judged the factory operatives from a distance, and by comparison with other classes of the labouring multitude. There was a time when no such forbearance and good feeling could have been hoped for; a time when the factory population was ignorant, passionate, and violent; when it saw in every depression of trade a conspiracy of the masters to lower wages, and degrade the status of the labourer; and occasionally avenged its imaginary wrongs by armed attacks on the mills, by riots, and even by deliberate assassinations. That time has long since gone by. Strikes have become infrequent; when they do occur they are brought about, not by the voluntary act of the workers, but by the wanton and interested intermeddling of the Trades' Unions; and though they are still marked by serious violations, alike of the law of the land, and of the rules of equity and honesty, yet they are seldom disgraced by those acts of atrocious and brutal violence which were formerly common, and which still distinguish strikes in most other trades. The deliberate assassination of recusant masters or independent workmen is now confined to Sheffield, with its short-lived, reckless, drunken population—it is unknown in the factory districts. But during the present crisis the people have abstained, not merely from turbulence, but even from murmurs. There have been no political demonstrations, to urge upon a neglectful Government its duty towards its suffering subjects, and to enforce at once the rules of international law, and the rights of an injured and innocent population. There has been no discontent with the masters. It has been understood and willingly admitted that they were wholly guiltless in

the matter; that they had been heavy losers before they closed their mills, and must be losing enormously by their closure; and that no foresight or precaution of theirs could have averted the calamity. Even where the masters have grossly neglected the duties of Christian neighbourhood, as in some few instances has been the case—where they have sold their stocks of cotton, shut up their mills, and left their workpeople to starve without any assistance of theirs, while they devoted their capital to profitable speculation—though the unkindness has been bitterly felt, there has been no violent outburst, no open ebullition of indignation. These masters will have in future the refuse of the labour-market, and will find their hands always less willing, less reliable, and more disposed to strike than those of their neighbours; and this moral retribution will be the whole extent of the vengeance they have to fear. They have done as they would with their own; and the people do not dispute their right to do so.

The condition of the factory operatives, in ordinary times, has been as much misunderstood as their temper and character by those who have never lived among them. Miserable as they are now, their misery is not greater than was once their prosperity. Now, they would be thankful for the wages of a Dorsetshire labourer. Time was when their incomes rivalled those of the small farmer, or the curate of a country parish. A good deal of sentimental compassion has always been wasted upon them. Lord Shaftesbury—while the people on his father's estate were starving on a miserable dole of 7s. or 8s. per week, oscillating between labour and pauperism, and scarcely better off than are the Lancashire sufferers in this their extreme distress—busied himself with virulent denunciations of the millowners, and obtrusive pity for the misery of their "white slaves." In London he earned credit as a diligent philanthropist; in Lancashire his name was coupled with an epithet which we shall not, even in quotation, attach to the title of an English nobleman. The lead of the hero of Exeter Hall was followed by scores of other staccato-operators on both sides of the Atlantic; and even now the echo of his malicious misstatements has not died away. But the truth is, that no large class of labourers in any part of the world, except in a new country where land is abundant and prolific, were ever so well paid as the factory hands of Lancashire. A family having two children between nine and thirteen and two over thirteen, where the father was an overlooker or a mechanic, might earn as much as £200 a year, and incomes ranging from 25s. up to 60s. a week were the rule among the families employed in the cotton mills. For these earnings they worked ten hours and a half (children under 13 five and a half) five days a week, and seven and a half on Saturdays. Nowhere else do labourers, not belonging to the most highly skilled class of artisans, earn such ample incomes by such moderate work. Except from a few mechanics and so forth, there is no severe physical exertion required in a mill; and ten hours and a half of work under shelter, when that work consists merely of directing the movements of admirably-adapted machinery, is, as the world goes, well paid by wages which suffice to keep the workers always well fed, well housed, and well clothed. And of late years so brisk has been the demand for labour, that the complaint began to be heard that the "hands" were too independent; and that dismissal was hardly felt as a penalty for misconduct. Such was the condition of the operative families of Lancashire before the madness of American Democracy, and the pacific weakness of the English Government, turned their prosperity to wretchedness, and their comfort to desolation.

Of course, factory life has its drawbacks, and some of these are serious. The atmosphere of a mill, though not actually unwholesome, is less conducive to robust health than that in which the agricultural labourer works. A proof of this was given by the reply made to a question put to some of his hands by a millowner whose works, situate in a country village, have been stopped by the Cotton Famine. The men spent much of their time in their little allotments of garden ground, or in walks with their families; and

be asked how they felt their appetites affected by the change of life. The answer was, that they could do with coarser food, but they wanted more of it than when working in the mill. Again, owing to the lightness of the labour, women and children are more largely employed than men. The mother of a family works in the factory; she earns from 8s. to 15s. a week, and her earnings cannot be spared; therefore is she forced to neglect her home, and leave her little ones in charge of an elder child, still too young for the mill. The home is consequently uncomfortable—the more so that, having been bread-winners all their lives, the women of this class are mostly bad housewives—and, especially in towns, the children are not well looked after. Again, boys and girls of sixteen or even younger can earn their own living, and somewhat more; they become too early independent, grow impatient of contributing to the family income, and aiding in the nurture of their younger brothers and sisters; rebel against parental control, and are eager to start in life on their own account. Nor can the promiscuous association of the factory be always devoid of evil effects. Nevertheless, on the whole, the factory folk are a happy, home-loving, and moral people—more so, at the least, than English peasants. They were, perhaps, at one time open to the charge of unthrift. They were used to live from hand to mouth, and generally to be in debt. They suffered sharply sometimes for their imprudence, when work was slack and cotton was dear; but in general they lived comfortably; and the less wealthy among their employers used to say that the Sunday dinner of their hands was generally better than their own; that the workman would have his duck and green peas, or his bit of choice fish, when they were just coming into season, and so dear that the capitalist could not yet afford them. We are inclined to think that much of this unthrift was owing to the want of a tangible object and easy investment for savings; for the operatives have always found money in abundance for any scheme that at once attracted their feelings as a class, and promised them advantages as individuals. Tens of thousands were subscribed by them to be wasted by that reckless and half-insane dreamer, Robert Owen; the safer and less extensive plans of the co-operative societies have never failed for lack of funds—nay, in 1860 we feared that they were being pushed too rapidly by an influx of money, with which the societies hardly knew how to deal. There can be little doubt that the factory operatives were fast becoming a rich and saving class when the Cotton Famine came to sweep away their little accumulations, and to teach a terrible lesson of thriftlessness and improvidence.

Again, they are, for their rank in society, an educated class. The Legislature, stimulated to meddle with the cotton factories by the zeal of ignorant and unscrupulous agitators, did a good deal of mischief by its interference; but it did one thing so good as amply to atone for more than all the mischief. The "Half-time" clause ought to be extended to every trade in which children are employed, many of which are far less healthy and far more laborious than cotton-spinning. That clause prescribes that every child employed in a factory, under the age of thirteen, shall only spend half the day in work, and the other half in a school, proper securities being taken for the quality of the schooling. It is found that these children learn as much, or almost as much, in three hours' schooling as others in six; which is not surprising to any one who knows the incapacity of children for prolonged mental work. In the meantime they are learning a profitable trade, and helping to earn their own livelihood. The consequences of this admirable arrangement have been in the highest degree satisfactory, and the children of the operatives receive, as a rule, as good an education as is enjoyed by any families of the working-class in England.

There is much in the social and political tone and conduct of the operatives of the cotton districts which is disagreeable and unfortunate; but nothing, we think, for which they can be seriously blamed. They have never been, as a class, in contact with a real social aristocracy. Very many of the mill-

owners are gentlemen by birth and education; but the majority are self-made and half-educated men, or their sons, and not a few of them have risen from the ranks of the operatives themselves. In a country like this, where aristocratic ideas and traditions pervade all classes, and modify insensibly and unconsciously their feelings on all subjects, a new man is looked on with less favour and more jealousy by the class from which he sprang than by that to which he has risen; and masters, who were once no better than themselves, are not treated by the workmen with the respect which their skill and success have deserved, nor do they always treat the labourers so well as men do who have never known what manual labour is. Hence, perhaps, arises that want of deference towards those above them in the social scale which marks the manners of the Lancashire operatives; and the sturdy assertion of independence which makes them often brusque and discourteous, though very seldom insolent or offensive. To a stranger, a Lancashire workman is never respectful, but when sober he is very seldom rude. Towards men of a higher class, for whom he has a personal regard, he bears himself as becomes a man, at once with dignity and deference. Still, it must be admitted that his manner is not prepossessing. He has the boorishness natural to uncultivated Englishmen, without the habit of respect for superiors which modifies that boorishness in the agricultural labourer. In politics he is generally a vehement Radical, and most often an admirer of John Bright. But he is never for "peace at any price," and has adopted extravagant notions of aristocratic injustice and tyranny simply because they have been inculcated by those who on other points express his political views. Mr. Bright is a Democrat from personal hatred to those whom he feels to be his betters; the operative who cheers him is a Democrat because, as a matter of abstract right, he holds that all men were born free and equal. Mr. Bright is always on the side of his country's enemy; the Lancashire operative is an ardent, if not a judicious, patriot. Mr. Bright would not spend a sixpence of English money for any object not directly profitable to himself or to Manchester; the operative would gladly pay a double duty on tea and sugar to defray the expense of a war with France and Austria at once for the liberation of Italy. There is nothing mean, selfish, or malignant about the Radicalism of the mill-hands. The "Manchester School" has no true disciples among them. They have no desire for a scheme of taxation devised to plunder the landowner and the fundholder for their benefit. They never clamour for the sacrifice of Imperial interests or Imperial duties to the requirements of the cotton-trade. Their views on home politics are governed by certain theories of political justice which are sufficiently absurd, but honestly and sincerely held by them; their wishes in regard to foreign affairs, by sympathies often mistaken but always generous. And while the leaders in whom they put their trust are among the least respected of English politicians, there is no class or order of men of whom England may more justly be proud than of the factory folk of South Lancashire.

Manifesto of the Republicans of Italy.

It is not without a pang that one reads the spirit-stirring appeals of Joseph Mazzini. Few men excel him in vigour of style, or earnestness of reasoning; none in consistency of faith, or the dogged pertinacity which is a foretaste of success to enthusiasts; and yet how lamentable has been his life-long failure, and how thoroughly well deserved. The utter and complete overthrow, by the practical demonstration of our senses, of all the highflown eulogiums on the farsightedness, the honesty, and the truth of an enlightened people, self-governing and self-governed, which the last twelve months have held up in America to the gaze of the civilized world, though it has told with unerring effect upon the politicians of Europe, and been silently accepted

by the Governments, has but raised new hopes and roused to greater exertions the fanatic priesthood of Republicanism. The poetic rhapsodies of Victor Hugo, and the more staid and manly defiance of Mazzini, echo the same strain of trust in the many-headed monster whose advent to power has resulted, in every single instance in history, in every country, and in every clime, in the total subversion of all law and order, and the blind refuge in despotism of a people ruined and decimated by the self-styled Friends of Mankind. It is strange how little the soundest reasoning, the clearest details of history, and the most solemn warnings of those whose accents dominate for centuries over the past tumults of nations, affect the judgment of living actors—nay, more strange that the experience of daily life, the rules of action which practical knowledge of affairs force upon every man of business, should utterly fail to commend themselves to the minds of those who thus assume to rule the destinies of their fellow-men. Did ever any body of men agree, without external force, upon a measure affecting the public good? Ask the engineers who promote the draining of lands, the making of roads, canals, harbours, or any of the thousand works, not only of undeniable public utility, but of immediate and surpassing remuneration? Ask the Boards of Health whether the men who die by thousands from the noxious poisons which surround them are grateful for the removal of that which is their death, and the substitution of that which is life, and health, and enjoyment. And yet these are matters of daily experience, and of momentous personal interest to even their lives as well as their property. How, then, can theorists be so blind to the teaching of every fact in history as to suppose that men would be more sure in judgment or sound in action on a matter which so little affects the well-being of the individual as the form of government which the nation adopts. But the stern terms in which the earliest historian of popular madness described the passions of party strife might be accepted entire and without a modification at this day. It is fortunate for England that she has seen and profited by the throes of volcanic action in other countries, wasting the fairest and most civilized portions of Europe, demoralizing and enslaving her noblest and most enlightened peoples; and the lesson which the unbridled license of the Republican party in America has indelibly fixed on the memory of a people so nearly connected in blood, in sympathy, and in commerce as Great Britain, is not likely to be disturbed by the imagery of the poet, however enticing, or the stern fanaticism of the enthusiast, however powerful and exciting. But although these bold fallacies fall unheeded on the ear of Englishmen accustomed for centuries to social order, we must not on that account judge them harmless among the fiery denizens of countries yet smarting from such rule as the Bourbons of Naples; and it is the more incumbent on us to note how easily perverted to evil is the soundest form of policy when assailed by empiricism. The whole of Europe has hailed with acclamation the entry of the Piedmontese people among the family of nations. Her steadiness in adversity, the clear and firm statesmanship of her leaders in politics, and the daring and gallantry of her bersaglieri in war, have laid the foundation on which the King, Parliament, and people, have raised a constitutional monarchy which has won the admiration of Europe; and yet Mazzini only sees it as

An institution condemned by logic, by history, by the traditions of the country, by the sentiment of civil equality which exists among us. Monarchy has, in the space of two years, recreated all those obstacles to unity which the first uprising of our people had cancelled in a moment. Strong in the assent of 22,000,000 of citizens, she in her cowardice has remained yoked to the policy of a foreigner, who does not, cannot logically, desire to see us strong in national unity. Surrounded by the enthusiasm and love of an entire people, she attained no other conception of Government save that of repression. She has engendered antagonism between provinces, classes, army, and people, which, if not stilled in time, will prove tremendous in their consequences; she has inaugurated in Italy, young and exuberant with new life, a system of corruption borrowed from the monarchies of declining nations. To-day,

only two years after the dawn of life in Italy, monarchy governs as Louis Philippe governed after eighteen years of strife—by state of siege, by the systematic violation of individual liberty, by the negation of the rights of the press and the duty of association, by cavalry charges, by infamous battles, impudently rewarded, between brothers and brothers; and all this in order to maintain the country in a provisional state which brands dishonour on our brow, hinders legislative assessment, fetters commerce and all industrial development, perpetuates dismemberment, leaves foreign influence predominant, sows despair and distress, gives opportunities for subterfuges and reactionary attempts, fans the worst passions, drains our finances uselessly, and condemns us to all the dangers and evils of a revolution without giving us any of its advantages.

And again, he ventures to assert, as the consequence of the creation of the Kingdom of Italy, that—

Dead is every hope of concession or of true Italian work from an institution which, impotent to guide, is only able to repress brutally and tyrannically the holiest and most legitimate aspirations of a people which demands its own monarchy; but will not, cannot, create the nation—impelled by a sentiment of its approaching doom, it dissolves rapidly that portion of the nation created by the toil of others.

While of himself and his friends he dares to proclaim—

Despite the stupid calumnies of a corrupt and venal press, history will record that out of reverence to the sentence of the people, erring though it was, out of love to Joseph Garibaldi, in order not to neglect a single chance of concord, we brought to the feet of a monarchy—noted only for deceptions, greed, and persecutions—plans, hopes, presentiments, memories, our power for agitation, the goodwill to Italy created by us in Europe, our influence over the working-classes, and over thousands of youths, believers in our doctrines.

Now, not only is the whole of this tirade palpably and wickedly false, but the inference is logically absurd; for if the people, the working-classes, the thousands of youths, with the goodwill of Europe to back them, created by Mazzini, could achieve such triumphs, would they for one moment suffer "national dishonour," "fettered commerce," "drained finances," "internal despair and distress," and all the horrors thus impudently laid to the charge of the men who led the nation to glory? But it is useless to waste words on such men. Theirs is the fire that burns instead of vivifying—they turn the fertilizing stream that should irrigate the fields into a raging torrent. Many enemies as poor dejected Italy has had in her long catalogue of tyrants, there is none more dangerous than Joseph Mazzini; the more so that he assumes the garb of a friend.

THE completeness of the despotism of the Washington Government is well understood in Europe. The liberty of the press, and the liberty of the subject, have been formally and actually suppressed. Mr. Lincoln has avowedly trampled on the Constitution, and has become, together with his Cabinet, the irresponsible ruler of the Federal States. Some surprise has been expressed at the ready submission of the people of the North to the loss of freedom; but that surprise would be much greater if the harshness and even barbarity of the Lincolnite tyranny were fully known. The savage lawlessness of the Northern commanders and troops in their treatment of the women, children, and unarmed citizens of the South, has in some degree been initiated by the Washington despotism in its conduct to its own citizens. As a sample of the cruelties practised on the Northerners by their own Government, we direct attention to an article in another part of our impression, entitled "Provost Marshal and Cell No. 4," which we reproduce from a New York paper.

American Confederacies.

LORD BROUGHAM, in writing some years ago on the Government of the United States, made use of the following remarks:—"There is not, as with us, a Government only and its subjects (to be regarded); but a number of Governments, of States having each a separate and substantive, and even independent existence; originally thirteen, now six-and-twenty, and each having a Legislature of its own, with laws differing from those of the other States. It is plainly impossible to consider the Constitution, which professes to govern this whole Union, this Federacy of States, as anything other than a treaty, of which the conditions are to be executed for them all; and hence there must be certain things laid down, certain rights conferred, certain provisions made, which cannot be altered without universal con-

ent, or a consent so general as to be deemed equivalent for all practical purposes to the consent of the whole."

The territory comprising the Republican States of North America has been, for the most part, governed, as far as other nations were concerned, under the Confederate system. Even the Indian nations were united under various Confederacies, and as early as 1643, the "United Colonies of New England" were formed for the purpose of repelling the depredations of the Indians and the Dutch. This "union" was continued until 1666, when the "commissioners," who had begun to usurp their delegated authority, were disbanded. In May, 1690, the Provisional Government of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the colonies as far south as Maryland, to meet at New York, for purposes of mutual protection; but delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York only attended; they adjourned after agreeing to furnish troops for the invasion of Canada. In 1696, New York and Massachusetts called for some system of co-operation, by which all the colonies might be made to contribute their proportion towards the common defence; they suggested a Captain-general to be appointed by the King, with power to call out and command the entire colonial militia; but such military dictatorship would not have been relished by the people in America. Penn proposed, as a counter project, a colonial congress of twenty members, to be chosen annually by the Assemblies, with a President, to be appointed by the King, to be empowered during war to provide for the common defence, and, in peace, to regulate commerce and adjust colonial disputes, of which several had already existed, especially on the subject of boundaries. But the Peace of Ryswick caused these plans to be laid aside. Courts of Admiralty, were, however, established among the colonies, similar to the United States and the Confederate Courts, very much against the wishes of some of them.

In 1753, the French, having made incursions upon the soil of Virginia and Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Ohio, Lord Holderness, who was then Secretary of State, requested their Governors to repel the invaders; he also addressed a circular letter to all the colonies, proposing a Convention, at Albany, of committees from the several Assemblies, to renew the treaty with the Six Nations, whose friendship at this crisis was of great importance. Agreeably to this recommendation, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four New England colonies, sent delegates, and the meeting took place in June, 1754; an ill-feeling between the Governor and Assembly of Virginia prevented any deputation from that colony. While the treaty with the Indians was under consideration, the Convention was invited by the members from Massachusetts to consult whether it was not advisable that there should be an union of the colonies for general defence; the question having been decided in the affirmative, a committee, consisting of one delegate from each colony, was appointed to draw up a plan of union. The suggestion of Franklin, the delegate from Pennsylvania, was adopted. It proposed a Grand Council of forty-eight members; seven from Virginia, seven from Massachusetts, six from Pennsylvania, five from Connecticut, four each from New York, Maryland, and the two Carolinas, three from New Jersey, and two each from New Hampshire and Rhode Island: the Council to undertake the defence of the colonies, to apportion quotas of men and money, control colonial armies, &c., &c. Its head was to be a President-General, appointed by the Crown, with the veto power. The Colonial Assemblies rejected the proposition on account of its giving too much power to the Crown. The Board of Trade also disapproved of it, but suggested that there should be a Grand Congress of Governors, and certain select members of the Councils, with power to draw on the British Treasury, which was to be reimbursed by taxes under Act of Parliament. This was unpalatable, and Massachusetts specially instructed her delegates "to oppose everything that shall have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in America for any public uses or services of Government."

The next Congress was held at New York on October 7, 1765, at the instance of Massachusetts, to take into consideration the Stamp Act which had been passed a few months before by Parliament. Committees from nine colonies met; the Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina not having been in session since the call, no delegates were appointed; the same was the case with New York, but that colony was represented by a Committee of Correspondence, appointed at a previous session, who saw fit to attend. New Hampshire was unrepresented, in consequence of some misunderstanding with her Governor. After a session of three weeks, "A Declaration of Rights and Grievances" was agreed to, when the Congress adjourned. The Stamp Act, however, thus resisted, never went into operation; under the influence of Pitt the bill was repealed.

In spite of the Parliamentary claim of power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, the repeal of this obnoxious measure produced throughout America a great burst of loyalty and gratitude. Virginia voted a statue to the King; New York voted statues to the King and Pitt; Maryland voted a statue to Pitt and a portrait of Lord Camden. Faneuil Hall was adorned with full-length pictures of Barre and Conway. Pitt became more than ever a popular idol; resolutions of thanks to him and others were agreed to by most of the Assemblies. After this exultation died away new discontents sprang up. The "Sugar Act" remained in force, and Charles Townshend, who had been made Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward a fresh scheme in January, 1767, for taxing the colonies, in the form of heavy duties on the importation of teas and other articles—an indirect instead of a direct tax.

John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, published some able letters upon the subject, which had a wide circulation both in England and America; he argued that taxes on commerce were just as bad as any other taxes, and that, no matter how trifling they might be, no one could tell to what length such a precedent would be pushed. The newspapers began to teem with essays upon the subject. A public meeting was held at Boston on October 28, 1767, to encourage "industry, economy, and manufactures," when a committee was appointed to obtain subscribers to discontinue the importation of foreign goods. This example was presently imitated in Providence, New York, and Philadelphia, and it was eagerly followed in Connecticut. In January, 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed letters to the King and members of Parliament in reference to the matter; and co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies was invited for mutual defence of colonial rights, to which they gave a hearty response. These remonstrances had, in a measure, the desired effect; in April, 1770, the tariff bill was repealed, except on the single article of tea, which, however, with the "Sugar Act," was quite sufficient to keep up discontent, as they involved the whole principle of Parliamentary taxation. The Americans managed to do without tea; the authority of Parliament was, therefore, practically nullified. The East India Company at this period (July 1773) had great influence with the Government; and with its concurrence several cargoes of teas were despatched to the principal American ports. As soon as this project became known on the western side of the Atlantic steps were taken to counterwork it. A public meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, held on October 2, denounced "as an enemy to his country," "whosoever shall aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea." A committee waited on the reputed consignees "to request them, from a regard to their own characters and the public peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointments." The Messrs. Wharton gave a satisfactory answer, but another firm refused to commit themselves until the vessels arrived; shouts of applause were given for the former and groans and hisses for the latter. The names of three well-known firms in Boston began to be noised about as the intended consignees, and sundry anonymous notes were sent to them. A town meeting was held at that city on November 5, 1773, ratifying the resolutions passed at the Philadelphia meeting, and calling upon the agents of the East India Company to resign. Meetings were again convened on the 17th and 18th of November for the same purpose. On the 19th, the consignees, becoming alarmed at the state of public feeling, asked the "Governor and Council" to take charge of the teas; but before they came to any decision one of the ships arrived. On the 28th, they declined taking control of the property. This was succeeded by a mass meeting the next day in all the neighbouring towns, as well as on the 30th, when the Sheriff ordered the people to disperse. They declined doing so, and the ships-of-war in the harbor had no warrant to interfere in a purely municipal matter. The consignees offered to keep the tea in store until they heard from England; but this was not acceded to, and the master and owner of the vessel were constrained to promise to carry it back. The owner of the ship was not, however, much disposed to carry out the agreement extorted from him, and the Governor resolved that no clearance should be granted until the cargo was landed. After thirty days the vessel would be liable to seizure for non-payment of duties. Two other ships presently arrived, and were placed in the same position. The people re-assembled on December 14; the owner was sent for, and, with a committee, he demanded a clearance, which was refused by the collector, and the Governor declined, for that reason, giving a permit to pass the ships of war and forts. This had been anticipated; a band of fifty men dressed like Indians boarded the vessels, and in two hours threw overboard 342 chests of tea. The ship bound to New York was driven by stress of weather to the West Indies, and reached her port on April 21, but she was started soon on her homeward voyage; while that destined for Philadelphia was stopped four miles below the city, when the captain was persuaded to return to England. A fourth vessel was wrecked near Cape Cod, and the fifth arrived at Charleston on April 21. The teas were landed, stored in a damp cellar, and soon became worthless. These occurrences were announced to Parliament on March 14, 1774, by Lord North, who introduced the famous Boston Port Bill, which met with slight opposition, in consequence of the friends of the colonists being silenced by the audacity of the Bostonians. Another bill soon followed "for better regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay," amounting to an abrogation of its charter. Sundry other bills were passed of a similar character. Burke brought in a motion to repeal the tax, but the Ministers were resolved to "terrify the colonies into submission." Public meetings were held upon the matter in Rhode Island, when the idea of a Continental Congress was suggested; the Connecticut Legislature made the same recommendation; New York agreed to the proposition, and requested Boston to fix the time and place of meeting. Similar views were held by the Philadelphians, who, at a public meeting on May 26, suggested the policy of paying the East India Company for what tea had been destroyed. The inhabitants of Annapolis, Baltimore, and other counties in Maryland, were equally as strong in their expressions.

The Virginian House of Burgesses, in session, took the matter into consideration, and appointed June 1, the day on which the Boston Port Bill was to go into operation, to be observed as a fast. This suggestion was adopted in Philadel-

phia and many other places, and gave a sensible exhibition of the public feeling. Lord Dunmore dissolved the Virginian Assembly on May 26; but most of the members met the next day, and resolved that an attack upon one colony was an attack upon all, threatening ruin to the rights of all, unless repelled by the "united wisdom of the whole" and a committee was appointed to communicate with the other colonies on the expediency of a General Congress. A "General Court" was convened at Salem, Massachusetts, when resolutions were passed, recommending an entire abstinence from the use of British goods, and requesting the Governor to appoint a fast; and, if he refused, to appoint one themselves; also that "a meeting of committees from the several colonies in this continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the country, and the miseries to which we are and must be reduced by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament; and to deliberate and determine on wise and proper measures to be recommended to all the colonies for the recovery and re-establishment of our just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union between Great Britain and America, which is most earnestly desired by all good men." The 1st September was designated as the time, and Philadelphia the place, of meeting.

During June public meetings were held throughout the colonies, when resolutions were passed agreeing to discontinue the use of foreign goods. On the 3rd of that month Connecticut appointed delegates to the Congress; New Hampshire on the 8th; Rhode Island on the 15th; New Jersey on the 25th; South Carolina on the 6th of July; Maryland and Pennsylvania on the 21st; New York on the 23rd; Virginia and Delaware on the 1st of August; North Carolina on the 25th. Many of these appointments were informal, on account of the Governors, who were loyalists, not only refusing their concurrence, but opposing the movement as being contrary to law. Governor Wright, of Georgia, was the only functionary who had influence sufficient to stem the current; that colony, therefore, did not select delegates. The Congress convened at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on Monday, September 5, and dissolved on Wednesday, October 26, 1774, having on the 4th of October passed a "Declaration of Colonial Rights;" on the 20th formed "Articles of Association;" on the 21st adopted addresses to the people of Great Britain and the Colonies, setting forth their grievances, and on the 22nd issued a recommendation for a new Congress, to be held on May 10, 1775. In accordance with this advice, delegates, regularly appointed, met at the State House at Philadelphia, and adopted the following Articles of Confederation:—

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION, entered into by the DELEGATES of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c., &c., in GENERAL CONGRESS, met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775.

Article 1st.—The name of the Confederacy shall henceforth be, The United Colonies of North America.

2nd. The United Colonies hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, binding in themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the security of their liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

3rd. That each colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own Assembly or Convention.

4th. That for the more convenient management of the general interests, delegates shall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only when particular circumstances do not make a deviation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, that each succeeding Congress is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly the next Congress after the present shall be held at Annapolis in Maryland.

5th. That the power and duty of the Congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the settling all disputes between colony and colony, if any should arise, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congress shall also make such general ordinances thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular Assemblies cannot be competent, viz., those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of ports, the regulation of our common forces: the Congress shall also have the appointment of all officers, civil and military, appertaining to the general Confederacy, such as general treasurer, secretary, &c., &c.

6th. All charges of war, and all other general expenses to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age: the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

7th. The number of delegates to be elected, and sent to the Congress by each colony, shall be regulated from time to time by the number of such polls returned; so that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them, to every Congress, an authenticated return of the number of polls in their respective colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above mentioned.

8th. At every meeting of the Congress, one-half of the numbers returned, exclusive of proxies, shall be necessary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in all cases; and if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the same colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

9th. An Executive Council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of twelve persons, of whom, in the first appointment, one-third—viz., four—shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one-third of the members shall be chosen annually, and each person who has served the same term of three years as councillor shall have a respite

of three years before he can be elected again. This Council, of whom two-thirds shall be a quorum, in the recess of the Congress, is to execute what shall have been enjoined thereby; to manage the general continental business and interests; to receive applications from foreign countries; to prepare matters for the consideration of the Congress; to draw up, *pro tempore*, continental offices that fall vacant, and to fill up the general treasurer for such moneys as may be necessary for general service, and appropriated by the Congress to such service.

10th. No colony shall engage in an offensive war with any nation of Indians, without the consent of the Congress or Great Council above-mentioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such a war.

11th. A perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entered into, as soon as may be, with the Six Nations—their limits ascertained, and to be secured to them—their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the Great Council of the Indians at Onondaga and the General Congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the trade with them; and be enabled, at our general expense, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses; and all purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the general advantage and benefit of the United Colonies.

12th. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this Constitution as may be found necessary, which, being approved by a majority of the Colony Assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the Articles of this Confederation.

13th. Any and every colony from Great Britain upon the Continent of North America, not at present engaged in our association, may, upon application and joining the said association, be received into the Confederation—viz., Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas; and shall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our Union, mutual assistance, and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several Provincial Conventions or Assemblies, to be by them considered; and if approved, they are advised to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress; after which the Union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the Acts since made, restraining the American colonies and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port; for burning Charleston; and for the expense of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connection and friendship with Great Britain; but on failure thereof, this Confederation is to be perpetual.

This second Congress adjourned over on August 1 to September 5, having appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief; no quorum was present until September 13, and it continued in session at Philadelphia, with occasional adjournments, until December 12, 1776, when it agreed to meet in Baltimore on the 20th of that month. On July 2, 1776, the colonies that had become "united" by the "Articles of Confederation" became States by the resolution of Congress. On February 27, 1777, the delegates adjourned at Baltimore, to meet at Philadelphia on March 12. On September 18 they withdrew to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where they convened on the 27th of that month, but retired to Yorktown, Pennsylvania, where they held their deliberations from September 30, 1777, to June 27, 1778, and on July 7 they resumed their meetings at the State House, Philadelphia, until May 7, 1783, when they withdrew to Princeton. Congress having adopted the second "Articles of Confederation" on November 15, the several colonies, in giving their approval, "seceded" from the "first" Articles of Confederation in the following order:—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina, on July 9, 1778; North Carolina on July 21; Georgia on the 24th; New Jersey on November 26; Delaware on May 5, 1779, and Maryland on March 1, 1781. While at Princeton, the question of a permanent residence for Congress was raised, and excited a good deal of local feeling. One party was in favour of a Federal city on the Delaware; another named the Potomac; Maryland offered to cede Annapolis for that purpose; New York volunteered Kingston, on the Hudson. The Council of Pennsylvania, anxious to bring Congress back to Philadelphia, apologised for their timidity, which was the cause of its removal from that city. It was finally agreed that, so soon as a suitable site could be obtained, two Federal cities should be erected, at which the sessions of Congress should be alternately held; one near the Falls of the Delaware, the other near the Falls of the Potomac; and that until they could be built, the meetings should be held at Trenton, in New Jersey, and Annapolis. Congress then convened at the latter place, and, after a recess of five months, the annual session was opened at Trenton on November 1, 1784, when a resolution was carried appointing commissioners to lay out a Federal city near the Falls of the Delaware; and stating that it was "inexpedient" to attempt at this time to erect public buildings in more than one place; voting \$100,000 towards the same; and that the sessions should, in the meanwhile, be held at New York. The want of funds, and obstinate difference of opinion in Congress, prevented anything effectual being done towards the building of the proposed Federal city. In 1788 this matter was again introduced, but was postponed until the new Congress under the Constitution should go into operation; and the "Continental" Congress expired on March 3, 1789. The respective "secessions," from the "second" Articles of Confederation, occurred as follows:—Delaware, December 7, 1789; Pennsylvania, December 12; New Jersey, December 18; Georgia, January 2, 1778; Connecticut, January 9; Massachusetts,

February 7; Maryland, April 28; South Carolina, May 23; New Hampshire, June 21; Virginia, June 27; New York, July 26; North Carolina, August 7, 1789; and Rhode Island, May 29, 1790. It will be observed that Rhode Island and North Carolina were not in the "Union" at the election of Washington, nor did New York cast any vote for the first President under the new order of things.

In 1814 the New England States met in convention at Hartford, and came near withdrawing from the Federal compact; in 1833 South Carolina changed her determination to do so, in consequence of her demands in reference to a reduction of the tariff having been met. In 1860 one Abraham Lincoln was elected President by a sectional party, with the avowed intention of interfering with the rights of the States. When South Carolina withdrew from the league on December 20 of that year, she was followed by Mississippi on January 9, 1861; Alabama on the 11th; Florida on the 12th, Georgia on the 19th; Louisiana on the 28th; and Texas on February 1.

On February 4, 1861, delegates from these seven States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a Provisional Government, under the style of the Confederate States of America, which was changed to one of a permanent character on February 22, 1862, having in the interim the accession of Virginia, which State withdrew from the old Union on April 17, 1861; Arkansas on May 6; Tennessee on May 8; North Carolina on May 20; Missouri on November 28, and Kentucky on December 10. The Confederate Congress adjourned from Montgomery in May, and reassembled at Richmond in June, 1861.

The foregoing sketch of American history proves that Secession is no new thing; that the States, although ever holding their own individual organizations, have made changes from time to time in their external arrangements. The Federalists, while ignoring the body of the Constitution, affect great fondness of its preamble, which states, "We, the people of the United States;" and attempt to argue thereby that it formed a consolidated Union; they omit to tell us that the original draft mentioned the names of the several States, but they were stricken out and the word "united" inserted, as it was not known which nine States would accede to its provisions. The word "people," moreover, is used in the plural; in that day there was no such term as "peoples." And it is very strange that no allusion is ever made to the preamble that precedes the Amendments to the Constitution passed immediately after the first meeting of Congress under its authority. The following is the exact text:—

The Conventions of a number of States having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added; and as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institutions, therefore, Resolved, &c.

Nothing whatever is said, either in the Constitution, or its Amendments, about Secession, but the action of all the States shows clearly that they retained that right, and although it is not expressed, it is certainly implied in Article 10th of the Amendments, viz., "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The Union was only to be "perfect" as long as it lasted; unlike the two prior compacts, the word "perpetual" was purposely omitted in the Constitution of 1787.

Reviews.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE FOR OCTOBER.

TEN DAYS IN RICHMOND.

WE have rarely, if ever, met with a more interesting article than the first one in the current number of *Blackwood*, which gives an account of "Ten Days in Richmond;" not a dry, meagre diary of events, but a graphic picture of scenes and impressions, and a simple recital of facts. The ten days included those in which was fought the Seven Days' Battle; a most exciting time to visit Richmond, but for a seeker of excitement it was better to visit New York or Washington. We remarked last week that the Southerners were calm, and this is confirmed by the paper we are referring to. The author thereof arrived in Richmond on Thursday, June 26. All the afternoon the booming of cannon and the roll of distant musketry were audible; as the evening closed in, it became louder; as night drew on, the flash of bursting shells might be plainly discerned from the house-tops. Surely at such a crisis even the calmness of Southerners would give way to anxious distraction, if not to panic; but it was not so.

These various sounds and sights, however, though they might distract the attention of a stranger, seemed to excite neither surprise nor anxiety among the inhabitants. The soldiers on furlough or sick leave, who crowded the steps of the hotels, were smoking or conversing listlessly. The ladies were sitting out in front of their houses apparently unconcerned at what was passing, and only intent on supplying the want of an evening breeze by an assiduous use of the fan.

Every one appeared used to the war. For a month McClellan had been within five miles of the city in point of distance, and, as the Northern papers fondly believed, within a few days of it in point of time. The citizens had become so habituated to the alarms of war, that an engagement within hearing of

Richmond produced, perhaps, less excitement there than it did next morning at New York.

We know, indeed, that this heroic serenity was afterwards disturbed, but not from the proximity of danger. So long as the enemy was at hand, and his artillery menaced the destruction of the city, the patient endurance of the people was unconquerable; but when the enemy was beaten back, and, still later, when the Northern hosts were cowering behind the fortifications of Washington, there was a scene in the streets of Richmond which the heart may feel, but the pen cannot describe. Then might be seen groups of persons, of both sexes and all ages, returning thanks unto the Lord of Hosts for deliverance from the hands of their enemy.

The contributor to *Blackwood*, who, we should observe, dates from "Washington, July 27, 1862," enters rather fully into the state of the Confederate army. The general appearance of a corps of Southern troops does not at first sight favourably impress a stranger. The men are variously and roughly clothed; some are without coats, and some, in June last, were reduced to strange substitutes for hats.

A closer scrutiny, however, showed that essentials were well provided. Besides his musket and cartridge-box, every man had a canteen; most men a blanket and a haversack. A more suitable equipment for summer service in Virginia could hardly have been devised.

And the suitable equipment of the Confederate soldier is due to his own valour.

The blockade prevents the South from furnishing herself from the arsenals and stores of Europe, yet it was necessary for her to defend her independence. The only resource for her ill-armed soldiers was to close with the enemy, conquer him, and appropriate his costly equipments. This has been done so effectually that at present the Confederate army is well supplied with all the materiel and ammunition of war, whilst the North begins to find it more difficult to arm recruits than to raise them. Since the period to which the following passage relates, the Confederate captures have been literally imperial in their dimensions; leave alone the vast quantity of stores that have been destroyed by the Federals themselves, to prevent them falling into the possession of their enemy:—

What gives peculiar interest to the Confederate soldier's dress is the individual history which attaches to each separate article. From the blanket he sleeps on to the cartridge he shoots with, almost everything has been appropriated from the enemy at one time or another. This rifle was exchanged for the old flint-lock on the field of Manassas; that cauten was taken at Shiloh; the grey mare yonder, with McClellan's saddle, was captured in the cavalry charge at Williamsburg; these boots were taken out of the Yankee stores at Winchester. The negro who is following with the sancepan and the extra blanket, being wiser than his master, has consulted comfort rather than prejudice, and prevailed upon himself to wear a Yankee uniform, in consideration that the former proprietor was a full colonel.

Entire batteries pass down the road with "U. S." in prominent white letters on the caissons. It is no exaggeration to say that a great part of the Confederate army has been equipped at the expense of the United States. Flint-locks and fowling-pieces have been exchanged for good Minie rifles.

The discipline of the Southern army would not show to advantage on the parade-ground, or on the march, but at the sound of the first shell and the commands of the officers, the men rapidly and easily form "into a line so close and compact that the sight of it would give joy to a martinet's heart." The want of what may be called soldierly order is compensated for by the high standard of individual intelligence. Yet it must not be supposed the discipline of the Confederate army is loose; on the contrary, the Southern military code is remarkable for its severity. The only laxity is that the drill-sergeant is not supreme, and so that the soldiers are good at fighting little regard is paid to their style of dressing. The efficiency, however, of the Confederates is not the result of any system, but of the devoted patriotism of the men. The Confederate soldiers are *de facto* volunteers, who are ready to make any sacrifice for the noble cause in which they are engaged.

The great strength and power of the Southern army lies in the individual resolution of the men. Every private feels a determination, not only to carry his regiment through the fight, but to see his country through the war. Boys of fifteen are to be seen by the side of grey-haired men. Men who could not obtain arms have been known to fall in with the rear rank, and go into action on the chance of picking up a musket on the first opportunity. It has been described how, at the commencement of the war, all the wealthiest men crowded into the ranks; there has been time for the first enthusiasm to wear away, and yet there are no signs of any flinching from the contest. Scores of names could be mentioned of men who, after having served out their first term of enlistment (twelve months), spent a week with their relations, and then returned to volunteer for three years or for the war. Indeed, no man who shrunk from the war could ever again venture to address a lady.

The last sentence is literally true. The Southerner who has had the opportunity of fighting for his country, and has not done so, must henceforth hold his manhood cheap.

The battle of June 27 is well told from an observer's point of view —

To the south of the river, on the spur of a low, sloping hill, was assembled a knot of officers taking observations of the fight, and round about them a group of eager and curious civilians. Below the hill on which they stood were large, flat, marshy fields, through which that deep and sluggish brook called the Chickahominy, winds along, half hidden by the brushwood on its banks. Immediately opposite was the house and farm known as Gaines Mill. Far away to the right, on an open and comparatively level space among the sloping woodlands, were drawn up a large body of Federal troops. The woods prevented a complete view of the Federal position, and totally hid the line along which the Confederates were expected to advance to the attack.

The fight continued until the friends could not be distinguished from the foes.

There was a long suspense, until a loud wild cheer from the line along which the Confederates had been advancing announced, beyond a doubt, that the position had been carried. The fire slackened, and gradually, as the cloud of smoke drifted away, it revealed the broken and scattered bodies of the enemy rapidly moving off. It was not for some time, however—not till long after dark—that the firing ceased.

The enemy had abandoned the field with all his dead and wounded, and was making the best of the night to cross to the southern or right bank of the Chickahominy.

The retreat of the Federals had been hasty. Knapsacks, coats, blankets, muskets, spades, &c., were left in such profusion that in a few hours after the fight cart-loads of captured property were *en route* for Richmond. In one place there was a large pile of freshly-baked biscuits.

But the most striking feature of the abandoned camp was that it had the appearance of having belonged to a besieged not a besieging army. Here were carefully constructed sand-bag batteries, with raised platforms of timber for the guns inside; while without, in the ditch, a number of fine saplings had been thrown, with their ends pointing outwards, so as to act like a palisade. Here also were long lines of breastworks connecting one battery with another. In another position were extensive rifle pits.

The Confederate camp, on the contrary, had lain in the open woods, and it was only on a few prominent positions that earthworks or rifle-pits had been thrown up.

Great efforts were made to overtake the Federals before they could reach the shelter of their gunboats. The divisions under Generals Longstreet and A. P. Hill went towards Charles City, and General Jackson having repaired Bottoms Bridge, crossed over on Sunday night and Monday morning. In this pursuit the Confederates lost a large number of troops.

The country for about twenty-five miles below Richmond towards Charles City, is a forest, alternating in tracts of pine and oak, according to the soil, interspersed with frequent clearings of from fifty or sixty to some hundred acres in size. It is only on the rich lands by the banks of the James River that there is anything like an open country. It was, therefore, easy for McClellan's rear-guard to cover their retreat by posting artillery at some large clearing on the skirt of the woods, with an open space to play over, keeping their infantry supports under cover of the woods immediately behind. The Confederates were thus obliged to advance through the opposite woods under the shells from the Federal batteries, and then charge across the open space in front of the enemy's guns. It was in engagements of this kind that the Confederates suffered their most severe losses.

Notwithstanding the favourable nature of the ground, the Federals were in great peril. On the afternoon of Monday the 30th, they were attacked on the flank of their line of retreat in just such a position as above described. The Confederates charged their batteries, driving them, as usual, from their guns, of which they captured fifteen. Three hours more daylight to allow Magruder's division to have pressed the advantage gained by this charge, and the greater part of McClellan's rear-guard, together with the whole of his reserve artillery, must have fallen into the hands of the Confederates.

Though we have already quoted so abundantly, we cannot resist the temptation to give our readers the following graphic description of the Confederate camping after the day's pursuit:—

The smoke of the musketry was still hanging about the tree-tops when the camp fires were lit; the dry pine-sticks soon blazed up merrily, and the fitful firelight, gleaming out among the dark stems of the trees, showed the soldiers gathering together in different groups. The events of the day were told over; the prospect of catching the Yankees to-morrow, before they got under cover of their gunboats, was hopefully discussed. One man was inquiring concerning his captain—he had fallen—had he been killed or wounded? Another had found the colonel's hat, and was asking whether he had been seen since the advance through the wood; a third wished to hear of his son, who was serving in another regiment; while another again had no questions to ask; he had lost all his four brothers in the fight of Friday. A feeble-looking lad near by, while stirring some indescribable mixture in a frying-pan, was humming, in a hoarse voice, the popular air—

"The despot's heel is on thy shore,
Maryland, my Maryland."

He was evidently one of the Maryland exiles.

Frequent groups of Federal prisoners, under the escort of a couple of men, were passing towards the rear. They contrasted strangely in their neat blue uniforms with the rough-looking soldiers who stopped to look at them as they passed, greeting them with a smile, and the words, "On to Richmond."

All the while the regiments coming up from the rear to relieve those which had been in the engagement were slowly winding by. They had been marching two days under a hot sun, and it was now midnight. "Push on, boys—push on!" said an officer behind the column. "Yes," cried one of the privates, "push on, boys—push on!" and then in the morning pitch right in: that's the way to get our country back." It was one of the Virginian regiments.

The whole of the affair is thus summed up:—

On Thursday, June 26, he was within five miles of Rich-

mond; on Thursday, July 3, he was over thirty miles from Richmond.

He left in the hands of the Confederates 51 pieces of cannon, 10,000 prisoners, and 37,000 small arms, besides some stores and other property saved from destruction.

From what we have selected our readers will find that this article is worth a careful perusal; but we can assure them that when they have possessed themselves of *Blackwood*, and read "Ten Days in Richmond," they will be still more persuaded of the value of the contribution, and will not think we have devoted too much space in directing attention thereto.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE FOR OCTOBER.

NORTH AND SOUTH: THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS. BY A WHITE REPUBLICAN.

In the September number of *Fraser*, "A White Republican" gave a popular and able *resumé* of the controversy from the first until after the battles before Richmond, and this month we have from the same pen an excellent review of the two Constitutions. To admit the goodness of the contribution does not simply assent to all the propositions contained therein, but there are few from which a conscientious inquirer after truth can dissent. We are aware that many persons will not have aught to do with the constitutional issue. They say it is useless to discuss the right or wrong of Secession, since an appeal has been made to the sword. This is not entirely true; for though the dispute has to be decided by warfare, it is important for the South to vindicate her conduct and the righteousness of her cause. To a high-spirited nation an unsullied reputation is priceless, and the Southerners stoutly deny that they violated the Constitution to which they formerly owed allegiance. It is not, we say, a little thing for the South to feel and know that she is engaged in the defence of national rights and social liberty against the attempted domination of a Government that has all along shown itself tyrannical, and which has, by its latest act, proclaimed itself the abject creature of a fanatical mob. It may, however, be urged that at present it is unnecessary to discuss the constitutional question, and further, that no men out of the Northern States, and by no means all the men in the Northern States, believe that Secession was a violation of the Federal compact; or, at all events, that the North has a constitutional right to try to keep the South in the Union by force of arms. There is some force in this suggestion, and we do not recommend the perusal of "The Two Constitutions" because it defends Secession, but rather, that "A White Republican" says as little as possible about the constitutional justification of the dissolution of the late Union. It is impossible to glance over the United States' Constitution, and especially, to read the history of its adoption, without making a few references to the right of Secession; for the text of the Constitution, and the discussions that ensued in respect to it, as well as its tardy acceptance by some of the States, are so many solemn protests of the inviolability of State rights; and these are incompatible with the idea of Secession being unlawful.

After examining the Constitution of the United States, "A White Republican" points out those clauses which have been most grossly violated by the Washington Government. He particularly notes Articles I. and IV. of the Amendments of the Constitution; the first of which guarantees freedom of speech and of the press; and the latter, the sanctity of home; forbids unwarrantable searches, and expressly declares that "no warrants shall issue, but upon probable causes, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized." For a Constitution to be violated under the pressure of invasion, or insurrection at home, is not without precedent; but in the United States we have the case of a country passing under a despotic rule in the beginning of a foreign war; no one can say there is a reasonable excuse for the suspension of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* throughout the Federal States.

Some of the differences in the two Constitutions are declaratory. For instance, the preamble of the Confederate Constitution is like that of the United States, except the supplication for Divine guidance, and the clause which distinctly recognizes the sovereignty and independence of each State. So with slavery. The slave trade is peremptorily forbidden; and with regard to slaves the same rights are secured as under the old Constitution, except that they are more forcibly stated:—

The great departures, and, we will add, the great improvements, consist in extending the term of the President's office to six years instead of four, prohibiting his re-election; and the retention in office of all Government *employés*, except Cabinet and Foreign Ministers, during life or good behaviour.

"A White Republican" is justified in saying that the change in administration will be far greater than the change in the written Constitution. He concludes his

survey of the Confederate Constitution by declaring that he knows not where, if the principle of self-government is good, to look "for anything wiser or freer in the shape of an organic instrument of government."

Conservative, yet elastic, it restrains, without oppressing, and protects, without infringing, the equal rights and liberties of an equal people. It is eminently calculated in every provision and feature to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and to secure the blessings of liberty to present and future generations;" a combination and a form of Government that the proudest citizen of the Confederacy may be equally proud to administer or support, to execute or obey.—*ESRO PERPETUA.*

A NOVEL.*

THE art of novel writing has in England been sedulously cultivated, and with the most marked success. In this department of literature we are far in advance of the rest of the world. Germany is great in metaphysical novels that are long and wordy, and of which the chief glory is to be so obscure as to be incomprehensible even to their authors. But have we not, in "A Strange Story" and "Sartar Resartus," works that would be idolized by those who esteem the mysticism of their writers as the greatest proof of genius? The French novels of Eugene Sue and Alexandre Dumas are, we admit, specialties which have been caricatured but not copied by English authors, nor is it likely that such a class of fiction will ever become popular in this country. But in France novels are not the staple of authorship, as they are with us. Not many years since we had a Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Colonial Secretary, both eminent for their political ability and their parliamentary eloquence, whose passport to fame had been the production of popular novels. Nor is novel writing indigenous to the Anglo-Saxon race, but rather to England; for America has not excelled in story-telling as she has excelled in other intellectual pursuits. We have several distinct schools of fiction, of which Sir Walter Scott, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Messrs. Disraeli, Dickens, Thackeray, Kingsley, and James, the sisters Brontë, and the authoress of "Adam Bede" are the founders. Any one who examines the plots of the works of these authors will find much to admire in the ingenuity with which the same facts, we might almost add the same thoughts, are invested with an appearance of novelty. The possible incidents—we mean, the fundamental incidents—of a novel are few in number, and are constantly repeated; just as the same notes of music are repeated. The demand for novels in England is due to our peculiar domestic and insular character. We require amusement and recreation as well as other people, but we do not like to seek it in public. The novel just meets this requirement and condition. The circulating library sends the theatre to our homes; and when there is so much outcry about the decay of the English drama, it should be remembered that our novelists are, to all intents and purposes, dramatists. Indeed, so dramatic in the style and plot are the novels of our most esteemed authors that they can be presented on the stage without any considerable alteration, except omitting the descriptive parts, which serve the place of scenery.

"A Bad Beginning" is an average specimen of the sea-side novel—that is to say, it belongs to that class of fiction which may be read listlessly and forgotten as soon as read. The story is so loosely constructed that the second volume might be read before the first without loss of interest, and the characters are so lightly drawn and so feebly developed that they never speak for themselves, but are evidently the puppets of the author. We cannot commend the book before us, but we may express an opinion that the writer of it—who, we presume, is a lady, from the ignorance evinced of the manners and customs of men—can do better than add to the multitude of those novels to which no amount of friendly puffing can give vitality.

The heroine of a "A Bad Beginning" is a young lady beautiful in person, accomplished in mind, and whose benevolence of disposition is almost a fault, and certainly very wearisome. What a comfort it is we do not meet with such a paragon as *Cécile* in real life! This young lady's papa is so terribly henpecked as to be an object of utter contempt, and her mamma is under the evil passion of jealousy on account of her daughter's charms, and who is, consequently, secluded from society. A M. de Molin, a gentleman worn out with Parisian dissipation, and who has the noble brow that fashionable novelists delight in, is appointed Prefect of a department; being on the look out for a wife, visits the parents of *Cécile*, and, by a bribe of 10,000 francs, induces Madame to give him her daughter, although she had previously fixed upon M. de Molin as a lover for herself. The rest of the story, so far as the heroine is concerned, may be told in a few words. She is neglected by her husband,

* *A Bad Beginning: A Story of a French Marriage.* In two volumes. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co.)

who considers any display of affection as undignified. A wicked sister-in-law, who is partial to gambling, intrigue, and secret poisoning, succeeds in separating Célie from her husband, and bringing her to death's door. At the right moment the schemes of the wicked sister-in-law are exposed, and she is punished for her crimes by being drowned. The husband seeks and finds his ill-used wife, prays for forgiveness, and is forgiven; and in the last chapter but one of Vol. II. Célie and her husband are left fondling each other in the most sensational manner, declaring that they had never known happiness till that moment." But "A Bad Beginning" was not intended to have a happy ending, and so in the last chapter—which, by the way, does not occupy quite two pages and a half—the cooing couple are killed off in a most business-like manner. One of the supernumeraries of the story is travelling with some ladies, opens a packet of letters, and announces that Molin has been killed by a railway accident. In the next paragraph we are informed that Célie did not long survive her husband, and the whole winds up with the exclamation of the faithful nurse, "She was too holy for earth!" This conclusion is as comic as though at the end of a comedy the principal *dramatis personæ* were brought before the curtain on biers. It is the most curious anti-climax we ever met with. Probably the suddenness thereof arises from the authoress intending to produce a third volume, and, being persuaded to give up that design, was nevertheless resolved to kill her heroine.

"A Bad Beginning" shows how inveterate are national prejudices. The description of French society is ridiculously unreal, for if it were true that nearly all the men and women were utterly and unblushingly depraved, it would not hold together for a year. The authoress has read a few works relating to the immorality of Paris, and has regarded them as fair types of French life in general. It is not usual for scions of French noble houses to sell their sisters' honour and happiness for a thousand francs, half to be paid down and half in a fortnight. Possibly our authoress did not consider that 1000 francs is only £40 sterling, or she would have fixed upon a larger amount. Nor is it usual for French mothers to hate their daughters, or in the delirium of fever, to exclaim:—

My child? I have not lost her—I tell you I have married her—
Her Soul! I had no charge of it. Mothers have only to do with their children's bodies.
Sold! 'tis false—she was not—I had a right to do what I liked: she was my own.
I will not answer for her Soul—girls have none. My mother never taught me I had a Soul. What have Souls to do with marriage? I hate her; I have always hated her. Begone, I say, I will not come—I have still years to live.

After these utterances the lady screams and dies. Thus to burlesque death-bed scenes in novels is, we submit, extremely bad taste. We are not quite justified in using the word "burlesque," for from first to last "A Bad Beginning" has not the most distant connection with actual life; whereas a burlesque is an exaggeration, or a satire, of the actual.

THE DECREE FOR A SERVILE WAR.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

SIR,—Mr. Lincoln has sent forth a decree which, if it were not as powerless as it is infamous, would be the berald to the South of servile war and its attendant horrors. Europe is not taken by surprise. Politicians have foreseen for months past that, as a last resource, the Lincoln Cabinet would fraternize with the ultra-Abolitionists; yet now this has been done the civilized world is staggered at the impolicy and enormity of the act. How, sir, are we to treat this affair? Can we discuss gravely an edict, promulgated by a Government trembling for its existence, for the desolation and annihilation of its triumphant foe? Yet can we treat lightly an edict that is intended by its authors to arouse the savage nature of the negro, and to make the South a huge San Domingo? If, sir, we are serious, we may be sneered at for being duped by Lincolnite braggadocio; yet if we laugh at the ludicrous spectacle of the cowering, wounded hunter offering to sell the skin of the lion which he has not even the means of pursuing, we may be charged with levity in jesting about a deed that, for atrocity of conception and design, and, let me add, in the bold and naked avowal of its malignant objects, is without precedent in history. This proclamation is, indeed, too puerile to excite laughter, and, but for its evil intent, would be too far beneath contempt to merit notice, however brief, however scornful. A great crime, be it ever so senseless in its object, or ever so bungling in its execution, commands comment and notoriety; and so this decree of the Lincoln Government will receive an amount of public attention, of which it is practically unworthy.

No one will, we presume, deny that Mr. Lincoln has, by proclaiming emancipation, most distinctly violated the Constitution which, in March 1861, he swore to observe and defend. Even the New England clergy, who commend a Sharp's rifle as the best evangelist, and who clamour for an "anti-slavery God," and an "anti-slavery Bible," will not pretend the President of the United States has acted constitutionally; but, on the contrary, will rather glory in his illegal conduct. The ultra-Abolitionists, who will not give the black man a home in the North, and who hate the negro worse than they do the English, must admit that Mr. Lincoln has acted contrary to the letter and the spirit of the law, and that he has completely broken the Federal compact; though, of course, these fanatics will exceedingly rejoice at such a bold proceeding. "We grant," may say the New England clergy and their disciples, "that Mr. Lincoln has no constitutional right to decree the emancipation of the slaves on January 1, 1863, but the end justifies the means." What end? What will be the probable results of this decree?

Mr. Lincoln will gain the support of the Abolitionists. Will this compensate him for the smothered enmity of the Democrats and the coldness of the moderate Republicans? One effect of the President becoming the undisputed member of a party will be the further disunion of the Northern States. I cannot, I dare not, believe that the bulk of the people of the North, even though they may, through fear and panic, acquiesce in it, sympathize with the policy of the Government. I do not prophecy any outburst of popular indignation. The atrocities of Butler and Turchin, at first protested against, were soon condoned, and so the prospective desolation of the South, except that it means ruin to the West and to New York, would no doubt soon be regarded as a very proper and acceptable measure. Still, this emancipation decree is testing the patience of the people to the utmost; and so felt Lincoln, for he simultaneously suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act throughout the United States. He simultaneously announced a sham freedom for the negroes, and a state of political and social slavery for the people of the North.

Is the proclamation likely to shorten the war? Northern emissaries have been busy for years in trying to stir up the negroes to revolt, and they have utterly failed. I do not mind letting the New England clergy and their disciples into the secret of their failure to induce the slaves to murder their masters. The fact is, the negro hates the Northerner almost as passionately and vindictively as the Northerner hates the negro. During the war many efforts have been made by such men as Butler, Mitchell, Pope, and Hunter, to enlist the negro on the Federal side, but all in vain. The negro has approved himself faithful under the most trying circumstances. He has often risked his life in assuming the rôle of the "intelligent contraband," and misleading the credulous Northern commanders; but he has never yet given the enemy a tithe of valuable information. The negro has been left with the women and children of the South, but he has not deserted from his post; notwithstanding the proximity of the enemy's troops. The savage conduct of Turchin, Mitchell, and Butler, has never found an imitator amongst the black population. Suppose Mr. Lincoln's proclamation could be circulated amongst the slaves, why should it do more than the Abolitionists and the Federal commanders have been able to do? To the slaves it will be a dead letter, a sealed book. I do not say that here and there Mr. Lincoln may not get at some discontented slaves. In a labour population of three millions and a-half there are always to be found men ready for insurrection against their employers. What good will come from a few isolated massacres of women and children, beyond the gratification of the New England clergy?

Assume, for argument sake, that the four millions of blacks were incited to revolt, and Mr. Lincoln and his coadjutors were from hour to hour receiving the joyful intelligence of every homestead in the South being a little Cawnpore; that the Southern women were being slaughtered after suffering tortures worse than death; that the hated blacks were being killed by the hated Southerners; that the North has its malice duly gratified; and that under such circumstances the armies of the United States were triumphantly marching through the Confederacy, what would be the gain to the North? Or rather, who can calculate the loss? What would the Western farmer do with his grain? What goods would there be to freight the ships of New York? The desolation of the South by a servile war would be such an unmitigated evil, that if the Northern people were not assured of the utter impolicy of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, they would not tolerate its publication for an hour. But if it does not stir up a servile war, how can it weaken the South or help the North?

The ultra-Abolitionists, and perhaps Mr. Lincoln, believe in the efficiency of this measure; else why should they so zealously advocate it? Did it never occur to them that if there were the remotest probability of their wicked purpose being brought about, the South might still turn the tables on the North? That the slave will rather obey his master than the stranger, is unquestionable. If the Southerner had any idea that he was on the eve of a servile war, might he not determine to enroll his slaves, and lead them into the North? Happily the Southerner will not be called upon to defend himself against a servile war.

Yet Mr. Lincoln's proclamation will produce some fruit. I do not refer to widening the gulf between the North and South, for that would be impossible or unimportant, since it is already impassable. Nor do I regard its influence on the Border States as being of paramount importance, because those States are thoroughly Southern, though the servile war decree will confirm the waverers, if any such exist. It will prolong the war by indisposing the Confederates to negotiation or to claim a peace with the Lincoln Government, and I think it cannot fail to embitter the war. The South will no doubt act with dignified forbearance, but still, we must not expect them to show much consideration to an enemy that, failing to conquer them in the field, seeks to stir up a servile war. Surely it was needless to embitter the contest, and the war might have been continued without resorting to such an extremity.

Mr. Lincoln's proclamation ought to produce an effect upon European Governments. It is a frank confession of defeat. It is not dictated by any anti-slavery opinion. In the loyal States slavery is to be retained and protected, and if any States will submit to the North before the New Year, they will be counted loyal. The object is political, not philanthropic. The wording of the proclamation amusingly admits the weakness of the Government. Mr. Lincoln solemnly decrees that on the 1st of January, 1863, all the slaves in "rebel" States "shall be thenceforth and for ever free," and yet in the same paragraph he promises aid to such persons "in any effort they may make for their actual freedom." It is a comfort that Mr. Lincoln knows that there is some difference between emancipation by his decree and actual emancipation. The Washington Government by this proclamation says, in effect, to European Governments, "We promised to put down this rebellion, and we have failed. We have used up our foreign population, and our native citizens will not fight, even with the inducement of unheard-of bounties. Under these circumstances, though it is (including the slaves) nearly two to one, we intend to stir up a servile war in the South, and so conquer our enemies." Unconsciously the Lincoln Cabinet has advanced one of the strongest possible arguments for the recognition of the Confederate States; and, at the same time, done its best to disgust the European public. Even the ultra-Anti-slavery party in England will look with abhorrence upon the attempt to use emancipation as a tool to promote a servile war in the South.

THIRD ALABAMA REGIMENT.

Captain R. M. Sands, of the Cadets, gives the following revised statement:—

Killed and wounded of the 3rd Alabama Regiment, at the Battle of Krew's Farm, July 1:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Co. A, Mobile Cadets	4	26	0	30
B, Gulf City Guards	5	11	7	23
C, Tuskegee, L. In	5	15	2	22
D, Southern Rifles	4	11	1	16
E, Washington L. In	3	15	3	21
F, Metrop. Guards	1	13	2	16
G, Lomax Sharp Sh.	0	3	0	3
H, Lowndes Bea'd's	3	9	7	19
I, Wash. S. Guards	3	16	6	25
K, Mobile Rifles	1	14	0	15
L, Dixie Eagles	3	10	2	15
	32	143	30	205
Sergeant Major Whiteman (wounded) making a total of 206.				
Total aggregate of regiment				359
Co. A took in	42	Co. G took in	18	
B "	31	H "	27	
C "	37	I "	51	
D "	30	K "	28	
E "	41	L "	28—359	
F "	26	Field and Staff	3	
				362
		Total killed, wounded, &c		206
		Left after battle		151
		The Mobile Register.		

THE BOOTY AT HARPER'S FERRY.—The *Montreal Advertiser* gives an account of the surrender of Harper's Ferry, in which it is stated that the garrison numbered 15,000 men, besides 3,000 negroes, to do the work; and that the place was wonderfully strong. The same journal says the booty taken by the Confederates "was immense, over fifty pieces of cannon, only seven of which were injured; 10,000 stand of arms; equipments complete for 20,000; men a large supply of ammunition; commissariat and hospital stores valued at \$1,000,000; 500 horses and mules, and a large waggon train.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER, Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by **FOSTER AND MOORE**,
Norfolk, Va.; **F. RIMALHO AND NEYREY**,
New Orleans

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds,
Denims, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by **B. G. BRESLEY**, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron-street, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.F.A.
Represented by **Jos. T. Robinson & Co.**,
No. 3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Runford-place,
Liverpool.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by **J. and A. CAUGHEY**,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.
A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 years' experience in
the Manchester yarn and cloth markets as a SALESMAN,
also 24 years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, **BOX J, 19, Post-office, Manchester.**

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.
A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location, close by the Champs-Elysees—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, **MADAME DE W.**, care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Regent Street, London (and 20, Rue de la
Chaussee d'Antin in Paris.)

MRS. E. PRESTON,
31, BURY STREET, ST. JAMES, S.W.
Furnished Apartments and Bed Rooms to Let.
References to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. J. E.
Macfarland, and Henry Hotze, Esq.

MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for books and
goods of all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.
102, Fleet-street, London.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By **J.**
STANLEY BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somely bound, 5s.
POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By **S. R.**
REIDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
THE WEARIMOUTH ABBEY. (Second Edition).
A Tale, illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By **C. A. PORTER**.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.
PROGRESS: or, The International Exhibition.
By the **REV. W. ANDERSON**, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper, 3d.
THE FATHERS OF THE WISLEY FAMILY.
By the **REV. S. BEALE**. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.
THE TRUE THEORY OF A CHURCH: or, The
Right of Principle of Christian Confession,
Elucidated and Developed by the **REV. F. G. HORTON**.
Crown 8vo. sewed, 1s.
DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By **THOMAS COLEMAN**, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.
GOLD OR GRACE: WHICH IS THE BEST?
By the **REV. SAMUEL WALKER**, Curate of St.
Matthew's, Gosport. Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.
HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the **REV. W.**
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.
IN THE PRESS.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By **S. F. WILLIAMS**.
PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.
JESUS, OUR ARK.
THE MODEL CHURCH. The Nature, Constitu-
tion, Government, and Characteristics of the
Christian Church in New Testament Times. By
the **REV. L. B. BROWN**, of Berwick-on-Tweed.
London: William. Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.
At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.
DIRECTORS.
Geo. Campbell,
John Pemberton,
P. Maspero,
F. Pouta,
G. Brouh,
G. Mittenberger.
J. N. Nevins,
S. O. Nelson,
C. H. Stocomb,
B. F. Voorheis,
R. O. Vincent.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.
No. CCXXXVI.
Will be published on THURSDAY NEXT.
CONTENTS.
1. SOLAN CEMENTS.
2. THE HERCULEAN PAPYRI.
3. THE MUSULMANS IN SICILY.
4. THE SUPERNATURAL.
5. THE ENGLISH IN THE FAR EAST.
6. THE LEGEND OF ST. SWITHUN.
7. MRS. OLIPHANT'S LIFE OF EDWARD LEVING.
8. THE MAUSOLEUM OF HALICARNASSUS.
9. HOPS AT HOME AND ABROAD.
10. FEEGE EUGENE OF SAVOY.
11. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
12. LORREMAN and Co. Edinburgh: A. and
C. Black.

Prices 6s. Annual Subscription, prepaid, 21s.
Post free.

THE HOME AND FOREIGN
REVIEW, No. 11. (October, 1862).
CONTENTS.
1. PERRAUD ON IRELAND.
2. POOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.
3. GENERAL AVERAGE.
4. HATTI.
5. VICTOR HUGO'S "MISERABLES."
6. THE EARLIEST EPOCHS OF AUTHENTIC CHRO-
NOLOGY.
7. DOLLINGER'S "HEATZGENIUM AND JUDAISM."
8. MANUSCRIPTS AT CAMBRIDGE.
9. CARDINAL WISEMAN AND "THE HOME AND
FOREIGN REVIEW."
10. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.
11. CURRENT EVENTS.
12. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, Henrietta-street,
Covent-garden, London; and South Frederick-street,
Edinburgh.

ALBION CHAPEL, corner of
LONDON WALL and MOORGATE. The
Rev. Dr. Scott, late of New Orleans and San Fran-
cisco, will preach (D.D.) in this Chapel on Sunday,
October 12, at Eleven and half-past Six. The subject
for the Evening—"YOUNG MEN responsible for
their Influence on Society."

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising. The Southern Press, and the Southern Adver-
tisers, are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notation. The time will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.
The Southern Press, and the Southern Adver-
tisers, are already organised in every Northern city,
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.
The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.
3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.
Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.
We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.
By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SECRETARY-DEPT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.
OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 699,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,739 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 896,429 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANYIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.
OFFICE..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 438,725 17
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,398,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHUR, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

McDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, **MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.**

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors o
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specimen
tations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBRIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 89, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. **RICHMOND.**

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILLWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, **PETERSBURG,**
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., **PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.**

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, **MOBILE.**
Crescent Mutual Insurance Company,
New Orleans.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.
TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$31,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,422,559 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPATT, Secretary.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company
of New Orleans.
The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison,
Ar. Mittenberger,
J. Levey,
Jas. A. White,
Douglas West
M. Masson,
R. P. Hunt,
Martin Gordon, Junr.
Cesaire Olivier,
A. Bohn,
Muma Augustin,
Omier Gaillard.

The Index,
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXIV. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from this intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—startled Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable
contrast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.
This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, repre-
sentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pen of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands liberally and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by **HENRY F. MACKINTOSH**, of 15,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by **WILLIAM FREEMAN**, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C.—October 9, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 25.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 16, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America	385
England	386
Europe	387
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	387
Manchester Letter	388
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH—	
The Confederate Congress	388
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	388
Paris	388
Berlin	389
THE REIGN OF TERROR	390
LEADERS—	
Mr. Gladstone on America	392
The "Westminster" on the Slave States	393
Mr. Seward's Despatch	394
Confederate Finances	395
Southern Retaliation	395
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	396
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
The First Fight	397
Luxurious Living	398
REVIEW—	
Imperialism in France	398
ADVERTISEMENTS	400

should sooner take place than the acknowledgment of Southern independence, is not calculated to allay the excitement in Wall-street. New York has been fighting to arrest the loss of Southern trade, not to consummate the ruin of the North and South. The *New York World* of October 4 "thinks that the proclamation will add to the horrors of the war, and make it twice as difficult to conquer the South, and events will prove the proclamation to be the greatest mistake of the war." The intelligence from the South fully confirms this opinion. Mr. Lincoln's last move has prepared the people of the Confederate States for a long and bloody war. The Confederate journals, which are the organs of public sentiment, have long since repudiated all thoughts of European intervention, and they now bid the people prepare for a renewed and still more sanguinary contest.

The *Richmond Enquirer* says that

President Lincoln's proclamation will simply drive the negroes to their destruction. They are cheerful and happy now, but Lincoln plots their death, for their insurrection is their swift destruction. Released from authority, the negro is a savage, and the same ignorance which drives him to destruction stimulates him to excess. Our military operations are henceforward to assume a grave character. Lincoln's new problem destroys all terms between us, and the next campaign will be a tremendous one, both for the character and the magnitude of the hostilities.

According to the *New York* telegram, the Confederate Congress "has denounced President Lincoln's proclamation for emancipating the negroes as a gross outrage on the rights of private property—an invitation to servile war that ought to be held up to the execration of mankind. The raising of the black flag and retaliatory measures, even to the extent of a war of extermination, are counselled." That the edict should be denounced is quite feasible, and it has already been execrated by the civilized world. It is also to be expected that the threat of a servile war will put an end to the hope of Mr. Foote's proposition of peace proposals being entertained. We cannot be surprised if some retaliation should be proposed in the conduct of a war with an enemy who has so far outraged humanity as to propose a servile war as "a military act." We must receive with reservation the rumour about raising the black flag, and decreeing a war of extermination. If such things have been mentioned in the Confederate Congress, we may be sure they will not be in any degree adopted without cautious, cool, and mature deliberation, and we hear they have been referred to the Judiciary Committee. It is certain Mr. Lincoln has embittered the contest, and no man can blame the South for taking signal retaliation. Such a course is demanded by the interests of humanity. For this case there is no precedent. Never before has a Government proclaimed a servile war as "a military act." That infamy has been reserved for Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet.

We subjoin the text of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation suspending the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* :—

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the State by draft, in order to suppress the insurrection existing in the United States; and whereas disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of the law from hindering this measure and from giving aid and comfort in various ways to the insurrection; now, therefore, be it ordered:—

1st. That during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary measure for suppressing the same, all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice, affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commissions.

2nd. That the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter, during the rebellion, shall be imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal,

military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington, this 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, and of the Independence of the United States the 87th.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

The war news is of an unimportant character. It was expected that there would be a battle between General Lee and General McClellan, and there are several contradictory reports as to the movements of these generals. Some assert the Federals had crossed to the south bank of the Potomac, and that they were proceeding in the direction of Winchester to meet the Confederates, whilst other rumours are to the effect that General McClellan has not made any considerable advance, but is engaged in watching General Lee, "who is making mysterious movements about Harper's Ferry."

Some Southern accounts of the battle of Antietam have come to hand. The *Richmond Enquirer* claims it as a Confederate victory. It says:—

The Federal force was estimated at 150 000 men. General Jackson commanded the left of the Confederate line, General Hill the right, and General Longstreet the centre. It is admitted that the Federal artillery was used with fearful effect, and that upon the whole the battle was the most severe of the entire campaign.

The following is a list of Confederate commanding officers killed and wounded in the engagement:—General Starb, of Mississippi, commanding Jackson's division, killed; Brigadier-General Branch, of North Carolina, killed; Brigadier-General R. H. Anderson, wounded in hip, not dangerously; Brigadier-General Wright, of Georgia, flesh wounds in breast and leg; Brigadier-General Lawton, in leg; Brigadier-General Armistead, in the foot; Brigadier-General Ripley, in neck, not dangerously; Brigadier-General Ransom, of North Carolina, slightly.

The *Richmond Whig* estimates the entire Confederate loss at the battle of Manassas at 5000, and in all the Maryland engagements as not exceeding 7000.

The official account of General McClellan of the battle of Antietam is rather amusing. He admits the Federal loss to have been 12,469, and at South Mountain 2325, making a total loss in the two battles of 14,794. Any one acquainted with Federal arithmetic as applied to Federal losses will think us very moderate in multiplying McClellan's estimate by two. The Federal commander then proceeds to give the Confederate loss, which he places at 30,000, or about one-half the entire army engaged in the Maryland battles. But the most remarkable part of his despatch is the account he gives of the Federal booty:—

From the time our troops first encountered the enemy in Maryland until he was driven back into Virginia, we captured 13 guns, 7 caissons, 9 limbers, 2 field forges, 2 caisson bodies, 39 colours, and 1 signal flag. We have not lost a single gun or a colour. On the battle-field of Antietam 14,000 small arms were collected, besides the large number carried off by citizens and those distributed on the ground to recruits and other unarmed men, arriving immediately after the battle. At South Mountain no collection of small arms was made, but owing to the hasty pursuit from that point, 400 were taken on the opposite side of the Potomac.

Now, when we remember that the Federal losses were so considerable, that, so far from McClellan having gained any advantage, he was afraid even to claim a victory until, two days after the fight he heard that the Southern troops were recrossing the Potomac in perfect order, and, according to his own admission, carrying with them all their stores and all their wounded, except 300, the above account appears one of the most clumsy falsehoods ever published. We do not believe that General McClellan wrote this despatch. If he had sat down to compose a mendacious account of the Maryland expedition, he would have had some regard for possibility and con-

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The emancipation edict of Mr. Lincoln is more than a nine days' wonder. No amount of so-called humanitarianism can disguise the ugly nature of the business; indeed, the Washington Government seems anxious to make it distinctly understood that the sole object of the proclamation is a military diversion in favour of the North; that it is to incite the negroes to a servile war. It may at first sight seem curious that the Lincoln Cabinet should be so frank, but, in this respect, their conduct is not altogether impolitic. Provided there is a feast of blood in the South, the maddened fanatics of New England care not if it is brought about by a flimsy pretence. It is, moreover, just the kind of emancipation the Abolitionists desire. They hate the negroes as much, if not more, than they hate the Southerners. By a servile war they hope to get rid of the white population, and so to reduce the coloured population as to be able to transport the remnant. So far, then, Mr. Lincoln has been able to please the Abolitionists. By his repudiation of any Abolition motive he has, to some extent, been able to ward off the anger of the Democrats. He pledges his Government to protect slaves in loyal States, and that the measure is merely for the restoration of the Union. He thus modifies the opinion of a section of the Democrats; and to further conciliate the element of the Northern population that cares not for any principle but that of plunder, he propounds a scheme of Southern colonization. He proposes forthwith to portion out the South amongst the Northern soldiers and volunteers. The scheme is to be first tried in Florida. The only obstructions to Mr. Lincoln's plan are the power of the Confederates, and the influence of the Southerners over the slaves. If, contrary to all expectations—if, we may say, contrary to apparent possibilities, the slaves should evince the slightest disposition to revolt, the tables would be immediately turned on the North, and the slaves, led by their masters, would gladly wreak their vengeance on the hated Northerners. We assume that there is not any prospect of Mr. Lincoln's atrocious plans so far succeeding as to render such a defence and retaliation necessary.

Still, there is no confidence in Mr. Lincoln's scheme in the North. The declaration of General Wadsworth that the devastation of the country

sistency, though he might have cared nothing about the truth.

General Beauregard, in an order dated September 24, officially announced his assumption of the command of the department of South Carolina and Georgia as follows:—

In entering upon my duties, which may involve at an early day the defence of two of the most important cities in the Confederate States against the most formidable efforts of our powerful enemy, I shall rely on the ardent patriotism, the intelligent and unconquerable spirit of the officers and men under my command to sustain me successfully. But to maintain our posts with credit to our country and our own honour, and avoid irremediable disaster, it is essential that all should yield implicit obedience to any orders emanating from superiors in authority.

We have no definite intelligence of the movements in Kentucky. Louisville was still expecting to be attacked. The stores were closed on September 24, and unenrolled persons were compelled to work in the entrenchments. It is said that General Buell's army has moved towards the centre of Kentucky.

The telegraphic intelligence has this curious item in reference to New Orleans:—"General Butler has ordered all persons refusing to take the oath of allegiance to have their names registered as enemies of the United States. Those taking the oath will be recommended for pardon." It is rather too bad to order people to sign their own condemnation. Those who take the oath of allegiance are only to be recommended for pardon; what, then, must be the fate of those who refuse the oath?

The sixth resolution of the platform of the New York Republican State Convention is characteristic:

Resolved—That our young and noble free Republic should be proud of the distinction that her only enemies are the savages of the West, the rebels of the South, their sympathizers and supporters at the North, and the despots of Europe.

Enemies enough, we should think—in the West, in the South, in the North, and in Europe. This resolution reminds us of the juryman whose opinion differed from the rest of the jury, and he complained of the obstinacy of the eleven dissentients.

The following extract from the *New York Journal of Commerce* shows the anxiety to evade the draft:—

Persons who cut off their forefingers or pull out their front teeth to avoid the draft, will find that they are not exempt. Though they may have unfitted themselves for the infantry, they will do very well for the artillery, and will be assigned to that arm of the service. For a particularly timid man the prospect of this change is not an agreeable one. General Anthon, the energetic superintendent of the enrolment in this city, has devised an ingenious punishment for persons who seek to escape the [draft] by giving fictitious residences out of town. In all cases where an individual doing business here claims to reside elsewhere, General Anthon has caused inquiries to be made into the truth of the statement. If the alleged residence proves to be fictitious, the person so misrepresenting will be subjected to a compulsory arrest and sent to the army, if he does not hasten to make the necessary correction at the enrolment office. The three copies of the lists for New York and Brooklyn will be completed early in October.

Yellow fever prevails at Key West, and in other places.

Notice has been given that after November 1 next no foreign invoice will be received for entry at the New Custom-house, unless certified by Consuls' certificates at the place of shipment abroad.

Mr. Lincoln has visited and reviewed the army. Whether he made a stump speech, as on the occasion of his reviewing the Federal troops after the seven days' fight, is not stated.

General White and Colonels D'Utassy, Trimble, and Ford, were under arrest at Washington, on charges of misconduct at Harper's Ferry.

A Nassau letter of the 6th September gives the following account of the Oreto receiving her armament:—

One fine Saturday night in the month of August, a few weeks ago, at an hour when sailors were likely to be enchain'd by Bacchus, a mob of discharged sailors and others were employed to tranship cargo from a schooner into the Oreto. I am credibly informed that about half an hour after they got on board the Oreto she put to sea, and in about three hours afterwards overtook the British schooner Prince Alfred, said to have been lately purchased for and on account of Mr. John B. Lafitte.

"What schooner is that?" said Captain Maffitt, of the Oreto.

"The Prince Alfred," was the answer.

"Don't you want a tow?" cries Maffitt.

"Yes," is the ready response.

"Then take down your sails," comes from the Oreto, and accordingly a hawser is passed, and the Oreto towed the Prince Alfred to Green Cay, a small island forming one of the Bahama group. On the next day, being the Sabbath, but for which the Oreto had no regard, the men began to take out of the Prince Alfred her cargo and to put it on board the Oreto. They discharged six 32-pounder broadside guns and two 68-pounder pivot guns, lots of stores, shot, shell, and powder. This took six days to do, when the Oreto, having these guns mounted on her deck, weighed anchor, hoisted the Confederate flag, her crew manning the rigging and giving three cheers.

The *New York Shipping and Commercial List* refers as follows to an arbitrary order from the Post Office Department respecting postage-stamps:—

A notice has emanated from the Post Office Department directing postmasters not to recognize postage-stamps which have become soiled in any way! Considering the fact that the public never asked for postage-stamps as currency, and

only consented to accept them as such when it became evident that the Government would provide no other immediate substitute for the silver change which was drawn from circulation by the great increase of Government paper money—against which a united press and a united public vainly remonstrated—the Post Office notice can be regarded in no other light than as an act at once arbitrary and unjust. The inability of the Government to supply the new currency sufficiently fast to meet the public necessities renders it obligatory on the public to continue to use the regular postage stamps as currency, though the large numbers of applicants for the new currency unmistakably demonstrates the disfavour with which they are universally regarded. In view of these facts, the proclaimed determination of the Government officials to repudiate stamps which have become soiled by handling simply, and in the absence of the least evidence that they have been used for postage, is an outrageous infringement of the contract by which the people were induced—reluctantly enough—to recognize this most deplorable currency, which has already caused so much trouble and vexation, and which must result in actual loss to almost every individual. The new Tax and Excise Law, which went into effect on the 1st inst., caused the office where the stamps were offered for sale to be literally besieged on Wednesday, until the supply was entirely exhausted which occurred in a few hours. We understand that the press on which they were being printed in Philadelphia became disarranged or broken, so that another batch will not probably be forthcoming under a week.

A meeting of the Southern Club was held at Liverpool on Thursday last. The Hon. Chas. S. Morehead, ex-Governor of Kentucky, delivered an able address, which is to be reprinted as a pamphlet. Mr. James Spence presided. On Monday the hon. gentleman was entertained at a dinner given by the Southern Club, on which occasion the usual loyal and several appropriate toasts were proposed.

The following circular, by Mr. Seward, addressed to all the diplomatic and consular agents of the United States, is published in the Paris papers:—

Department of State, Washington, Sept. 23.

Gentlemen—You will receive by the mail which will carry you this despatch, evidence which will convince you that the aggressive movement of the rebels against the States remaining faithful to the Union, is arrested, and that the forces of the Union, strengthened and reanimated, are again ready to undertake a campaign on a vast scale. If you consult the newspapers you will easily perceive that the financial resources of the insurrection decline rapidly, and that the means of raising troops have been exhausted.

On the other side, you will see that the financial situation of the country is good, and that the call for fresh troops, without which the material force of the nation would be seriously crippled, is being promptly responded to. I have already informed our representatives abroad of the approach of a change in the social organization of the rebel States. This change continues to make itself each day more and more apparent. In the opinion of the President the moment has come to place the great fact more clearly before the people of the rebel States, and to make them understand that if these States persist in imposing upon the country the choice between the dissolution of this Government, at once necessary and beneficial, and the abolition of slavery, it is the Union and not slavery that must be maintained and proclaimed, in which he announces that slavery will no longer be recognized in any of the States which shall be in rebellion on 1st of Jan. next. While all the good and wise men of all countries will recognize this measure as a just and proper military act, intended to deliver the country from a terrible civil war, they will recognize at the same time the moderation and magnanimity with which the Government proceeds in a matter so solemn and important.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

ENGLAND.

The distress in Lancashire continues to increase. There are now above 4500 paupers more than last week, of whom 1000 are in Ashton-under-Lyne, and 1500 in Manchester. Contributions are coming in liberally; but they are not adequate to the relief of the frightful misery which overwhelms the suffering districts.

Stockport has now 20,000 persons in the receipt of parochial and charitable relief. Blackburn 34,000. In Preston 28,000 receive aid from the Relief Committee. A malignant fever has broken out in that town; the result of misery and want of proper food. The following is the report of Mr. Farnall, the Special Commissioner of the Poor-Law Board:—

Manchester, October 13.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—My tabular report for this week in twenty-four unions in the cotton manufacturing district shows you that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief, as compared with the number so relieved last week, of 4540 persons.

There are now 168,038 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 43,335 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 124,703 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 287.5 per cent.

The total weekly cost of out-door relief is now £10,029 10s. 2d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2268 9s. 7d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £7761 0s. 7d., or 342.2 per cent.

The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions is now 8.7 per cent.; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.3 per cent.

The average amount of out-door relief per head per week in these unions is now 1s. 3½d.; the lowest amount is 11½d., and the highest is 2s. 0½d.

On the 4th instant, I reported to you that during the four preceding weeks the increase of persons in the receipt of parochial relief in the above unions was 23,333 persons; this fifth report gives an additional increase of 4540 persons, so that in five consecutive weeks 27,873 persons have become paupers in these unions.

Last week I informed you that I had received authentic

reports from the honorary secretaries of thirty-one local committees formed in the cotton manufacturing district for the distribution of charitable aid. I have now received similar reports from twelve other local committees, and I am therefore enabled to state that, in the forty-three districts adverted to, the number of operatives and workpeople usually employed is 314,357; that of this number 75,765 were, when the reports were dated, in full work; that 116,749 were working short time; and that 121,843 were wholly unemployed; and further, that the loss of wages in these forty-three districts amounted to £102,494 per week. I have not received any report on these points from the townships of Preston and Macclesfield, nor from a few other localities of less importance, so that these places are not included in the return which I now present.

It will be a source of satisfaction to you to know that the local committees in the forty-three districts comprised in this report, assure me that crime is not on the increase, and that the health of the workpeople is equal to the average.

Mr. Gladstone, is still, as Americans would say, "on the stump" in the North. He has been received with great honours throughout the colliery districts, which have benefited enormously by the French treaty. Ill-natured persons have suggested that he should extend his visit to Coventry, which it has utterly ruined. However, for the present, he is enjoying a series of triumphs; and delighting the ears of his audiences by his masterly discourses on free trade. He responded heartily to the complaints made to him of the exclusive navigation laws of foreign countries, and expressed hopes that time and experience would lead to their modification. The Chamber of Commerce of South Shields presented to him an address of welcome, in the course of which they assured him that they would regard with great satisfaction the employment of every peaceful means of interposition between the American belligerents. At York he was received with the same honours which had attended him elsewhere; and there he reiterated his expressions of regret at the obstinacy of the war, and its disastrous effects on the liberties and prosperity of the North.

With regard to the case of our brethren in America, I for one confess that I can hardly express the disappointment and pain with which I witness what is now proceeding on that great continent. I have never been one of those who have believed that the New World was to be an improvement upon the Old. It may be because our local and municipal and insular ideas in England to a certain extent bind us down to what is English, and tend to make us not wholly impartial judges of the institutions and manners of other people; but I must confess that while at all times rejoicing that America was a free country, I have felt that there was something in the freedom of America that was not quite of the genuine ancestral staple of the freedom of England. (Cheers.) We have now lived to a period when that freedom itself seems to be in danger. Every packet almost brings us the account of measures which show that in the desperate agonies of the conflict that rages civil and political rights are inevitably offered up a sacrifice to the necessities of the time. And there rises in the mind, along with regret for the un-aspersion of human feeling, the question, if possible, yet more painful because it reaches further into the future, how after this tremendous conflict—how, after this overthrowing of force and of military power over and above the reign of law and order, is America hereafter to return to a state of things in which at any rate, whether we may or may not prefer English views of freedom to hers, she did afford perfect guarantee to individual liberty, property, and life. I earnestly hope that that question may be answered and answered in a favourable sense; but I think we must feel that the longer this terrific struggle continues the more doubtful becomes the future of America, the more difficult will it be for her to establish that orderly and legal state of things, now it is too plain, for the moment at least, superseded, in which we saw and were accustomed to see with delight at once the best security for the extension of her material prosperity and power, and likewise the best hope of her continuing to retain that resemblance and that deep attachment to England which I for one believe she never yet has lost.

The meeting of the Herts Agricultural Association was enlivened by an excellent speech, chiefly on agricultural topics, by Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton. The Right Hon. Baronet glanced at the results of "fancy farming," so expensive and so unprofitable to those who are denominated "gentlemen farmers," and who are said never to make money. He spoke at some length of the importance of utilizing the sewage of our towns, and of giving back to the land what is taken from it; instancing as a proof of the consequences of neglect to do so the desertion of large tracts in Virginia and Maryland, once among the most fertile districts in those States.

The authorities have at last made up their minds to preserve the peace of Hyde Park. Sir R. Mayne, Chief-commissioner of Police, has warned off the mischief-making orators and turbulent crowds that have threatened to take possession to the exclusion of peaceable persons bent on exercise or recreation; and we gather, from the terms of his order, that the open-air preachers, Christian and infidel, who have of late years established themselves there, are to share the fate of the Garibaldian missionaries and Irish candidates for the honours of martyrdom. Some thousands of roughs assembled in the park on Sunday; but the police were in force, pickets of soldiers occupied the gates, and excluded everybody who wore a uniform, and the weather, more powerful than either soldiery or police, declared itself most strongly against the intending rioters. Cardinal Wiseman, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, has issued a remarkable pastoral, exhorting his Irish

"sons" to remain quiet and abstain from violence and sedition, and his spiritual daughters to keep their husbands and brothers out of mischief by the feminine blandishments which he enumerates with amusing precision and minuteness.

On the 10th, the East Berkshire Agricultural Society held their annual meeting. Its chief interest lay in some remarks made by Mr. Walter, M.P. (the reputed proprietor of the *Times*) on the dwellings of agricultural labourers. Mr. Walter alluded to an essay on this subject to which he had recently awarded a prize of £50, offered by a benevolent gentleman in the country, and mentioned one of several very strong cases showing the moral depravity consequent on the inadequate accommodation afforded by the cottages of the poor, which had come under the personal observation of the author of the essay. A labourer, an honest, hard-working man, had brought up a family of ten children without parish relief. This man would, most probably, have been entitled to one of the prizes of the Society; but what became of his family? He had two fine daughters of seventeen and eighteen years of age. These were seduced, and went away altogether, and their fall could be distinctly traced to their having been brought up like pigs in a cottage of three rooms, the whole family living together. Many such cases came to the knowledge of every clergyman having charge of an agricultural parish. Prizes were awarded to labourers for bringing up large families without parish relief, and to young women for steadiness and honesty in service; yet the conditions of the habitations in which they were brought up, herded together in this filthy and abominable manner, were overlooked. The improvement of such cottages was the duty of the landlord, and the landlord showed by his neglect of such duty that he stood fully as much in need of encouragement as the labourer to whom he held out prizes and patronised at these societies. He proposed, accordingly, to offer a gold medal, to be given triennially by this Society, to the landlord who built a specific number of cottages of a specific number of rooms!

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—M. Fould, the French Minister of Finance, has presented to the Emperor a very important and very complicated report. The peculiar method in which the finances of France are managed renders it no easy matter for Englishmen to comprehend these documents; and it is next to impossible to glean from them any information which their author may desire to conceal. The present report presents a much more hopeful aspect than that addressed by the same Minister to his Sovereign when he was called to office to restore order to the crippled finances of the country. There was then a "deficit" of at least forty millions sterling, accumulated during several years; and it appeared that since 1852 the annual deficiency had been at the rate of about ten millions. By certain peculiar operations on the public debt, and especially by the conversion of the Four-and-a-half into three per cents., M. Fould has reduced the "deficit" or floating debt by about six millions sterling; and he has contrived this year to provide, at least, the shadow of a surplus. His Budget, as originally voted by the Chambers, would have shown a surplus of about £172,000; but the war in Mexico and other contingencies enhanced the expenditure by above £8,000,000. The deficiency thus created has been met to a certain extent by augmentations of taxes, producing above £2,650,000; by taking up money from the sinking fund, the *dotation de l'armée*, and the balances of certain loans to the amount of £1,800,000 more, and by payments from Spain of £1,000,000, and from China of £400,000, a total of about £5,850,000, from which must be deducted a falling off of £160,000 in the Algerian revenue, leaving only £5,690,000 available. Add to this the balance of £172,000 on the original Budget, and there appears a sum of £5,860,000 to meet extraordinary expenses amounting to £8,000,000, leaving a deficit of £2,140,000, or more. By "annulments of credit," the Minister hopes to obtain £1,400,000; and by the postponement of payment of a portion of the dividends on the debt (under a new arrangement) to January 1, 1862, an equal sum; giving him a surplus of some £650,000. But it is clear, from this statement, that M. Fould is not yet able fairly to meet the year's expenditure with the year's revenue. However, he promises for 1863 a surplus of some £330,000; and the French public appears to be satisfied with his promise. The report has produced a good effect on the Bourse.

GERMANY.—The constitutional conflict in Prussia has reached a crisis. The Budget, as amended by the Deputies, with the vote of censure on the Ministers which they had passed, was submitted to the Upper House, and both the censure and the Budget were rejected by an enormous majority. The Budget originally proposed by the Ministry was then submitted and carried, the Upper House thus taking on itself to

vote supplies which the representatives of the people had refused. The various sections of the Liberal party in the Chamber hereupon assembled to decide on the course to be pursued, but no decision was adopted. The Chamber met next day (Monday), and the President notified to it the vote of the Upper House. That vote was pronounced by the Chamber to be unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. No voice was given against this decision, six members opposed to it having seceded. On Monday evening the Government closed the session, the speech from the throne being read by the President of the Ministry. In that speech the King expresses his regret that the debates on the Budget of 1862 have not led to any satisfactory conclusion, and remarks:—

That Budget, as amended by the Lower House, having been rejected by the Upper House, the Government finds itself compelled to carry out the Budget as it was originally laid before the Lower House, without taking cognizance of the conditions imposed by the Constitution. The Government, although conscious of the responsibility arising out of this deplorable state of things, is also mindful of its duties to the country, and therein finds authorization for deferring, until the legal settlement of the Budget takes place, the expenditure necessary for the preservation of existing institutions and the development of the welfare of the country. It feels convinced that this course will hereafter receive the sanction of the Chambers.

ITALY.—The news of Garibaldi is bad. The following is the report of his Italian medical attendants:—

From the general course of the illness and from all our foregoing observations, we think we may anticipate a favourable success, notwithstanding the degree of ankylosis which may manifest itself; but we are still of opinion that the wound is serious.—1. Because the important articulation of the foot with the leg is open, and the internal ankle is fractured; 2. Because the presence of the bullet is not disproved; 3. On account of the arthritic disposition of the sufferer; all circumstances which might give rise to morbid complications of such a nature as to prolong and even to aggravate the complaint. As to the cure, we deem it expedient to persevere in the treatment hitherto followed.

SERVIA.—The Powers which signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856—Russia, France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Italy, and Turkey—have, through their representatives at Constantinople, drawn up a protocol settling the affairs of Servia. The rebels are to raze their military works; the Porte is to dismantle all fortifications constructed during the present disturbances. The Turkish suburb of Belgrade is to be given up to the Servians, who are to indemnify the proprietors. The Porte retains the citadel and reserves the right of enlarging the esplanade. The Servian Government is to make good all losses incurred by Mussulmans in retiring to the citadel. The new circuit of the esplanade is to be marked out by a mixed military commission, in which Servia will not be represented. The fortifications of two other fortresses held by the Turks in Servia are to be demolished. No garrison greater than is necessary to defend the fortifications is to be maintained there; the troops are not to be used in aggression on the privileges of Servia, and the Servian and Turkish authorities are not to encroach on each other's functions. All foreign corps in the Servian service are to be disbanded, and Servia is expected not to maintain a larger force than is necessary for the preservation of internal tranquillity. These terms are guaranteed by Italy and the five Powers. Will they guarantee the submission of the Servians?

AFRICA.—There are worse things than the slave trade still tolerated on the African coast. The following is the narrative given to the Commander of H.M.S. Griffin by a Dutch merchant of a visit which, under compulsion, he paid to his Dahomian Majesty, and the scenes he witnessed:—

July 1.—Received by the King, who was seated outside the palace on a raised dais, surrounded by Amazons. He saluted the King in European style. The King at once got up and shook hands with him, said he was very glad to see a Dutchman, and continued talking in Portuguese for about ten minutes. He was then ordered to return to his house and keep inside three days.

July 5.—He was brought to the market-place, where he was told many people had been killed the night before. He first saw the body of Mr. William Doherty (a Sierra Leone man), late a missionary and church catechist at Ishagga. The body was crucified against a large tree, one nail through the forehead, one through the heart, and one through each hand and foot; the left arm was bent, and a large cotton umbrella in the grasp. He was then taken to the market, where the King was seated on a raised platform, from which he was talking to the people much "war palaver," and promising them an attack upon Abbeokuta in November. Cowries, cloth, and rum were then distributed. In front of the market-place rows of human heads, fresh and gory, were ranged, and the whole place was saturated with blood, the heads evidently belonging to some of the Ishagga prisoners who had been killed during the night, after having been tortured in the most frightful manner.

Until July 10, Mr. Euschart was ordered to remain quiet in his house, and not to move or look out after sundown.

July 10.—The ground shook violently—evidently, from the date, the effect of the earthquake felt at Accra. Mr. Euschart was at once brought to the market-place, where he found the King again seated on the raised platform surrounded by Amazons; the King told him that the ground shaking was his father's spirit, complaining that "Customs were not made proper." Three Ishagga chiefs were then brought before the King, and told they were to go and tell his father that "customs should be better than ever." Each chief was then given a bottle of

rum and a head of cowries, and then decapitated. Two ty-four men were then brought out, bound in baskets, with their heads just showing out, and placed on the platform in front of the King; they were then thrown down to the people, who were dancing, singing, and yelling below; as each man was thrown down he was seized and beheaded, the heads being piled in one heap and the bodies in another; every man who caught a victim and cut off the head received one head of cowries (about 2s.). After all were killed Mr. Euschart was conducted home.

July 11.—Taken to another part of the town where exactly similar horrors were being perpetrated.

July 12.—All the platforms were taken down, and the programme appeared to be firing guns, singing, and dancing all day; there were no more public sacrifices for ten days, but it is supposed many took place during the nights.

July 22.—Taken to see the "Grand Customs" at the Palace of the late King, at the gate of which two platforms had been erected; on each platform sixteen men and four horses were placed; inside the house was placed another platform, on which were placed sixteen women, four horses, and one alligator. The men and women were all Sierra Leone people captured at Ishagga, and were dressed in European clothes, each group of sixteen men seated, or rather bound, in chairs placed round a table on which glasses of rum were placed for each. The King then ascended the platform, where he adored the Dahomian fetish, and seemed to make obeisance to the prisoners, whose right arms were then loosed to enable them to take up the glass to drink the King's health. After the King's health had been drunk, the effects of the late King were paraded and worshipped by the people as they passed; a grand review of the troops then commenced, and as each marched past the King harangued them, and promised the sack of Abbeokuta in November. Nearly the whole of the troops bore firearms; a few select corps had rifles, but the greater part were armed with flint lock muskets. The artillery consisted of about twenty-four guns (12-pounders). The number of troops altogether could scarcely be less than 50,000, including 10,000 Amazons, all apparently well-disciplined troops. After the review was over, the prisoners were beheaded, their heads being hacked off with blunt knives; at the same time the horses and alligator were despatched, particular care being taken that their blood should mingle with that of the human prisoners.

CHINA.—A despatch from the Hon. F. Bruce, British Minister at Peking, narrates a disturbance which occurred on May 14, at Woo-chang-foo. A party of Englishmen intruded themselves into the pavilion of the Chinese Prefect while a public "examination," the nature of which is not explained, was going on. They were civilly received by the authorities, but were attacked and roughly handled by the mob. The Ambassador rebuked their intrusiveness, and declined to interfere; and his action has been approved by the Foreign Office.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 15.

Our last report left the market buoyant and hardening in price, under the influence of Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. Middling Orleans worth fully 28d., and Fair Dhollerah 17½d. to 18d. per lb. On Thursday, however, the tone was checked by the report of Gladstone's speech at Newcastle. In it the Minister stated his conviction that the South now constituted a distinct nation, and could never be re-united to the North. This statement was interpreted by part of the press to betoken approaching recognition, and the impression gained ground both at Manchester and here that something would speedily be done. The market accordingly was damped, and the sales fell to 4000 bales. On Friday and Saturday the feeling deepened with sales of 2000 to 3000 bales and some anxiety to sell was shown among holders. Surats were sold at 17d., for Fair Dhollerah or a full ½d. decline.

On Monday the Arabia's news was to hand, and its scope was considered in favour of the market. The war fever seemed, if possible, to be growing in intensity, and fresh venom was evidently infused into the strife by the President's proclamation. Our market opened with some symptoms of improvement which were strengthened by a report that telegrams from Bombay announced 4s. advance in goods, but it proved that this quotation was a mistake for four annas or 6d. per piece, and subsequent telegrams confirmed the smallness of the advance. In Calcutta the rise in goods was quoted at 1s. This news was very disappointing to holders, for it was the response to the heaviest advance on this side, amounting in Manchester to 4s. or 5s. per piece, and it left the Indian markets still 20 per cent. below the prices current in Manchester. Much dependence had been placed upon these advices, and it was hoped that they would have stimulated the market for goods, and infused new life into the trade. The mainstay of our market accordingly was broken, and since then its course has been steadily downwards. On Monday the sales were 3000 bales without much notable decline, but yesterday they fell to 1000, and to-day they scarcely reach that amount, and considerable pressure is shown in some quarters. The recent heavy arrivals of Bombay ships have increased the depression, there being up this week already 60,000 bales. Sales have been made to-day of Fair Dhollerah at 16½d., and at that price it is difficult to proceed. Business being almost suspended, and it is hardly possible to give quotations. Middling Orleans may be put nominally at 26d., Fair Broach at 18d., and Omrawuttie at 16½d. per lb., and in cotton afloat, Dhollerah has been sold to-day at 16½d., nearly due.

A variety of circumstances have conspired for the moment to depress the market. The stock is swelling to a degree that no one anticipated a month ago. It seems likely that it will reach 300,000 bales; a figure sufficient for the moment to allay the fear of absolute famine. Manchester, on the other hand, opposes a stubborn inactivity to the wishes of speculators,

though the production of goods is supposed to be reduced to one-sixth of its former amount, the demand remains unaccountably supine without any immediate prospect of a revival. Under these depressing circumstances, consumption has completely broken down, the mills are closing up at a rate hitherto unknown in this crisis, and the general impression in Manchester is, that not more than 8,000 or 10,000 bales per week is now using. It is probable that this estimate is quite too small, still it is evident, that with so narrow a foundation for *bona fide* demand; the market cannot be sustained here under large *speculations* without a strong speculative feeling which for the moment is quenched.

So far as America is concerned, each mail only deepens the impression that the country is drifting into inextricable chaos and anarchy, but the eye of the commercial public is diverted at present from this side of the picture, and fixed on the deadlock to which our manufacturing system has come.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, October 14.

The quietness which has pervaded our market for several weeks past still continues, and the amount of business transacted since this day week may be set down at almost *nil*.

In the early part of the week there were some enquiries for shirtings and printers, and offers were made at prices varying from 6d. to 1s. per piece under quotations, more, it is supposed, to test the strength of the market than to effect business.

Friday was an extremely quiet day, there being no enquiries for anything at all, the speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone, at Newcastle, having put a damper upon any disposition for business in either yarn or cloth which might have been previously manifested.

To-day the disappointment caused by the tameress of the telegraphic advices received yesterday from India, has been intense, a considerable advance in the prices of all kinds of goods having been looked for, as it was generally expected that we should have received news in response to the excitement which prevailed in our market during the week ending August 30, when shirtings advanced close upon 4s. per piece. The Bombay telegram, which is dated 27th ultimo, advises us of the receipt of our mail news of September 3, and telegraphic advices of 10th idem, the latter taking out news of the reaction which had set in here.

Although our market is so excessively quiet, we can report no weakness on the part of holders, as they remain firm at extreme quotations.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

Private letters from New York announce the death, in a recent engagement, of the Hon. John Forsyth, late United States' Minister to Mexico, and more recently, one of the Commissioners sent by the Confederate Government to Washington, to propose terms of peaceable separation. The death of such a man would be a serious loss to his country, but his nearest friends in Europe discredit the intelligence, as at latest advices he was detained by civil duties in Mobile, and had not entered active military service. It is considered by them more probable that the announcement refers to his son, Colonel Charles Forsyth, of the 3rd Alabama Regiment, or to his brother, Colonel Robert Forsyth, both of whom were in the recent great battles.

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

On the 26th September, a message was received from the Senate, stating that the Senate had agreed to the report of the Committee of Conference in relation to the Bill "further to provide for the public defence."

Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, from the Committee of Conference, reported that the committee recommended that the House concur in the report of the Committee of Conference. He said he was deeply impressed with the importance of speedy and harmonious action in relation to the subject before the House. It was found impracticable in the Committee of Conference to embody the features which were distinctly the features of the House Bill. The bill now reported was substantially the Senate Bill, with some slight, but very essential, amendments.

Mr. Boteler, of Virginia, obtained the floor. Mr. Foote hoped the gentleman did not rise to call the question. If he did, he appealed to him by every consideration of courtesy and patriotism not to do it.

Mr. Boteler replied that he was blind to any appeal to courtesy, and to everything but the welfare of his country, at the present moment. Whatever his will might have been, his patience was exhausted, and many an hour had been lost already in discussion. He had recently returned from the army of the Potomac, and he had heard the appeals of soldiers made again and again asking when reinforcements were coming. It was now time that the eternal talk on this Bill should cease. It was an easy matter to vote down the question if gentlemen did not desire to sustain it, but he was impelled by a sense of public duty. He did call the question upon the Bill, and he should adhere to it.

The call of the question having been sustained, the yeas and nays were ordered on the passage of the Bill, and were recorded as follows:—

Yeas.—Messrs. Baldwin, Barksdale, Batson, Boteler, Breckinridge, Chambers, Chilton, Collier, Conrad, Conrow, Curtin, Dargan, Dawkins, De Jaraett, Dupre, Elliott, Fester, Freeman, Gardinier, Garland, Garrett, Geary, Goode, Graham, Gray, Harbridge, Heiskell, Hilton, Holcomb, Holt, Johnson, Kenan, of Georgia, Kenan, of North Carolina, Kenner, Lander, Lyon, Machen, McRae, Meneses, Miles, Moore, Munnerlyn, Pugh, Ruhl, Reel, Royston, Russell, Sexton, Swann, Tibbs, Vest, Wilcox, Wright, of Texas, and Mr. Speaker—54.

Nays.—Arrington, Bell, Boham, Boyce, Bridgers, Cham-

bliss, Clapp, CLOPTON, Curry, Davidson, Davis, Farrow, Foote, Gartrell, Hanly, Harris, Hebert, Jones, Lyons, Marshall, McDowell, McQueen, Perkins, Preston, Smith, of Alabama, Strickland, Trippe, Welsh, and Wright, of Georgia.—29.

So the Bill was passed.

Mr. Kenan, of Georgia, moved to reconsider the vote by which the Bill had been passed. The measure just passed struck out the only adjustment, looking to peace, between the State and Confederate Governments, by which the House Bill had authorized the President to make a requisition on the Governors of the States for the troops needed. Was it proper at a time like this to create dissension and collision in any State of this Confederacy? Where could be the objections to this feature of the Bill? He would always sustain the Government, but there had always been dissension upon the Conscription Law. In the State of Georgia it had been declared to be null and void, because it was unconstitutional. He had no doubt but if the President were to make requisitions upon the Governors they would be complied with. He could tell gentlemen now there was danger of dissension between the Government and States in this confederacy. He hoped it could be avoided, but he greatly feared it would come. Therefore he appealed to the House to consider the vote by which they passed the Senate Bill.

Mr. Foote said that he was very happy that the gentleman from Georgia had found that opportunity to address the House which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Boteler) had so ungraciously refused him. The gentleman from Virginia had been away some time, and now came back to lecture the House on its legislation, and ungraciously and discourteously refused to listen to any appeals whatever. (Cries of "order.") The House had been informed by a member of the state of things in the State of Georgia. That member had said that there was danger of a collision between the States and the Confederate Government. He would tell the House that a similar state of things existed elsewhere. There had been facts reported which showed it. Why should the House be restricted to the edict, and be dictated to as to what course it should pursue by a party of Consolidationists in the other legislative branch of the Government? Mr. Foote said that he spoke of some who were then outside the hall, and not in the other branch of the Government. It was well known that some time since he had emphatically declared, in unequivocal language, that there was danger existing, and now they had it from the lips of a high-toned gentleman from Georgia, making magnanimous disclosures in relation to the condition of the country, and appealing to them not to involve this country in civil war. By the Bill of the House the country would have been quieted, and an abundance of soldiers procured for the war. Let all the Consolidation men of this day, and all the Federalists of the old Government, cry out; let those who had always been enemies of State rights, and those who voted against paying back the fine of General Jackson, all Consolidationists and Federalists, utter their sentiments in a voice of thunder; let them come on. He was done; he had had his say; he had expressed his opinion, and he called the question. (Laughter.)

The House refused to reconsider.—yeas, 24; nays, 53.

Mr. Boteler said that he was much obliged to the gentleman from Tennessee for the reply made to his call for the question. He had stated in his remarks that in the exercise of his right, and impelled by a sense of duty, he had done what he thought proper. There was no one in the House who felt the remarks of the gentleman less than he did, and the best reply he could make to them was to recall the action of the gentleman on this very Bill. The gentleman had seized every opportunity to talk and speak on this very bill, upon this and every occasion, and he ought to be one of the last members to complain. He was induced to pursue the course of action which he had done because he had been, as he said, among the camps, and had been appealed to again and again to say when the reinforcements were coming, and he could not give an answer because he did not know when the eternal talk would end and action be taken. The gentleman from Tennessee, then, had no cause to lay the charges against him which he did. But of him he would say that if we were about to send an ambassador abroad, he would certainly advocate the sending of the gentleman from Tennessee, for then it could be said of this Government *Ex pede Herculem*, "from the size of the foot (Foote) we recognize a Hercules." (Laughter.)

On the 29th ult.—

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, submitted the following joint resolution:—

"Resolved,—By the Congress of the Confederate States that the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, issued at the city of Washington in the year 1862, wherein he declares 'that on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated parts of a State, whereof the people shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be henceforth and for ever free,' is levelled against the citizens of the Confederate States, and, as such, is a gross violation of the usages of civilized warfare, an outrage on the rights of private property, and an invitation to an atrocious servile war, and therefore should be held up to the execration of mankind, and counteracted by such severe retaliatory measures as in the judgment of the President may be best calculated to secure its withdrawal or arrest its execution."

Mr. Clark, of Missouri, moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was in favour of declaring every citizen of the Southern Confederacy a soldier, authorized to put to death every man caught on our soil in arms against the Government.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, said that the resolution had not been drawn without reflection. The question of retaliation was exclusively an executive one, to be regulated by circumstances. But it was proper that the legislative department of the Government should express its approval of the retaliation contemplated by the resolution.

Mr. Henry, of Tennessee, said that the resolution did not go far enough. He favored the passage of a law providing that upon any attempt being made to execute the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln we immediately hoist the "black flag," and proclaim a war of extermination against all invaders of our soil.

Mr. Phelan, of Mississippi, said that he had always been in favour of conducting the war under the "black flag." If that flag had been raised at Manassas a year ago, the war would have been over now.

Mr. Yancy, of Alabama, moved that the pending resolution, together with the resolutions submitted by him some time since relative to retaliation, &c., be referred to a select committee of three, and be made the special order for Wednesday next.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, moved that all of said resolutions be referred to the Committee on Judiciary. This was agreed to.

ANOTHER ORDER BY GENERAL BUTLER.

Headquarters Department of the Gulf,
New Orleans, Sept. 18, 1862.

GENERAL ORDER.

I.—All transfers of property or rights of property, real, mixed, personal or incorporeal, except necessary food, medicine, and clothing, either by way of sale, gift, pledge, payment, lease or loan, by an inhabitant of this department who has not returned to his or her allegiance to the United States (having once been a citizen thereof) are forbidden and void, and the person transferring and the person receiving shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

II.—All registers of the transfer of certificates of stock or shares in any incorporated or joint stock company or association, in which any inhabitant of this department who has not returned to his or her allegiance to the United States (having once been a citizen thereof) has any interest, are forbidden, and the clerk or other officer making or recording the transfer will be held equally guilty with the transferer.

By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER.

George C. Strong, A. A. G.

A private letter, dated New Orleans, Sept. 19, inclosing the above, says:—

Our Banks to-day, under the new order, are not paying cheques, or transferring stocks, or, in fact, doing anything. They will not even give parties their boxes without taking what they call the oath.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 3.

The period of inflation has at last been reached; bonds, stocks, merchandize, and even real estate, are advancing in value for paper money. Every million of dollars issued from the Treasury Department increases the size of the bubble in a greater degree than the last, but this state of affairs cannot continue long. Government securities (!) of course do not partake of the rise, their fixed rate of interest being higher than the current discount in the street, makes the bonds slightly above the par of the green backs. Repudiation has commenced; the small end of the wedge has to be driven in first, and postage-stamps act as this instrument; they can no longer be called "post" notes; for all those that have been used as currency are not permitted to convey a letter through the mails, nor do the Washington authorities propose to redeem them. What the issue will be no one can tell, the chances are that they will "stick" on the hands of the innocent public.

It is thought that but a very small amount of specie has been deposited on ten days' call with the sub-treasurer, but that the banks have secretly loaned Mr. Chase several millions of dollars to pay the interest due on the 1st inst. The gold being disbursed among the community, has found its way to the bullion dealers, and a temporary decline in the premium has taken place. Next week the rise will be rapid beyond doubt.

Importations continue heavy. Notwithstanding the high tariff, the country is bare of goods.

PARIS, October 14.

If Tacitus really believed in the "wise saw" he laid down some sixteen centuries ago, that that people was indeed happy whose history offered no features of interest, the Roman estimate of happiness differed very considerably from that existing in Paris, A.D., 1862. We Parisians are not happy when we have nothing interesting to talk about, and the past week having been a very dull one, a decided gloom has pervaded our manner of viewing things.

The anticipations of a revival of political activity, in consequence of the Emperor's return, have not, so far, been verified, and hence a certain amount of disappointment.

Only two Cabinet Councils have as yet been held at St. Cloud. At one it is said the American question was mooted, but without any decision being come to. An attempt was made by M. Thouvenel, who is a warm partisan of the cause of Italy, to ascertain whether there was any prospect of the Emperor stating his intentions on the subject, and, if we are rightly informed, it was met with a very curt rebuff. It is high time, however, the Government should speak out on the Italian question. The public are "half-sick of shadows" as Tennyson hath it, and most thoroughly so of the endless speculation which has been going on on the subject, which seems quite as eternal as the city it refers to is reputed to be.

M. Fould has published in the *Moniteur* a report to the Emperor, in anticipation of his usual financial statement. His Excellency deals largely in that kind of prospective finance, which has been adopted in France; probably out of a wish to make up for the unsatisfactory state of present circumstances by glowing anticipations of a golden future. Judging, however, the document from the figures quoted, M. Fould appears to have contrived, by dexterous financial manipulations, by shifting over to next year burthens which belong to this one,

to make, at all events, both ends meet on 31st December next. His hope that he will be able to enter upon the financial year 1863 with a reserve of eighty millions of francs to meet "unforeseen contingencies," must not be too confidently relied on. If he really is enabled to balance the receipts and the expenditure, he will have done that which no financier has been able to accomplish.

Next to M. Fould's report, which has hardly excited that amount of attention, which so important a political document deserves we have to record a warning to the *Courier du Dimanche*, for an article of M. Prevost Paradol, on the Roman question. The article was a criticism—by no means ill-natured, but replete with all the powers of quiet sarcasm and quiet irony which distinguish the style of that very able writer—of the wavering policy of the French Government. It consists of a dialogue between a champion of the Papacy and a partisan of Italian unity, each of whom finds in the policy and the despatches of the Government convincing arguments in favour of his views—that the Government means never to desert the Pope, and that the troops will shortly be withdrawn from Rome. The sly hits which the writer deals *en passant* at the Government constitute the offence, but they are so witty and so delicate, that though it is by no means difficult to suppose that they must have occasioned considerable annoyance, the excessive zeal of M. de Persigny can alone account for his coming down with so smashing a sentence as that which he uses to describe the article—*excitation à la haine et au mépris du gouvernement*. All that the writer infers is that the Government is in a state of great perplexity, and is reluctant to break with the clerical party by sacrificing the Pope, or with the Liberal party by destroying Italian unity, which owes its existence to the arms and influence of France.

There has also been a talk of the revival of the Venetian question, and of a forthcoming war with Austria. The only fact which can be quoted in corroboration of this rumour is a speech of the new Prussian Premier, M. de Bismark openly directed against Austria. M. de Bismark being well known as an advocate of a French alliance, *quid nunc*, lost no time in getting up a neat little plan of a Prusso-Franco-Italian alliance, with a special view to the speedy demolition of the Austrian empire. If any idea of the kind was ever contemplated by any of the Powers mentioned, the manner in which M. de Bismark's attempt to break the liberties of his country, and to transfer the control of the public purse from the elective to the hereditary branch of the Legislature, must have been disappointing. The whole of the Liberal party throughout Germany is up in arms against the attempted *coup d'état*, and if the Berlin Cabinet should persevere in its despotic policy, it may easily, at the cost, that there is danger in trying to establish a despotism without the genius that can excuse, and the courage and resolution that alone are able to enforce it. King William and his advisers are likely to have their hands full enough at home, not to have much time left to think of "Germanic hegemony" and aggressive war against a neighbour who is both more liberal and more powerful than themselves.

The "emancipation" proclamation of President Lincoln has, as we anticipated last week, been commented on by the various papers, not according to its merits or demerits, but according to the bias of the various prints. The thick and thin partisans of the North are loud in its praise—the *France*, the *Pays*, and the *Constitutionnel*, greatly exaggerating its power, set it down as an atrocious attempt to excite a servile war. The most remarkable of the articles which have appeared on the subject is one in the *Constitutionnel*, which, endorsing the *dilemma* of Mr. Gladstone, that President Davis had made a nation of the South, argues that the time has arrived when its recognition can no longer be with any propriety withheld. The question, it is understood, is under the serious consideration of the French Government, but the decision it may arrive at will mainly depend upon the course pursued by England.

The report of General McClellan on the battle of the 17th is severely criticised by those papers which have ever shown themselves the most constant and bitter opponents of the South. The *Presse* of this (Tuesday) evening says:—

The absence of details concerning the battle of the 17th ult. would lead one to suppose that the advantages of McClellan are by no means so great as he at first represented them to be. All that we can gather from the official reports of the generals is, that after two days' fighting they lost 14,700 men. As for the military operations usually described in such documents, they are not even made the subject of a passing mention, as though it were feared extraneous matter would lessen the effect of that grim enumeration of killed and wounded. Is it not at least injudicious to tell the public all that an army has lost without saying a word of what it has achieved? On the other hand, we find that the Con-

federates, whom McClellan described as "dispersed and demoralized," still hold on the Potomac the position they occupied on September 18. Nay, more—they appear determined to maintain themselves on the frontiers of Virginia, and make Winchester the basis of their operations. In short, if McClellan has, as he asserts, triumphed on the 17th, we may remind him of what was said to Hannibal:—"You don't know how to turn your victory to account."

The Bourse has been quiescent for the last week, but to-day a tremendous fall of 1 per cent. took place in Rentes, and a regular panic ensued. The "Bull" party, however, confidently predict a tremendous rise for the end of the month.

(From our own Correspondent.)

BERLIN, Oct. 13.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the gravity of the political situation in Prussia, but, on the other hand, the immediate result of the present conflict between King and Lords on the one side and the House of Deputies on the other is less likely to be a sudden catastrophe than at a distance it may seem to threaten. If the King, confiding in the support of the Feudal party, should unhappily be induced to attempt a *coup d'état*, then indeed a fire will be kindled which will spread through all Germany, and in which more than the parchments of the feudal lords may be consumed. But the unready German mind will hesitate long before it proceeds to such extremities, and the King will have ample time for reflection and repentance allowed him. But in this view of the case the Prussian people is considered only in the general, and no account is taken of an element it contains, which, from its position, may at any time exercise (as it did in 1848) a powerful influence on the fortunes of the country; I mean the Berlin *gamin*, a creature as volatile, as witty, and almost as mischievous as the Parisian. In a Government such as the Prussian still is, and must long continue to be, whatever the progressive encroachments of the popular element, the personal character of the King is too important not to demand careful study by those who would judge of events. As his character is little understood in England, I shall employ this letter in sending you a short sketch of his public history. Eclipsed by the brilliant precocity of his elder brother, James I. of Prussia—but whom Goethe admired as a boy, and of whom it was said in later life that he should have been a professor of *Æsthetics*—the present King's education was totally neglected. He was made a mere soldier, and while still a boy, after earning the iron cross of valour on the field of battle in the last days of the empire, he was sent to the Court of Russia, where he passed many years of his youth. He came back to Germany a military martinet, although he proved in Baden, during 1840, that he had not been born a general. His avowed predilection for absolute doctrines, perhaps also his unbending deportment, rendered him so unpopular in those troubled times that his brother was obliged to send him into honourable exile on a mission to England, where he remained for several months. His first words on his return, after the settlement of the present Constitution, were to the effect that while living in a constitutional country he had studied and had learned to admire the working of the system. These expressions, coming from one who had never been known to conceal his opinions, whose rough candour had always formed a contrast to his elder brother's fantastic insincerity, were accepted by the Liberal party as meaning more than he perhaps intended. While the last years of the late reign were employed in the attempt to render illusory the Constitution which had been forced upon the King in 1848, the Prince of Prussia remained aloof from public affairs; while it was known that he devoted to their study all his honest but slow faculties. The favourable impression which he thus created was still further confirmed by his conduct in assuming the regency. He did so, not as the Queen and the Court party had desired, as his brother's delegate, but as next heir, in virtue of the Constitution and in presence of the assembled Parliament. The Liberal party, confident in the strong respect for duty which the Regent had always displayed, gave him their cordial support, and excused his unwillingness to grapple with several important questions which were urged upon his Government, on the plea that, acting as his brother's representative, delicacy forbade him to adopt measures which he knew that brother would not have sanctioned. At this time the Prince Regent, whose property had been confiscated only ten years before, whose palace had been gutted, who had been obliged to seek shelter from the fury of the mob in the residence of a private friend, had become the most popular man in Germany. The well-known speech at his coronation gave the first blow to this trustful admiration, and since then the King has seemed to lose no opportunity of squandering the treasure of popular confidence which the Regent had

amassed. The ministers who served him have left him or been dismissed, and the moderate Liberals, who were his warmest friends, are now the opponents of his policy. Still it would be unfair to tax him with duplicity. Even in his present attitude, the soldier's bearing is discernible. He knows only his *consigne*—the Constitution—and he sticks to it faithfully, all the more stubbornly that he finds others understand it differently from himself. The soldier knows only the letter of the law. For the King, the Constitution means a certain number of words written on certain sheets of parchment or paper, and which, like a penal enactment, must be interpreted in the narrowest sense. He says to himself that there is a Constitution in France, and to this he looks for the exegesis of that of Prussia, forgetting the difference of races, and not appreciating the difference of men and time. The year of grace 1862 in Prussia is in France the year '73 of the great Revolution. The Deputies, and with them the great majority of Prussians—all but the Feudal party, which is almost confined to the members of the House of Lords—understand by a Constitution something quite different from a penal statute. For them, it is a Bill of Rights, rather than an Act of Grace, at all events to be explained in the widest sense. It is the title-deed by which they claim the leadership of Germany. They look not to France, but to England; and seeing by what steps the English Parliament became supreme, they imitate it by clutching at the purse-strings. The Army Estimates are the bone of discord, the Deputies pleading economy for cutting them down, the King's Government the defence of the country for maintaining them as proposed. The House of Lords has thrown out the amendment of the Deputies, and passed the bill as prepared by the Government; and while I write the Deputies are discussing resolutions to stigmatize the Lords' interference as unconstitutional. Theoretically, there is something to be said for both sides. A scattered territory, such as that which makes up the Prussian monarchy, must depend on the efficiency of its army for its safety. Its existence is due to this policy, from which its sovereigns have never deviated since the time of the Great Elector, and which they have pursued without imposing upon their subjects any exorbitant taxation. On the other hand, experience has proved that the command of the public fortune is the only legitimate source of influence which the popular branch of the Legislature can pretend to; the Deputies are, therefore, in the right when they endeavour to secure it. The issue of the struggle is probably far off; but the first step will probably be the dissolution of the newly-elected House of Deputies. Such a measure would be of bad augury, for it recalls the first steps of the Revolution of 1830. Charles X. was not less conscious of his right than the King; he dissolved a newly-elected chamber, but, before he issued the fatal decrees of July, he spent hours of every day in studying the charter. The King of Prussia may study the Constitution with similar results. His people are less impulsive than the French, and his heir is understood to be opposed to the present course of the Government. The throne may not be in danger, but the moderation with which the Liberals have put forward their claims is the best proof that they feel themselves strong enough to enforce them.

In my next I shall send you a review of the present state of Germany, with the two great parties which agitate it, and the thirty Governments hesitating between them while they dislike them both.

EPPING FOREST INCLOSURES.

(To the Editor of THE INDEX.)

Sir,—May I beg the favour of your insertion of the enclosed notice of motion, by Mr. Torrens, M.P., for an inquiry into this subject, which appears upon the notice paper of the House of Commons, for next session.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
JUSTITIA.

Leytonstone Road,
October 15.

MR. TORRENS.—WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES. —To call attention to the reports of the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues for the years 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861, reporting that the Commissioners had sold the rights of the Crown in various parcels of land, situate within the forests of Epping, Woodford, Waltham, and Wanstead; and to move for a Select Committee to inquire what steps either have been or ought to be taken to preserve the rights of recreation and resort to the forests exercised from time immemorial, by the inhabitants of the eastern parts of the metropolis, as well as the rights of the poorer foresters, which they have long enjoyed, of pasture, cutting wood, and recreation or other rights; and with the view of obtaining compensation (either from the Crown, or from those persons who have benefited by the possession or purchase of the various lots particularized in the reports of the Commissioners), for those who had enjoyed or have been deprived of rights of the kind referred to, also for those officers of the forest who, by the sale of the rights of the Crown within the forest, have been deprived of any emolument or perquisites.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN NEW ORLEANS.

The following letter, written by a lady at New Orleans to a friend in London, was printed in the *Times*, on October 14 :—

New Orleans, Sept. 1, 1862.
(Fifth month of the reign of terror.)

My dear Mr. —,—Shortly after the opening of the port of New Orleans, I received a kind letter from you, which, bearing a date a year old, nevertheless gave me much pleasure. As all letters are subject to military supervision, I did not answer it until I thought I had found a safe opportunity of sending a letter unseen by the authorities. Thinking I had found such an one I wrote you a volume, giving a detailed description of the taking of New Orleans, and the treachery which led to it; I also enclosed copies of orders and acts of General Butler, upon which the Northern press have made no comments, preferring to appear ignorant that such acts of barbarism are sanctioned by their Government, to criticising them. I only heard a few days ago that the person to whom I entrusted the package had found it necessary to destroy it to prevent its falling into the hands of the Government. I cannot tell you how disappointed I felt on many accounts. There were several inhuman threats made in the official journal of General Butler to make New Orleans a second St. Domingo, if there was any attempt to retake it. . . . I cannot again undertake the recital of the universal mutiny in the forts Jackson and St. Philip; the garrison spiking the guns and firing upon any officer who appeared upon the parapets. . . . As war absorbs all my thoughts, I shall naturally write of nothing else; in fact, we never speak of anything else. The excitement and expectation we are constantly in are enough to wear out body and mind. For three weeks past we have daily, I may say hourly, expected New Orleans to be attacked by the Confederates. The Yankees have thrown down every house in the remote suburbs, including the town of Carrollton, and thrown open the country to the lake, that the Confederates may have no shelter from their fire, and may be seen many miles off. They sleep under arms, and are prepared at all times for an attack. In the meantime, Butler refuses every one a pass to leave town unless they take the oath of allegiance, and amuses himself by telling all the women who apply for passes that while he is fighting the enemy in the suburbs he will deliver the town to the mercy of 20,000 negroes, and adds that he will leave the town a heap of ashes if obliged to evacuate. He finds that the women are not to be shaken in their devotion to their country's cause by the threat of rapine and murder, and is thoroughly exasperated with the sex. He says the women were the entire cause of secession, that they tabooed and sent to Coventry every man who would not fight, and that even if they took the oath he would not give them passes. It is true that we recognize no man who has remained at home and is able to serve in the army. You cannot conceive the horrible position we are placed in here. I will endeavour to give you a faint sketch of what we have to expect. In the first place, we are now subject to the caprices of our servants. Imagine an army where the officers were punished with fine and imprisonment for even enforcing ordinary discipline, such as preventing their soldiers leaving for days at a time, or resenting not only impertinence but personal violence! This is the case with us; we are invariably told that the testimony of a "loyal negro" is preferable to that of a rebel, and no assertion they make against their masters is too absurd to obtain credence. In the presence of these facts we are disarmed, not being permitted the smallest weapon to defend our houses or persons. Foreseeing that many would not comply with this order, Butler excites theupidity of the slaves first, by offering a reward for every weapon they may find, and next by offering liberty (which they have already) if they will denounce their masters. This has proved such an inducement to perfidy, that many have hidden weapons in the house, and then denounced their master and mistress. Some of our most respectable citizens have been sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour, dragging a ball and chain, for having retained, some a sword-cane, others a revolver, or bowie-knife. While we are unarmed, Butler arms all the free coloured population, while Phelps drills the negroes in camp to be ready at a moment's warning to be armed. Is it not dreadful? They endeavour to excite the revengeful passions of the slaves by continually reminding them that the hour of retaliation is come. You hear the creatures in the streets boasting they will "wade knee deep in the white man's blood."

The fear of fire is now added to all these horrors. Three days ago all the operators of the fire telegraph were removed on the ground that they had not taken the oath. The first day the Yankees had possession two large fires broke out in the heart of the business part of the city; the flames had made great havoc before the telegraph gave the alarm, and the citizens who ran to extinguish the flames were kept back by the military. Since then, fire alarms continue, and we feel apprehensive that they intend gradually to burn the town.

You have heard of the "brilliant victory" of the Yankees at Baton Rouge. Notwithstanding "the victory" they had to evacuate the place; in doing so they blew up the State-house, removed the State library and Washington statue; laid the town in ashes; threw open the doors of the Penitentiary, and turned out about 500 convicts, who are now loose on our community. Here also the gaols were thrown open, and murderers and felons were turned loose, a great number of slaves among them. Don't think this exaggeration. I assure you I write nothing but facts, which I can vouch for.

The navy boasts of doing nothing against the usages of civilized warfare. In returning from Baton Rouge they endeavoured to destroy the towns of Bayou Sara and Donaldsonville; finding their shells did little damage, they landed the crews with buckets of tar, with which they smeared the houses and then set them on fire; and boasted in their official paper that they had only left a few sticks where these towns formerly stood. The mayor of Bayou Sara had informed them that guerrillas were near; they left hurriedly, but returned when the guerrillas had departed, and in return for the mayor's kindness laid the town in ashes. It is hard to believe that such things take place in a civilized country; but, nevertheless, every word I have written is true. The fact is, we are such a mendacious nation that I hesitate to write many things which would be considered American exaggeration, to express it in polite terms.

You have heard of the imprisonment of Mrs. Phillips. She is a charming woman, with a large family of children, all of them unaccustomed, many of them very young, and thus deprived of a mother's care. When called before Butler, he simply asked her if she did not smile when the funeral procession of Captain de Kay passed her house? She replied, "It was possible; as she was in good spirits that day." Without further trial he sentenced her to close confinement on Ship Island for an indefinite period. Upon her husband endeavour-

ing to speak for her, he told him that he would have him gagged if he opened his mouth again. Poor Mrs. Phillips has been more than two months on that desolate sand-bank, without a hope of release. She is in a wretched shanty, which neither keeps out rain nor sun; she has had to pass the entire night sitting under an umbrella; she receives a soldier's rations, she was allowed a servant, but this poor woman is not permitted to leave the room, and has to share the close confinement of her mistress. Mrs. Phillips being dangerously ill a short time ago, her husband was permitted to visit her. She had concealed from him her wretched condition; they gave her neither a bed nor chair; she took one of each with her, which comprises the furniture of her wretched prison. She had been ill for a week, during which time her servant could not cross the threshold of her door, and no one entered to see if they required anything; a little arrowroot, cooked over a piece of tallow candle, was all she could procure. Finally, she sent for an officer, and explained to him her helpless condition, and the absolute necessity there was of her having hot water for hot applications. He left her, promising to send her some immediately. In four hours after some was sent. She had had time to die of her agony. Mrs. Phillips had already been imprisoned in Washington, with two lovely daughters, on suspicion of corresponding with the enemy. Though every search was made in their house, even the soiled linen looked through, without any proof against them, they were still retained prisoners till, through the influence of friends, they were released on condition of their selling everything they owned within three days, and leaving Washington. They unfortunately came to New Orleans, where the brute Butler follows the example of his Government in persecuting her. I have not a doubt he had orders to seize the first opportunity of punishing her. There are other ladies who have been imprisoned on equally trivial pretences; but it is useless to cite them. One of our first creole ladies, a Madame Le Beau, near seventy years old, was denounced by a little pet negro boy, eight years old, as having hidden arms. When called before Butler he was most insulting to her, called her that — woman, and sentenced her to a year's imprisonment on Ship Island, but released her on condition that her son would take the oath of allegiance. A nephew of the same lady was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and hard labour with ball and chain, for having thrown his arms in the river instead of delivering them to the authorities. Judge Andrews, one of our best citizens, was sentenced to two years' hard labour, ball and chain, on Ship Island, for having shown at his club a small brooch in the form of a cross, which he laughingly said "was made of the bone of a Yankee." This was six months before the Yankees came here. A Mr. Keller was sentenced to the same punishment for having in the window of his bookstore a skeleton marked "Chickahominy." To-day a poor druggist has been sent to Ship Island for three years' hard labour, ball and chain, for having endeavoured to smuggle some quinine across the Yankee lines. His property is also confiscated. He swears he is innocent, and it is said to have been done by a Yankee spy. If I were to undertake to tell you all the iniquitous judgments they would fill a volume; I only mention those people whom I know personally.

Sept. 7.
Since writing the above we have undergone excitement and anxiety of various kinds. First, the continued sound of cannon at Canatlon led us to believe the attack by the Confederates had begun. It was only the death of some officer and the practising of artillery.

On the 23rd of this month the Confiscation Act comes into force. The Government organ, the *Delta*, has spread consternation through the community by publishing the construction to be put upon the terms "aid, abet, or countenance the rebellion." According to their construction, there is not one citizen of this republic who will not be liable to the confiscation of his property. Butler says it will particularly reach the women, and that they should be turned out of their homes and made to work for their daily bread, thus depriving them of the time or disposition to be turning up their not very pretty noses at Union soldiers.

To give you an idea of the alarm and despair among the timid and wavering is more than I am able to do. We all know what the reasonable construction of the law would be, but Butler has unlimited power and will use it. He is applauded by the populace in the North for his merciless treatment of "Southern rebels." He has an eye to the next Presidency, and is elated and flattered by the popularity his course seemingly gives him, and he will spare nothing. He has no family pride, no honour to uphold. He is of the populace. His brother, Colonel Butler, who is at the head of the Commissariat Department, was formerly a negro trader; he has realized a colossal fortune by speculating upon our miseries. He made us pay \$40 a barrel for flour, and when the port of New Orleans was open to commerce he would not permit the Government to buy boats to bring any vessels up the Mississippi, and the owners of cargoes gladly sold to him at his own price rather than lose them altogether, of which they were in danger by passing many weeks at the mouth of the river. Thus, for some time, he continued to keep the market in his own hands, he being in partnership with his brother, the General. At the same time, through the newspapers, he appealed to the bad passions of the poor, assuring them that the richer classes were the entire cause of the dearth of provisions and of their miseries. Confiscation has few terrors for us. We had long since made up our minds to lose all for our country. The worst feature of it is that we shall not be permitted to go into the Confederacy where friends abound, but must starve in the streets of this wretched town. There is a worse fear haunting us every hour; the black population! There is no longer a doubt that they are armed, and we are defenceless. Last night they had a Union meeting of the free blacks; slaves, of course, composed the majority. I hear they discussed the wholesale massacre of the white population. It is enough to render us maniacs to live as we are now doing. The European nations by merely recognizing us would have given us a different position. I do not know what to make of England. Certainly the whole legislation of the North is ruinous to English commercial interests. Fear of the power of the North seems to have paralyzed her. She is wrong if she imagines the present struggle is going to exhaust the North. When their debt becomes too burdensome they will by an act of Congress wipe off the national debt. What to them is national honour? Who knows anything of the rulers after they have passed away? They are obscure individuals placed in power by the populace. Scarcely one of them knows who his great grandfather was; many have never heard of their father. Springing from the dregs of European population, what do they care for sustaining either their own or a nation's honour? Had England and France recognized us, and enabled us to break the blockade and get arms, we should have desired nothing more.

We have had everything to contend against. We always depended upon the North and England for all manufactured articles, and, therefore, had no manufactures. Cotton and sugar being most profitable, we cultivated little else. Our ports have been blockaded; we have been thrown entirely upon our own resources. The war has been carried on in the most highly cultivated, and most thickly inhabited portions of the country. The ruin and devastation of the Northern hordes have never been equalled by a civilized people. Have you read the Northern accounts of the terrible retribution for what they choose to term the murder of General McCook? Seventy-five innocent men, who were pursuing their peaceful avocations, were hung, sixty houses burnt, while the women and children were turned roofless and penniless upon the world. McCook was a brute, who committed many outrages in Nashville; among others, he caused a clergyman, a Mr. Elliott, who was President of the Female Academy at Nashville, to be stripped and publicly whipped. It is said he was shot by the brother of a young lady who was at school at Nashville, and who had been insulted by McCook. You remember a dear friend of mine, whom you knew when you were here; she told me that she saw last Sunday, while standing at her street door, three Yankee officers cross over the street, one of them walk up to a young boy of 19, who is paralyzed, a Mr. —, and slap him on the face, and curse him as a d— Southern rebel, and use other language I could not write, to which the poor cripple made no answer. He then put his hand on his revolver and threatened to shoot him, though inside the door stood a young lady who would have been shot had he fired his pistol. As soon as Mr. —'s agitation permitted him to speak, he demanded the officer's name; the coward replied, "I do not give my name to d— rebels." He then walked off, but, evidently being encouraged by the other two officers, he returned and administered another slap. Three weeks ago the cowardly miscreants scarcely dared look us in the face, but now they know we are unarmed and they can insult us with impunity. I could multiply to hundreds the insults we are daily subjected to, but should only tire you. You must excuse my excited, incoherent style, but I am half mad with a thousand contending feelings. We meet our friends but to hear of new indignities, new dangers, with which the monster Butler is surrounding us. What is loss of life and property to the other evils which threaten us? You English ought to feel some compassion, as the events of the Indian war must still be fresh in your memories.

You have never read of such exalted patriotism as the women possess. To give one's life for one's country, is quite natural, but they profess their readiness to starve for theirs, which, from present prospects, there is probability of their doing, should Butler carry out his threats. They never lose their faith in our final triumph, and in the many panics which we have been and are still passing through, they have preserved their self-possession and bravery. . . . For two years all social intercourse has almost ceased, and we have been thrown on our own resources. While part of the army was quartered near the town, the officers came often to us, and served to enliven our narrow circle; but since the taking of the town we all shut ourselves up in our houses, rarely going out for exercise. Not a Yankee officer has penetrated into the interior of a family here, save with a search warrant to look for silver or arms. We have been very anxious to leave New Orleans on many accounts, but could not get a pass unless we would perjure ourselves by taking the oath of allegiance to the hated Yankee Government, and have preferred running the risk of being massacred here, to going upon such terms. Perhaps you will think this "exaltation"—fanaticism. You know we have it in our characters naturally, and the present state of affairs has not weakened it.

If I had anything but war to write about I would do so; alas! there is nothing else. Do take pity on us, and write to us from your peaceful happy England. If we are living, it will give us infinite pleasure to hear from you; if we are dead, you will have the reflection that your labour was not lost, inasmuch as it was a request the fulfilment of which I shall, doubtless, be aware of in the spirit land. . . . There is one consolation in living through scenes like these—when death comes we welcome it; in your happy country, with what horror do you look upon it! We are all in mourning; the exception is to find a person in colours. The entire nation has some one to mourn. — has followed the army for six months to watch her dear boys, whom she has nursed through wounds and sickness. Do you remember little —, in Washington? He made his arrangements to run away and join the Southern army. He is not yet sixteen. He has been prevailed upon to abandon it for the present.

Believe me, your friend,

AFFAIRS AND OPINIONS IN NEW YORK.

The following letter has been forwarded to us :—

New York, Sept. 30.

The excitement in the stock market continues, and prices jump up several per cent. at a bound on nearly everything, except Government's, and these are neglected to take care of themselves; gold, silver, and exchange are also rising, and bid fair to reach still higher points before the topmost round is gained.

The reason of all this is the irredeemable paper currency which now forms our only basis of circulation. The Government is supported by paper issues, ranging all the way from one cent. up to \$5000; and half a dozen presses cannot grind out the paper fast enough. Of course, this glut of "money" inflates first the stock market, and then spreads to certain staple articles; real estate bringing up in the rear, though as yet it has suffered no violent upward spasms. It is being looked after, however, and many shrewd persons are picking up such lots of desirable property as offer at low rates—paying for the same in paper.

The main objection to real estate appears to be the taxes which now bid fair to eat up even the property itself in a few years. A large majority of the stores and tenements are, of course, occupied, but not one in a dozen brings a paying rent, while there are acres of building for which the owners are content to accept just what the occupants are disposed to pay. Our large hotels which have heretofore brought in a rental of from \$20,000 to \$60,000 per annum are now, I hear, not paying enough to cover taxes and other incidental expenses; and there are hundreds of stores and buildings which do not bring in a cent. When the tax gatherer goes round, many of these will have to be sold to meet his demands.

Real estate, therefore, is not a favourite with investors, but State and railway bonds—the bonds of old and reliable corporations—and diamonds are. All these are in brisk demand, and bring enormous prices compared with their intrinsic value in silver and gold. The only money it is now possible to get is the irredeemable paper money of the Government, and there are thousands who turn this "money" into something more

reliable, because of the certainty they feel that the paper, like the old continental, is absolutely worthless. Inflation, therefore, is the order of the day, and must continue to be as long as the war shall last, when the bubble will be pricked—the gas will escape—and an unparalleled crisis be everywhere witnessed.

It is doubtful whether the recent inflation would have been so rapid but for the issue of the proclamation freeing the slaves; that at once gave an impetus to the desire to secure something tangible against the day of final shipwreck—for the wreck of the Union, under such a proclamation, was regarded as certain as the alternation of the seasons.

Speaking of the proclamation, the Richmond papers publish it without comment. Whether they regard it as unworthy of notice, or whether they are reserving their remarks until they see the effect upon the Northern mind, I do not know; but if they are wise, they will treat it with silent contempt.

A very serious result to the Administration from the issue of this proclamation has been the almost total cessation of enlistments, while from the ranks already in the field there come mutterings of discontent and threatened insubordination! These men say they want to fight "for the Union," and not its destruction, and if the war is to be one for the abolition of slavery, they will throw down their arms at once. The Government has endeavoured to suppress these sentiments of the troops, but they have leaked out nevertheless, and the authorities must make the best of it. With regard to fresh enlistments, as stated above, they have almost entirely ceased—and this too in districts where they have been going on most rapidly. The letter of the Governor of Massachusetts, some time ago, stating that if the President would issue a proclamation of emancipation, the streets would swarm with eager recruits, is now proved to have been all fudge, for instead of this uprising to wipe out slavery, the people shun the recruiting station as if an untamed lion was there. This letter of the Massachusetts Governor, and expressions to the same effect from other States, show how hollow are the pledges put forth by the Abolition leaders, who speak merely for themselves, and a few in league with them, and not for the immense host they profess to represent. It is clear from this that a majority of the people—even in the most radical States—are opposed to the crusade against slavery, else they would be found supporting and making good the promise of those who assumed to speak for them. Or, it may be, they do applaud the movement for the overthrow of the South, but prefer it shall be at the sacrifice of other lives, and not of their own. This is not impossible. Three-fourths of the material in the Northern army now is composed of Democrats or Conservative Republicans, while the Radicals stay at home in comfort—many of them engaged in plundering the hard-earned property of those now away in the field! This is Radicalism.

The sacking of General Taylor's plantation in the South by Union troops is one of the most damnable and sacrilegious acts I ever read of. General Taylor, you are aware, was once President of the United States. He sleeps in his coffin, but his son still lives, a true Southerner. The Vandals approach the plantation, turn loose all the negroes, plunder the mansion of its most sacred relics of the venerable departed, even his private papers, destroy all they cannot carry away, and by driving off all the slaves, leave 700 acres of sugar to rot in the fields! And these acts perpetrated at the home of an ex-President, not of the South, but of the United States, and a general who in past wars shed immortal lustre upon his country's arms. But his son was a "rebel."

"All quiet on the Potomac," is again becoming a familiar phrase. There is some hinting about winter quarters for McClellan's jaded forces, in order that they may be re-invigorated for a fresh campaign, and also to give opportunity for a thorough drill of the new recruits. There is nothing to confirm this, however, and the rumours may be unfounded.

I was surprised to see the Liverpool cotton market decline 2d. per lb. under an impression that there would be peace after Bull Run. No. 2 had been administered to the rebels. Let me assure you, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that this Administration does not want peace, and, if retained in power, it will continue the murder of the innocents until the very last hour of its existence. The people of the North want peace, but their rulers do not. So does the South want peace, but it wants it only on the condition of final and eternal separation. It wants no more patched-up compromises—it wants no more Northern domination; but a Government of its own, and laws in accordance with its own institutions. This is the true position of each side, and you can readily judge how remote are the chances of peace.

Cotton remains nominally as before—say 56 for middling. The highest premium paid on gold was 24, but it closes this evening at 123½. Silver was sold at 18 prem.

Exchange on London, 34 to 34½ for £1.
A friend in New Orleans writes, under date of the 19th:—"Exchange, 150, with some asking 160. Gold, 132½ to 133. No cotton to be seen."

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION.

THE Hon. William Rawle, one of the ablest members of the Philadelphia bar, when it was an honour to belong to that body "that could not be puzzled," has given his views on the subject of secession. He was a friend of Washington, and filled the office of District Attorney under him. In the year 1825, he published notes on the Federal Constitution made in antecedent years, in which he treats of the doctrine of secession. Under the head of the "Permanence of the Union," in his views of the Constitution, speaking of the clause under which the United States are to guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of government, and to protect them against invasion, on the application of the Legislature; or the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence, he says:—

"The Union is an association of the people of the Republics: its preservation is calculated to depend on the preservation of those Republics. The people of each pledge themselves to preserve that form of government in all. Thus each becomes responsible to the rest that no other form of government shall prevail in it, and all are bound to preserve it in every one."

"But the mere compact, without the power to enforce it, would be of little value. Now, this power can be nowhere so properly lodged as in the Union itself. Hence, the term guarantee indicates that the United States are authorised to oppose, and, if possible, to prevent every State in the Union from relinquishing the Republican form of government; and as an auxiliary means, they are expressly authorised and required to employ their force, on the application of the constituted authorities of each State, 'to repress domestic violence.' If a faction should attempt to subvert the government of a State, for the purpose of destroying its Republican form, the paternal power of the Union could be thus called forth to subdue it."

"Yet it is not to be understood that its interposition would be justifiable, if the people of a State should determine to retire

from the Union, whether they adopted another or retained the same form of government, or if they should, with the express intention of seceding, expunge the representative system from their code, and thereby incapacitate themselves from concurring, according to the mode now prescribed, in the choice of certain public officers of the United States."

"The principle of representation, although certainly the wisest and the best, is not essential to the being of a Republic; but to continue a member of the Union, it must be preserved, and therefore the guarantee must be so construed. It depends on the State itself to retain or abolish the principle of representation, because it depends on itself whether it will continue a member of the Union. To deny this right would be inconsistent with the principle on which all our political systems are founded; which is, that the people have in all cases a right to determine how they will be governed."

"This right must be considered as an ingredient in the original composition of the general government, which, though not expressed, was mutually understood; and the doctrine heretofore presented to the reader in regard to the indefeasible nature of personal allegiance, is so far qualified in respect to allegiance to the United States. It was observed that it was competent for a State to make a compact with its citizens, that the reciprocal obligations of protection and allegiance might cease on certain events; and it was further observed, that allegiance would necessarily cease on the dissolution of the society to which it was due. The States, then, may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue they must retain the character of representative Republics."

"The secession of a State from the Union depends upon the will of the people of such State. The people alone, as we have already seen, hold the power to alter their constitution. The Constitution of the United States is, to a certain extent, incorporated with the constitutions of the several States, by the act of the people. The State Legislatures have only to perform certain organic operations in respect to it. To withdraw from the Union comes not within the general scope of their delegated authority. There must be an express provision to that effect inserted in the State constitutions. This is not at present the case with any of them, and it would, perhaps, be impolitic to confide it to them. A matter so momentous ought not to be intrusted to those who would have it in their power to exercise it lightly and precipitately upon sudden dissatisfaction, or causeless jealousy, perhaps against the interests and the wishes of a majority of their constituents."

"But in any manner by which a secession is to take place, nothing is more certain than that the act should be deliberate, clear, and unequivocal. The perspicuity and solemnity of the original obligation require correspondent qualities in its dissolution. The power of the general Government cannot be defeated or impaired by an ambiguous or implied secession on the part of the State, although a secession may perhaps be conditional. The people of the State may have some reasons to complain in respect to the acts of the general Government; they may, in such cases, invest some of their own officers with the power of negotiation, and may declare an absolute secession in case of their failure. Still, however, the secession must, in such case, be distinctly and peremptorily declared to take place in that event, and in such case—as in the case of an unconditional secession—the previous ligament with the Union would be legitimately and fairly destroyed. But in either case the people is the only motive power."

"To withdraw from the Union is a solemn, serious act. Whenever it may appear expedient to the people of a State, it must be manifested in a direct and unequivocal manner. If it is ever due indirectly, the people must refuse to elect representatives, as well as to suffer their Legislature to reappoint senators. The senator whose time has not yet expired must be forbidden to continue in the exercise of his functions."

"But without plain, decisive measures of this nature, proceeding from the only legitimate source—the people—the secession of a State is not complete, nor their executive or judicial powers in any way impaired; and they would not be obliged to desist from the collection of revenue within such State."

"As to the remaining States among themselves, there is no opening for a doubt."

"Secession may reduce the number to the smallest integer admitting combination. They would remain united under the same principles and regulations among themselves that now apply to the whole; for a State cannot be compelled by other States to withdraw from the Union; and, therefore, if two or more determine to remain united, although all the others desert them, nothing can be discovered in the Constitution to prevent it."

These are opinions deliberately expressed, not in reference to any particular suit, or any particular action, but the result of the general reflections of a highly educated legal mind as to the Constitution of the United States; and these, too, of a man eminently conservative in his character, and entirely unambitious, who eschewed political life, refused an office of the highest honour under the greatest man our country has ever produced, and belonged to a party that certainly was not indisposed to carry the Federal powers to the utmost extent that the Constitution justified.

KING CORN.

(From the Mobile Register.)

King Cotton is dethroned, and the old aboriginal Maize, the American giant cereal, is enthroned in his stead, and right regally does King Corn bear his dignity, as one born to the position. He wields his tall sceptre over millions of acres, and his tasseled crown and broad leaves wave and nestle in the wind like the plumes and spears of legions of old Indian warriors, new risen from their sepulchral mounds, and rushing to do battle for their native South, as of yore they did against invaders. King Corn was the Indian King, and at his planting, at the fullness of his grain, and at the ripeness of the ear, they paid festive honours with regal pomp to his useful majesty. The "green corn dance" was the most prominent of festivals among the aborigines of the South. If the King smiled benignly upon his subjects, plenty and rejoicing was in the lodges of Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Alabamians, Uchees, Natchez, and Seminoles; squaws and papposes fattened on green corn in its season, and on abundant hominy; while the warriors could go forth upon the war path with their pouches amply stored with "cold flour," two ounces of which would enable them to endure the most rigorous exertion for twenty-four hours, and at that rate of consumption sustain them in health and strength through long and incessant marches and battles—indeed, through campaigns of many weeks.

Corn is a war King; Cotton is a peace King. In war the great ends of militant men are to subside, to fight and to triumph. In peace, the great ends are wealth and the pursuit of happiness. In our great greed for profits, we dethrone King Corn and set up in his place King Cotton, like a golden

calf; but now, in our hour of trial and distress, we have cast him down and reared in his stead the lusty and generous ally who is to help in fighting our battles by filling the crib and the smoke house and the commissary warehouses with the essential articles of provision for man and the war horse. Cotton is a staple of industry, corn of consumption. Staples of industry render a nation wealthy, but dependent on commerce; staples of consumption render it independent and self-sustaining. The only drawback to satisfaction which the reflecting mind finds in our magnificent monopoly of cotton production is that the condition of the enjoyment of this magnificent heritage will be the enervating luxury and extravagance which will follow in its train. However, these influences can affect but a portion of the race—the denizens of cities mostly—while the great agricultural space of the country will always yield such robust and hardy champions as are now valiantly fighting out this war of patriotism.

King Corn is now in the majesty of his youthful vigour. Never were such fields of grain seen upon the face of the earth. Go where you will throughout Alabama, and, if all accounts are correct, throughout the whole wide domain of the South, the broad acres which in former years bore the sturdy cotton plant are now covered with tall, strong stalks of the corn. Wide leaved, green and luxuriant, with stems like tree trunks, you can almost see and hear it grow, and it seems to rejoice in the important part it is called to play in the war for the South. Bending beneath the regular Southern breezes, King Corn points his pinnated foliage northward like spears at the charge, as if he really were a warrior rushing to the battle against the invaders. This figure may seem somewhat poetic to occur in prose, but it has commended itself and been remarked by more than one prosaic observer who has dashed through on the cars, the boundless fields that laugh and sing with the glad promise of unprecedented harvests. With plenty of corn we shall have plenty of meat—beef and pork. The producers of the country everywhere are giving the same unusual attention to their stock that they are to corn, and there is every reason to believe that the number of hogs which will be fattened for slaughter the coming autumn will be almost as unprecedentedly large as the corn crop will be.

MR. MASON ON THE EFFECTS OF RECOGNITION.

The following letter is in reply to a request from Mr. Boon, the Secretary of the committee of the Stalybridge Meeting, for Mr. Mason's opinion as to the effect recognition would have in terminating the war; and also for any other information that might strengthen the arguments of the speaker in favour of recognition:—

September 19, 1862.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 17th instant, informing me of a projected meeting to be held at Stalybridge, in Cheshire, of the ratepayers of the town, who are to have under consideration the question of recognition of the Confederate States of America, and asking my opinion as to the effect that such recognition would have in bringing about a peace, and any other information I may deem pertinent to the subject.

As a citizen of those States, I do not feel at liberty to refuse your request under the circumstances stated, when perhaps otherwise to offer my opinions might be deemed intrusive; it is, certainly, a settled principle of international law, that when a new nation or empire is brought into existence as a separate and independent power, other nations are at liberty, without giving cause of offence, to recognize it as such, and to receive it as an equal in the family of nations; and to entitle it to such recognition, it is only required that sufficient evidence be exhibited of stability and permanence in the new Government coupled with the power to sustain itself in its new position.

In the case of the Confederate States, I think it may be confidently submitted that the facts which have transpired since their separation from the United States, both in the Cabinet and in the field, come fully up to such requirements. It has existed as a perfectly organized Government, in full and unimpeded operation, for more than eighteen months; and as to its ability to sustain itself, its career in arms, against vastly superior forces, may challenge the judgment of the world. The present population of the Confederate States comprises about twelve millions of people.

I think I may confidently assume as the public judgment of Europe, that the separation of these States from the late United States is final and for ever, and that in no possible contingency—even could the war be continued to their extermination—can they ever be restored to the repudiated Union.

Under such circumstances, how far it may be deemed incumbent by other Governments publicly to acknowledge the existing fact of such final separation, and thus to recognize the new power, is for those Governments to determine. Fortunately for us, our people have shown themselves not only self-reliant, but worthy of that reliance. We have fought our battles unaided and alone, and, until recently, uncheered by the nations looking on. For the future we have no fears, nor would the recognition to which you refer be of any value to us, except so far as it might tend to bring the war to a close—a war to be waged henceforward hopelessly by our enemy, and at which humanity shudders.

In reply to your inquiry as to what effect recognition of our independence would have towards putting an end to the war, I have only to say it would at once and for ever dispel all delusion on the subject in the United States. So long as it is withheld by Europe it is taken as an admission in America that in European judgment there may yet be a restoration of the broken Union, and to that extent our adversaries may be encouraged to persevere. That I am warranted in speaking of this as a delusion I may appeal to the verdict of every intelligent Englishman.

Again, you are aware that the war was commenced and has been prosecuted for the purpose of putting down an alleged rebellion. Our recognition by the European Powers would be the decree of enlightened, impartial, and able observers that a rebellion, if one ever existed, had been brought to an end, and there stood in place of it, as acknowledged by them, a separate, sovereign, and independent State, the equal of any in the line of empire.

It is not in the experience of the world that a war so disastrous in its results to those now waging it against the Confederate States, when they were made to understand that it was no longer conducted against alleged rebels in arms, but against an acknowledged equal political Power, could long be maintained.

Such are my views on the questions you have submitted, briefly, but I hope intelligently, given.—I have the honour to be very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. M. MASON.

To William Boon, Esq.,
54, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, London,

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through Henry Horze, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 25s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1862.

Mr Gladstone on America.

MR. GLADSTONE'S speech at Newcastle was certainly remarkable, and may be considered significant. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the first of those who stand in the highest rank of English statesmen that has ventured to express himself with something like frankness and decision on the American question. While it has been utterly impossible for political speakers at agricultural meetings, public assemblies, and gatherings of their constituents to avoid altogether the one great topic of political interest, their language has almost invariably been hesitating, pointless, irresolute, and studiously divested of everything like meaning. If the idea which has been eagerly caught up by the insane vanity of the North, that the policy of England has been dictated by an abject fear of Northern power and prowess, had been founded in sober reality, the bearing of English politicians, when obliged to speak of American affairs, could not have been more timid, cautious, and deferential, than it has actually been. An experience of eighty years might have taught us that forbearance and tenderness are wasted on a turbulent and arrogant Democracy, which is profoundly impressed with its own greatness, and profoundly ignorant of the power of other countries—which has no regard for any rights but its own, and can see in the pacific tone of England only an evidence of weakness and a confession of fear. But the habit of treating the Government and people of a foreign State with a deference which has never been shown to any European Power, and which never is shown by equals to equals, is so ingrained in the nature of English statesmen that even now, when the folly and mischief of such a tone becomes every day more manifest as Northern insolence becomes more outrageous, they still speak of American crimes and errors as men speak of the extravagances of an angry woman or a passionate child—with what may be called the gentleness of contempt. They forbear to vindicate the rights of neutral, so grossly outraged by Federal cruisers under the distinct orders of the Federal Government. They forbear to give expression to the condemnation almost unanimously passed by the public conscience of Europe upon the war of wanton aggression which the North continues to wage, without hope of a final triumph, but with unremitting obstinacy and with ever increasing barbarism. And by persevering in this abstinence from a freedom of speech which is not only an individual right but a national duty, they neglect the moral strength which England enjoys, and which she is bound to exercise; they waive the opportunity afforded them of doing their utmost to check the progress of a war which is disastrous to America, ruinous to the commerce of England, and scandalous to humanity at large. Even Mr. Gladstone, whose authority on such a question would probably be greater than that of any other individual statesman, speaks with a reserve which is neither congenial to his character nor suitable to the subject. But he has spoken his mind on the present aspect and ultimate result of the struggle, and his language deserves our especial attention.

It will not do to judge Mr. Gladstone by the ordinary rules of public life and political etiquette.

He has always shaped his own course with very little regard to the conventionalities of party allegiance or Ministerial propriety; he does and says that which he personally thinks it right to do and say, without scrupulously weighing the effect which his words or actions may have on the party to which he belongs, or the inferences which may be drawn from them in regard to the policy of his colleagues in the Cabinet. The orthodox theory of political combination assumes the existence and requires the appearance of Ministerial unanimity; and orthodox statesmen hold therefore that, at least on affairs of moment in which the Cabinet may be called upon to take action, no Minister has a right to express an opinion by which he and his colleagues are not willing to be bound. But Mr. Gladstone has allowed himself at all times great license in this respect; and we must not, therefore, draw from the logical meaning of his speeches any peremptory conclusions as to the probable action of the Cabinet. It is said that the extreme difficulty of reconciling the conflicting views of the various eminent men from every section of the Liberal party who compose the present Cabinet has led to tacit compromises, which result in leaving the leaders of the Cabinet free to do much as they please in their own departments; that Sir G. C. Lewis is not interfered with in military affairs; that Mr. Gladstone constructs his Budgets much as he pleases, subject only to the obligation of furnishing such funds as the chiefs of departments consider absolutely necessary; that Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe are allowed to mismanage the Educational Office to any extent, so long as they do not provoke a Parliamentary defeat; and that Lord Russell has a paramount voice in determining not merely the details, but the general course of the foreign policy of England. This is possible; but whether or not it be true, certain it is that experience warrants us against forming any hasty opinion as to what the Government is likely to do from what is said by any one of its members on matters not directly within the cognizance of his own department. We feel pretty sure that Mr. Gladstone, and probably a majority of his ablest colleagues, are very far from sharing the prejudice in favour of the North and bitter enmity to the South which has animated the diplomatic course of Lord Russell, and induced him to permit the Federal navy to perpetrate a series of outrages on our flag which we should not have sanctioned. But even if this be true, and even if they may differ with their colleague at the Foreign Office, it is quite possible that his influence may continue to guide the foreign policy of the country in a direction more or less disapproved by the ablest members of both the great parties. And, therefore, Mr. Gladstone's language is significant rather as indicating what the great majority of capable and impartial public men in England think, than as affording a clue as to what the English Ministry intends to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer hopes that, when the passions excited by the war have subsided, England will receive credit for the honesty and firmness with which she has acted up to her original pledge of neutrality. Here, in common with almost all English speakers, he unfortunately thinks it necessary to impute to both belligerents feelings and conduct which, as everybody knows, belong only to the North. The Federal Government and the section by which it is supported have shown hostility and ingratitude to England. They have denounced her neutrality as a sham; they have accused her of treachery, of secret machination against them, of hostile intentions of every sort; they have incessantly menaced, insulted, and wronged her. The Confederates have done nothing of the sort. No passions of any kind have affected their bearing towards this country. They have recognized her impartiality, have respected her neutral position, and have uttered no complaint of the unequal operation of measures equally applied to either party. And yet, by Mr. Gladstone's own admission, they have had some cause to complain. Wherever a neutral obligation admitted of two interpretations, or being fulfilled in either of two ways, the alternative most convenient to the North and most unfavourable to the South

has always been chosen. By excluding from our ports the prizes of both parties, instead of admitting both, we conferred an enormous advantage on the Power which possessed a large mercantile navy to be preyed on by the enemy's cruisers; which could expect to make no prizes, and which, if it did make any, had its own ports open to receive them. It imposed a terrible and almost fatal difficulty on the nascent marine of the blockaded South; which had neither ports of refuge nor places to which its captures might be conveyed for condemnation or for sale. Yet the Confederate Government made no complaint; the North murmured, blustered, threatened, and at last compelled the English Ministry to grant it a still further advantage by placing severe restrictions on the stay of war-ships of either Power in English ports. Again, we have practically allowed the free export of arms and ammunition to either party; by which we have enabled the North to obtain enormous supplies, while its blockading squadrons off Southern and off British colonial ports were relied on to intercept, and have to a great extent intercepted, those destined for the South. Here, again, the party that we favoured reviled us for our impartiality; the Confederates, who suffered, made no complaint. Mr. Gladstone approves in terms this policy of a neutrality operating altogether in favour of the aggressor; but his argument points clearly and irresistibly to its condemnation, when once we bear in mind that the coupling of both belligerents as unjust and passionate in complaint of England is but a diplomatic form of speech—that, in fact, no complaint has been made but by the North, and that the complaints from that quarter have been couched in the language of insult and of menace.

But the most important sentence of Mr. Gladstone's whole speech is that in which he sums up in a few telling words the achievements of the Confederates:—"Jefferson Davis and the other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—they have made a nation." It is not quite just to attribute to the statesmen at the head of the Confederate Government, or the soldiers at the head of its forces—great as their talents are, and admirable as has been their policy—that which was, in fact, achieved principally by the spontaneous action of a spirited and intelligent people. But it is quite true that this is what has been done; a magnificent army has been raised from amidst a very limited population, and has performed deeds which in all history have seldom or never been surpassed; a navy has been created by a country which formerly had not a single ship, and that navy has been the terror of the enemy's flotillas on inland waters, and of his commerce on the ocean; above all, there has been created a nation, as strong in national spirit, as resolute in the defence of its national existence, as capable of maintaining the honour of its flag and the security of its dominions, as any nation in the world. Such is the admission of a Minister of Great Britain; what answer will he give if the question should be once more asked in Parliament why that nation is still unrecognized by the British Government?

There is one passage in the speech which seems to demand from us a few words of explanation. Mr. Gladstone does not regret the withdrawal of the Confederates from Maryland, because he thinks that their longer continuance there might have involved them in engagements with political parties in that State, which would have proved an obstacle to the conclusion of peace. The truth is, that the moral obligations of the Confederate States towards Maryland are already so strong that, while they have any chance of being able to assist her, they could hardly consent to leave her to her fate. But these obligations are only an obstacle to peace so long as the Federal Government persists in its preposterous claim to retain by force a State which desires to secede from the Union. That claim withdrawn, if Maryland choose to cast in her lot with the Confederacy, she is free to do so; if she prefer to remain attached to the North, no political engagements or military advantages could give the Confederates any title to her allegiance. All that is demanded on the part

of the latter is, that the Border States should be left free to determine their own destiny; and this is a demand to which Mr. Gladstone, the denouncer of a tyranny in Naples scarcely worse than that of Lincoln in Maryland—the warm advocate of the new Italian kingdom, founded on the right of States to choose the rulers and the nationality they prefer—can scarcely intend to discountenance. On no other basis can a lasting peace be made; for only a peace that is just can possibly be durable.

The "Westminster" on the Slave States.

It is a melancholy thing to witness the deterioration of a great intellect—the dishonour of a well-earned reputation. However strong may be our dissent from the views of a distinguished thinker, however bitter the antagonism between ourselves and him, we cannot but witness with deep regret his lapse from the position which his wisdom and ability had won, or his commission of faults and follies utterly unworthy of his character and his capacity. It is therefore with great pain that we have seen the article on the "Slave Power" in the last number of the *Westminster Review*, attributed, without contradiction, to Mr. John Stuart Mill. No English writer has achieved a higher or more solid fame; few living men have written works so likely to transmit their names to a distant posterity. Very few, indeed, are the political authors who possess the calmness, dignity, and good sense which generally command for everything that proceeds from Mr. Mills' pen the attention and respect of those who most widely differ from the opinions therein set forth. He is the only man who ever advocated what are called the rights of women in such a style as to provoke any other feeling than that of contemptuous disgust. From him, if from any man, we might have expected a rational and truthful statement of that side of the American question which he has chosen to espouse. In general, the partisans of the North in the English press have displayed an ignorance of facts and a violence of temper which might have done honour to the most rabid organ of Abolitionism in New York or New England. They have neither been able to argue coherently nor to write in the language of educated gentlemen; and the untruthfulness of their assertions has only been equalled by the extravagance of their abuse. The exceptions are very rare; but we certainly should have hoped that Mr. Mill would be among them, if his judgment and knowledge did not prevent him from taking the side to which his previous bias was likely to incline him. But not only has he taken up the cause of the North in the spirit of a thorough-going partisan; he has defended it with a want of logic, of temper, and of dignity, such as no one who had read his philosophical writings could ever have anticipated. His passionate hatred of slavery has not only prevented his attempting to inquire into the facts of the case, or the merits of the combatants—it has not only induced him to accept with blind credulity the wildest fictions of the most unscrupulous Abolitionists—it has not only caused him to overlook the utter irreconcilability of those fictions with statistical records of which he could not be ignorant, and of whose truth he could entertain no doubt—but it has deprived him of the power to discern the meaning of the facts on which he himself relies, and the mutual contradictions involved in the arguments he employs. We propose in this article briefly to set forth a few of the most remarkable fallacies, mis-statements of fact, and misapprehension of consequences which are contained in marvellous abundance in his latest production, borrowed mostly from one of the silliest and most untruthful books yet written on slavery—the work of Professor Cairnes, of Belfast—but deriving all the importance they can claim from an endorsement understood to be that of Mr. John Stuart Mill.

1. It is affirmed that slave labour is peculiarly inefficient and wanting in versatility; that it can only be employed in the very simplest processes;

and that it can with extreme difficulty be diverted from one purpose to another. To this is attributed the alleged backwardness of Southern agriculture; the alleged confinement of production to three great staples—cotton, sugar, and tobacco—the exhaustion of Southern soils, and the supposed decline of Southern society. And emancipation is stated to be the sure and only remedy. Now, in the first place, it is not true that slave labour is so worthless as Mr. Mill imagines. Slaves can be taught to manage a steam-engine; they are habitually entrusted with the care of all the machinery used upon Southern plantations; and the cultivation of the crops on which slave labour is chiefly expended is more difficult, and requires more care and dexterity, than that of most products of free labour. Secondly, the backwardness of Southern agriculture—that is to say, the absence of high farming, of manure, and all those appliances which are in use in old countries, is attributable to the same cause which is equally in operation in New York and in the West—abundance of land. It does not pay to expend costly labour in renovating cheap land. Thirdly, it is not true that only cotton, sugar, and tobacco are largely grown in the South. She feeds her own population; she exports more grain than she imports; and the confinement of slave labour to the production of the great staples is mainly, if not solely, owing to the fact that these are by far the most profitable modes of employment; and that it is too expensive to be applied to any but the most profitable uses. And if it be true that the Southern soil is exhausted more rapidly than that of the North and West—which is sufficiently disproved by the fact that production is rapidly increasing even in the older cotton States—this would prove, not that slave labour was inefficient, but that cotton and sugar, and tobacco are exhausting crops. Finally, before any charge can be established against the system of slavery on the ground of the inefficiency of the labour obtained under it in the South, it must be shown that the negro is a bad workman because he is a slave, not the slave because he is a negro. Now, the very reverse is notoriously the case. Free or slave, the negro is an inferior labourer to the white man; but the negro slave works both more intelligently and more efficiently than his free brother. The Slave States prosper, while the West Indies sink lower and lower in poverty, misery, and demoralization. Slave labour is defective because it is negro labour; and emancipation would not improve it, unless it could turn the slave into a white man.

2. The Slave States are accused of desiring to "propagate slavery"—to push it into Northern territories, and even into Northern States; where, as the reviewer remarked a few pages before, slavery was abolished because it was found not to pay! It is strange that so absurd and glaring a contradiction should have escaped the attention of so practised a logician. The assertion is altogether untrue. Of course every country contains some foolish men, who, when their blood is heated by insult and excitement, say very absurd things; and there was, we believe, one Southern patriot who talked of calling the muster roll of his slaves on Bunker's Hill. But, as every rational man knows and every honest man admits, the South never coveted Northern territory except for political purposes—to protect herself against Northern ascendancy in the Senate. That protection she no longer needs, and therefore she no longer desires to extend her dominion into the North-west. Such inaccuracies in fact and fallacies in reasoning as are involved in these statements concerning the insufficiency of slave labour, and the desire of slave-owners to carry it from a country where it is immensely profitable to one where it never did and never would pay, are simply astonishing.

3. It is asserted that the South dominated the Union, and seceded the instant that domination was wrested from her. This is not true; and the reviewer had the means of knowing that it is not true. Mr. Williams has conclusively shown by the records of the electoral votes that every President for the last thirty years, except Mr. Buchanan, was elected by a Northern majority—had a majority of the Northern vote. Mr. Buchanan had one-third of the

Northern vote. Mr. Lincoln had not one Southern vote. And the North had all along a majority in the House of Representatives, and of late years a majority in the Senate. The South, therefore, never dominated the Union; and she seceded only when an attempt was made to govern her by a President elected by the North alone, and a Congress in which the North was paramount. She seceded, in fact, only when the choice lay between secession and subjection. We are told that she had no aggression to fear. Has the writer forgotten John Brown; and how that midnight murderer of Virginian citizens was honoured as a martyr in New England?

4. The South is accused of aggression in desiring to retain for herself a portion of the Territories. We should like to know on what pretence her citizens with their property could be excluded thence? The State of Virginia alone ceded to the Union the whole territory north-west of the Ohio, out of which have been made the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin; and now we are told that it was an aggression in a Virginian citizen to desire leave to settle, with the property which he held under the laws of his State, in New Mexico or Arizona! The charge of aggression is fortified by an attack on the Supreme Court for its decision in the Dred Scott case, declaring the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. As the Supreme Court has always enjoyed the highest reputation for legal knowledge and probity, it is somewhat presumptuous in an English writer, not merely to arraign its decision, but boldly to assume that it was not only wrong but corrupt. We shall not commit a similar presumption in defending it. We will merely ask whether Congress would have had a right to prohibit any man from entering the Territories without slaves, and thereby to give the monopoly of the new lands to the South? For if not, it had clearly no right to give that monopoly to the North by excluding slavery. Further, we should like to know Mr. Mills' authority for the assertion that this decision recognized "the right of a slave-master to carry his slaves with him to any part of the Free States and hold them there, any local law to the contrary notwithstanding."

5. We are not very much surprised to find here repeated the old fiction about the "white trash" of the South. But we should have thought that the repeaters of this nonsense would by this time have learned to avoid the fatal precision of figures. To talk of the slaveholders as composing one-thirtieth of the population, and of the rest of the people as a proletariat, is rash indeed. The total population of the South—the fifteen Slave States—is about twelve millions. Of these four millions are slaves; of the remainder, composing probably 1,600,000 families, nearly one-half are owners of "farms," and nearly one-fourth are slaveholders. The authors of the monstrous error repeated by the *Westminster Review* overlooked the fact that slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike have families; and treated the number of actual owners of slave property—i.e., heads of families—as if it represented the whole of the slaveholding class. We can excuse such a blunder in a Mr. Cairnes or a Mrs. Stowe, but we did not expect to find it reiterated by any writer accustomed to consider the meaning of figures.

6. The last and most extraordinary of the many mis-statements contained in this article which we shall notice, is the assertion that slavery depends on a slave-trade, foreign or internal; that the "frightful mortality" among the slaves in the planting States is such that the slave population is only kept up by recruits from the "breeding State" of Virginia. We have elsewhere expressed our opinion as to the probable fate of slavery in the absence of a slave-trade. But at present slavery depends entirely on the natural increase of the slave population, which throughout the South increases more than 25 per cent. in ten years. Nowhere is the mortality among the slaves greater, or the increase less, than among the white population; nowhere is the import of slaves from Virginia an important element in the increase of the supply of labour which is required by the rapid increase of capital and cultivation. The

number of slaves in the United States at the period of the prohibition of the slave trade was less than half-a-million. It is now over four millions. Can this increase be accounted for by the so-called "breeding" State alone?

The reviewer will only allow of two possible or satisfactory issues to the war. He would like, above all things, to see the slaves emancipated, and the Slave States brought back into the Union by force; absolutely subjugated, shorn of all the political influence of which they could be robbed, and flooded, if possible, with an immigration of free whites. He passes over as altogether insignificant what to most rational men appears an insoluble difficulty—the collocation of four millions of negroes with eight millions of whites on a footing of civil, if not of political equality. If the North grow weary of the war before it has accomplished this object—which even he is forced to think is not improbable—then he demands that it shall at least possess itself of the whole country west of the Mississippi—of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. That the North has no right whatever to an inch of Southern territory is, of course, a matter of indifference to a writer who understands no other rights or wrongs but those which he attributes to the negro. But we wish that he, and other writers on the same side, would ask themselves how a people which is determined not to be ruled by a foreign and a hated race is to be kept in permanent subjection—what force would be required to keep down either the whole South, or even the region west of the Mississippi, including the vast half-settled State of Texas?—or what would become of the Republican institutions of the North, if it were compelled to maintain such a force for such a purpose?

Mr. Seward's Despatch.

ANY ONE who has read and considered the despatch addressed by Mr. Seward to the diplomatic and consular agents of his Government, in reference to the emancipation proclamation, will not accuse us of harshness, much less of injustice, in designating it as one of the most mendacious documents ever issued by a public officer. We may go further. We challenge any man, however prolific and heated may be his imagination, to compose a despatch that so thoroughly misrepresents the true condition of the United States. The Lincolnite Cabinet and the Federal commanders have already eclipsed all other nations, ancient or modern, in the practice of undisguised mendacity; but, not forgetting Pope's 10,000 "men in buckram," or McClellan's congratulations to his army after its "grand strategic movement," and his Maryland despatches edited by Halleck, or Halleck's account of the evacuation of Corinth, or Mr. Lincoln's assurance to the Army of the Potomac, that it never had been and never would be beaten, or the former achievements of Mr. Seward in the line of diplomatic pantomime, we must admit that the despatch of September 24 is unsurpassed, even if it is equalled. We do not charge the Federal Secretary of State with the intention of deceiving; for the despatch very plainly refutes itself, and besides, it is incredible that he can expect Europe, at his bidding, to believe that black is white, and white is black. There is a great deal of Bourbonism in Mr. Seward's character. We do not refer particularly to his tyrannical abuse of constitutional authority and usurped power, but to his display of that species of determination which is commonly called pig-headedness. Mr. Seward forgets nothing and learns nothing. The experience of the last eighteen months has not altered his opinions. At the commencement of the war he maintained that the North could not fail to crush out the rebellion in so many days; that the resources of the Federal Government were inexhaustible; that the "rebels" were exhausted and ruined; and he says the same things now, and will do so to the end. We do not suppose the diplomatic or consular agents of the United States will act upon Mr. Seward's instructions, feeling it is neither pleasant nor useful to insult the

Foreign Ministers of the Courts to which they are accredited, by treating them as arrant fools. Mr. Adams, for example, may be a very bold man, yet we cannot conceive him being sufficiently impudent to formally notify to Earl Russell that the United States is, in all respects, most flourishing, and the Confederate States thoroughly beaten. Still Mr. Seward's despatch will not be entirely labour lost, since its publication cannot fail to direct attention to the actual condition of the United States, and the subject is worth consideration; but for this we should not have thought it worth while to examine and discuss it.

The first part of Mr. Seward's diplomatic circular is as follows:—

You will receive by the mail which will carry you this despatch evidence which will convince you that the aggressive movement of the rebels against the States remaining faithful to the Union is arrested, and that the forces of the Union, strengthened and reanimated, are again ready to undertake a campaign on a vast scale. If you consult the newspapers you will easily perceive that the financial resources of the insurrection decline rapidly, and that the means of raising troops have been exhausted.

By this time Europe understands something of the objects, and can fully appreciate the results, of the Maryland campaign, which is described in the above extract as an unsuccessful aggressive movement "against the States remaining faithful to the Union;" by which expression Mr. Seward formally acknowledges that there are States which repudiate the Union, and that the war is being waged not against Secessionists in the South, but against Sovereign States: and this admission is of some diplomatic importance. Now, what evidence is there that the Maryland expedition failed? If the Confederate commander intended to co-operate with the Southerners in Maryland, he surely would not have confined his advance to that part of the State exceptionally under Northern influence. If it had been intended to make Maryland the basis of operations against Pennsylvania, General Lee would not have sent a small portion, but the main body of his army across the Potomac. If, then, the incursion of the Confederate forces into Maryland was not to free that State forthwith from Northern rule, or to operate against Pennsylvania, what were the objects of the movement? No sooner were the Confederate troops in Maryland than immense quantities of much-needed supplies were purchased from the people, who evinced not simply a mercantile but a most enthusiastic desire to sell, and so benefit the Southern cause. The shoeless soldiers found covering for their feet, and the provisions were procured of which Virginia had been denuded by being the chief battle ground of the war. From day to day these supplies were sent into Virginia—a fact which in itself proves that in entering Maryland, there was no thought of making that first occupation permanent. But how are we to explain the address to the Marylanders, and the nomination of a provisional Governor? So far from these measures aiding the Confederates in obtaining supplies, they were calculated to lessen the opportunity by bringing the Federals into the field. The purchase of supplies was not the sole or the great aim of the Confederates; and, moreover, it was accomplished with a rapidity that would be miraculous, if we did not allow for the energy of the Southern commanders, and the preparation of the Marylanders for the emergency. The main object was to capture Harper's Ferry, with its valuable stores, and to accomplish this with as little loss as possible. So long as McClellan remained in the immediate neighbourhood of Washington, he could assist the garrison of Harper's Ferry, and so make the capture of a place so strongly defended difficult and costly. McClellan, roused by the rumoured advance into Pennsylvania, made a movement that cut off his communications with Harper's Ferry. The day he left Washington, General Jackson left Frederick City, and whilst a small part of the Confederate army was holding the Federals in check, invested and compelled the surrender of Harper's Ferry—a loss which the North feels bitterly. Having succeeded in these enterprises, the Confederate troops were withdrawn from Maryland, but not until they had

fought the great battle of September 17, when not more than 60,000 Confederates had to contend against a vastly superior Federal army, formed out of the remnants of the five armies that had been in Virginia, together with some new levies. There is no pretence for the North claiming any advantage in that fight; it was a drawn battle, so far as both armies kept their respective positions; and it was a Confederate victory strategically, and considering the Federal loss. So much for the boastful assertion with which Mr. Seward begins his despatch.

It is a pity the Federal Secretary of State does not mention the papers which the diplomatic and consular agents of the United States are to look to as authorities for the decline of the resources of the Confederates. He cannot refer to Southern journals; and possibly his circular was accompanied by a copy of the *New York Herald*, which persistently predicts the subjugation of the South, the immediate triumph of the North, and the imminent annihilation of England and France. We shall not enter into the question of Confederate resources. It is enough to observe that they have driven back the armies of the North; that they are well equipped and furnished with all the *matériel* of war from the spoils taken from their enemy; that the Federals are anxious for the safety of their capital; in short, that the Confederates have gone through a campaign in which their success has been so continuous as to surprise and confound the calculations of lookers-on. With regard to finances, we must remember that as an agricultural country the South is more self-dependent than the North, and suffers less financially. The war, too, has been less expensive to the South; for, being cut off from communication with Europe, she has not been able to follow the example of her enemy and purchase stores and armaments, and has therefore been compelled to take much of what she needed from the Federal armies. The charges of an invaded country are always small compared to the charges of an invading army. The debt of the Confederate States is inconsiderable compared to that of the United States, and its liquidation is, from the riches of the country and the provision made for that purpose, not problematical. By a curious coincidence, the arrival of Mr. Seward's despatch, in which the exhaustion of the Confederates is set forth, and we are told that "the forces of the Union, strengthened and reunited, are again ready to undertake a campaign on a vast scale," was contemporaneous with the telegraphic announcement that the Union forces would go into winter quarters, provided, of course, the Southerners did not interfere with the arrangement.

The charming inconsistency and unblushing falsehood of this despatch reaches its climax in the following sentence:—

On the other side, you will see that the financial situation of the country is good, and that the call for fresh troops, without which the material force of the nation would be seriously crippled, is being promptly responded to.

The good financial position of the country is gold at 22 per cent. premium, paper in place of a specie currency, a huge national debt contracted in less than two years, and, at present, no taxes levied to pay the interest on it and to meet the current expenses of the war; and the anything but distant prospect of national bankruptcy. The alacrity for enlistment does not very well accord with the enormous bounties, the order for drafting and the suspension of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* in the case of all persons arrested for hindering the recruiting. Besides, if the Union forces are ready to undertake a campaign on a vast scale, what need is there of the assurance that the call for fresh troops "is being promptly responded to?"

The last part of Mr. Seward's despatch is a confession of military failure:—

I have already informed our representatives abroad of the approach of a change in the social organization of the rebel States. This change continues to make itself each day more and more apparent. In the opinion of the President the moment has come to place the great fact more clearly before the people of the rebel States, and to make them understand that if these States persist in imposing upon the country the choice between the dissolution of this Government, at once

necessary and beneficial, and the abolition of slavery, it is the Union, and not slavery, that must be maintained and saved. With this object the President is about to publish a proclamation, in which he announces that slavery will no longer be recognized in any of the States which shall be in rebellion on the 1st of January next. While all the good and wise men of all countries will recognize this measure as a just and proper military act, intended to deliver the country from a terrible civil war, they will recognize at the same time the moderation and magnanimity with which the Government proceeds in a matter so solemn and important.

Here we have a distinct disavowal of any other than a military motive for Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. It is described as "a just and proper military act." In what way can this be so? How can emancipation assist the armies of the United States? Mr. Lincoln promises the slaves that on and after January 1 no effort they make to gain their "actual freedom" shall be repressed; on the contrary, the armies and fleets of the United States are to afford assistance. There is, then, no obscurity about the "just and proper military act." It is intended, if possible, to stir up a servile war. The Washington Government is so "moderate and magnanimous" as to give the slaves three months' notice, that the Federals are on January 1, 1863, to assist the slaves who may choose to undertake "the solemn and important matter" of massacring the white women and children. This is the act that is to command the assent of "the good and wise men of all countries." It is not easy to divine Mr. Seward's motive in making such an admission to foreign Courts through his diplomatic agents. He must know, if he is sane, that the good and wise men of all countries will look with the utmost abhorrence upon the attempt to incite a servile war in the South, and he must also be aware that he could not have admitted more strongly and unreservedly the failure of the North and the triumph of the South, than by confessing the emancipation edict to be "a military act." He says, in effect, to foreign Governments,—"We have essayed to subjugate the South, and we have failed. We are now going to try the experiment of a servile war, and see if by the aid of the slaves we can exterminate the people we cannot conquer." Mr. Lincoln's proclamation and Mr. Seward's despatch are worthy to be associated with the savage decrees of Benjamin F. Butler. The tyrant of New Orleans threatens to place the women of that city at the mercy of the negroes, whom he is endeavouring to excite against the white population. Messrs. Lincoln and Seward threaten the whole of the South with the same calamity. Unhappily for the people of New Orleans, there is some chance of the atrocious design of Butler being carried out. The clergy of New England may possibly be able to gloat over the massacre of the women and children of New Orleans.

Mr. Lincoln's colonization scheme should be mentioned here, because it is the natural development and sequence of the servile war policy. The Northerners do not look with favour upon the desolation of the South; Mr. Lincoln hastens to assure them that if he can, by the aid of the slaves, exterminate the white population of the South, and by means of a servile war thin the coloured population, he is prepared for the emergency. As well as this, the Southern colonization scheme appeals to the cupidity of the Northerners. This scheme we have long foreseen. In THE INDEX of the 29th May an article appeared entitled, "What Does Union Mean?" in which occurred the following passages, which we reproduce on account of their appropriateness to the present juncture:—

This is what is meant by the word "Union," which is the war-cry of the invaders of the South. To the farmer and "farm-hand" of the North, the hungry emigrant from Germany and Ireland, the military adventurers from every clime who officer these armies, it means what the empire of the Incas and the Caziques meant to the followers of Cortez and Pizarro—what Gaul meant to the Helvetians, when, as a nation, they left their rugged mountains to seek more genial homes. The word "Union" means not only the conquest, but the colonization of the South. Wholesale confiscations, wholesale banishments—the despair of the lawful owners—would make lands cheap. The bounty land-warrants to the value of £20 each, to which each of the 750,000 Northern soldiers is entitled, by law at the expiration of the war, would be "located"

—to borrow the American phrase—not in the Western wilderness, but in the rich bottoms of the Mississippi and Alabama, the blooming savannahs of Georgia, or the virgin prairies of Texas. Nor would these new settlers till that soil which it is death to the white man to till. The poor negroes, might, indeed, be "emancipated" in name; but on the pretext of a necessary tutelage or apprenticeship to freedom, their labour for life, or for a long term of years, would be let out by law to the highest bidder, and thus the helpless wretches would be transferred from the indulgent care of their natural protectors, in whose households they were born, between whom and them exists an innate mutual attachment and a life-long acquaintance of each other's virtues and failings, to the harsh rule of mercenary strangers who hate them from instinct, and whose sole interest in them would be estimated in dollars and cents. The name of slavery might thus, indeed, disappear; but those horrible enormities associated with the name which now exist only in the imagination of slanderous novelists, would then have their beginning without any possible end. And these outrages would be committed in the name and with the forms of law. The talent and intelligence of the country once exiled, the mass of its native citizens excluded from the polls by an oath of allegiance which they would deem it a sacrilege to take, the callous, calculating mind of Mr. Seward already foresees, in the future, Northern Legislatures seated in the halls of the State capitals of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, obsequiously carrying out his edicts in the name of these once sovereign States.

This is what "Union" means to the Northerner; and this also, is what it means to the Southerner. He knows that it means to him, not only such utter political annihilation as few conquests have ever brought with them, but a personal serfdom more galling than ever a proud nation endured. He fights, not only for national independence, but for his personal political rights, nay, for his civil rights as a citizen; for his homestead, that it may not pass into the hands of the stranger; for his wife and his children, that the former should not bear slaves, and that the latter may grow up freemen.

Confederate Finances.

PEOPLE who live in glass houses should never throw stones. After the Federal Government has plunged itself into an indebtedness of nearly two thousand millions of dollars to carry on a wicked and cruel war against the Confederate States of America, without one dollar of taxes collected for the payment of the interest, and when on the eve of bankruptcy, its Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, under date of the 22nd ultimo, in a circular letter to his agents in Europe, makes the following gratuitous remarks:—"If you consult the newspapers, you will easily perceive that the financial resources of the Union are declining rapidly, and that the means of raising troops have been exhausted." Fortunately for the South, the people on this side of the Atlantic pay very little respect to the evidence of Northern newspapers, and, if possible, still less to the assertions of Northern politicians.

A short time since, we gave a sketch of the several acts of the Confederate Congress, in reference to their monetary concerns, and proved that they had been managed with the utmost degree of financial economy. By recent arrivals, we learn that a bill has been introduced into the House of Representatives, of which the following is the first section:—

That on January 1, 1863, there shall be levied and assessed on each person resident in the Confederate States, for the support of the Government and the defence of the country, the following tax, to wit:—"One-fifth the value of all the wheat, corn, rice, rye, oats, potatoes, hemp, flax, peas, beans, barley, hay, wool, resin, tar, pitch, turpentine, cotton, sugar, molasses, and tobacco produced by him in those States during the previous calendar year; also one-fifth of the value of the increase for the preceding calendar year of the horses, asses, cattle, sheep, and swine; and also one-fifth of the profits made in the preceding calendar year by the feeding of swine, sheep, cattle, or mules; also one-fifth of each person's yearly income for the preceding calendar year, from all sources whatsoever, except from the sources hereinbefore described, and except from the interest on Confederate bonds, certificates, or Treasury notes; provided that the said tax so levied and assessed shall be due and payable on April 1, 1863; provided further, that foreigners resident within the Confederate States shall not be required to pay, except from the aforesaid articles produced by or for them, or from incomes or profits derived from business conducted by them within those States; nor shall any tax be levied upon the products of residents, where the total value of such products, during the said year is less than \$500; nor shall any tax be levied upon the income of residents, where the total value of such income is less than \$500.

This is a wise proposition, and if the war terminates within six months, will put the Government out of debt in five years.

The expenditures up to the 1st of August were as follows:—

War Department	\$298,376,549.41
Navy Department	14,605,777.86
Civil and miscellaneous	15,766,503.43
	\$328,748,830.70

To which must be added outstanding requisitions upon the Treasury, for which warrants are not yet issued, to the amount of \$18,524,128.15, making the aggregate \$347,272,958.85. Five millions of dollars, however, have been charged to expenditure, which were paid for the redemption of deposit certificates, and should be deducted from the amount.

The receipts for the same period have been as follows:—

From Customs prior to the repeal of the tariff	\$1,437,399.96
Miscellaneous sources	1,974,769.33
Loan Act of Feb. 28, 1861	15,000,000.00
Loan Act of Aug. 19, 1861	24,613,346.61
Treasury Notes Act, March 9, 1861	2,021,100.00
Treasury Notes Act, May 16, 1861	17,347,955.00
Treasury Notes Act, August 19, 1861	167,764,615.00
Call deposits	37,515,200.00
Treasury Notes 7-30 interest Act, April 17, 1862	22,799,900.00
Small notes	846,000.00
War tax	10,168,967.90
Balance of loan from banks	10,539,910.70
	\$312,029,164.50

It will be observed that the greater portion of this amount has been received from Treasury notes, which, although, not a legal tender, are made use of as currency for all transactions, and when their amount becomes too large for that purpose, they are converted into interest-bearing stock; and hence there has been very little inflation in prices, except on foreign commodities, the quotations for which are regulated by the inevitable laws of supply and demand. The people of the Northern States are bragging that they will soon have a "national debt" equal to that of this country, but we cannot see the policy of a Confederacy of States incurring a permanent liability, and we are sure that the Southerners will discharge theirs, which is due to themselves, as speedily as possible. A single State may assume to tax future generations for its present expenses, but it would be most unjust, in a combination of sovereignties to adopt that course. Under the operations of the laws of entail and primogeniture, the consolidated debt of Great Britain has answered very well; the gradual cheapening of money induced a reduction of the interest thereon, by which the creditors of the Government involuntarily surrendered in 1822, 1830, and 1842, equivalent to a principal of £100,000,000 sterling, a gentle sort of repudiation submitted to by them. In America, however, where each generation, with a few exceptions, has entire control of its property, and not restricted to the income as here, it is right that it should pay its own expenses in full.

Southern Retaliation.

THE Northern organs are endeavouring to make a little political capital out of what they are pleased to call the savage revenge threatened by the South for Mr. Lincoln's emancipation edict; and these tirades are principally based upon a telegraphic summary of the proceedings of the Confederate Congress. We submit those proceedings, so far from justifying such comments, are characterized by becoming, unsurpassed, and praiseworthy dignity. No one can be surprised that the proposal to promote a servile war, of which the inevitable horrors appal the imagination and defy description, should be met by the Southern press and people with passionate indignation when even foreigners view it with loathing and reprobation. The attempt of the North to make Southern homesteads the scenes of massacres and of atrocities more hideous than death in its cruellest form—scenes that would rival the terrors of Cawnpore—the invitation to the slaves to work out their "actual freedom" under the protection of the Federal forces, which means the slaves are to be protected, and encouraged to torture and assassinate defenceless women and children—are de-

signs too atrocious to be treated with contemptuous indifference. Grant the edict of Mr. Lincoln is as impotent as it is execrable, yet the mere menace is a crime which loudly calls for punishment. We say, advisedly, it would have shamed the Southern manhood if the news of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation had not elicited a general expression of indignation; for it does not so much threaten the men as the women and children of the South. The Confederate Congress would not have represented the feeling of the country if it had not immediately and unhesitatingly taken cognizance of the affair. Let us notice the terms of the proposed resolutions.

The emancipation proclamation is denounced as a gross violation of the usages of war. To this part of the resolution no objection can be offered, for Europe has condemned it in equally strong terms. Next it is suggested, "it should be held up to the execration of mankind," and no fault can be found with this clause, seeing that wherever Mr. Lincoln's proclamation has been published, always excepting the United States, it has been utterly condemned. Retaliation is proposed. Some members favoured hoisting the black flag; and since every citizen in the Confederate States is threatened with ruin and murder by the proclamation, the resolutions recommend that every citizen should be declared a soldier, and thereby authorized to kill any man found in arms against the Government. This seems tons no more than a just measure of self-defence. The North, unable to cope with the armies of the South, declares war against the women, the children, and the civil citizens; and those who are threatened with destruction may surely claim the right to defend themselves. Yet even in the heat of debate the object and limit of retaliation was distinctly defined. Only such reprisals were to be made as would, in the judgment of President Davis, be calculated to secure the withdrawal or to arrest the execution of the proclamation.

Even these constitutional resolutions, which leave the terms of retaliation to the calm judgment of the President, were referred to the Judiciary Committee. Could the British House of Commons have displayed more judicial gravity and propriety? Would not a revolutionary convention have passed such a resolution by acclamation? Under such circumstances, under such provocation, no legislative assembly ever acted with such dignified moderation. If the people of the North were not dead to every noble sentiment, they would be stung to the quick by this proceeding of the Confederate Congress, which stands in such marked contrast to the lawless and infamous conduct of their own Government.

What retaliation the Confederates may determine on, we know not; but it is difficult to conceive any reprisals too severe for the most scandalous outrage ever perpetrated by a civilized Government. We deplore but we cannot deny the stern necessity of Southern reprisals. It is not a question of revenge, but of solemn duty and responsibility. Not to retaliate would be complicity in the guilt. Impunity is an encouragement and a premium for the perpetration of crime. Retaliation may be a poor but it is the only chance of compelling the Federal Government to change its policy, and so avert a war of extermination. The Confederate Government ought not to bear the sword in vain, but should protect the people committed to its charge from any attempt to bring upon them the dire curse of a servile war.

The Southerners confide in the general and tried fidelity of their slaves, but it is not impossible that at isolated places the Federal armies, commanded by such persons as Butler, Mitchell, Turchin, and Pope, may succeed in beguiling the slaves to insurrection, and hounding them on to murder the white population, and to their own destruction. Therefore, though there is no fear of a servile war, and of the clergy of New England and the Lincolnite Government having the opportunity to gloat over the extermination of the Southern population, yet there is cause for some alarm lest in a few districts Northern malice should be gratified; and we cannot blame the South if she declares war to the knife until the so-called emancipation edict is withdrawn.

The District of Columbia.

DR. RUSSELL tells us that while crossing the Delaware in a ferry-boat between Camden and Philadelphia, he observed over the cabin door a weapon inscribed with the words "State Rights' fire axe," and suggests that a hatchet marked "Federal Union" would not have been tolerated on a Southern river; thus making an invidious comparison in favour of the North. If the talented correspondent of our contemporary of Printing-House Square had taken the pains to inform himself, he would have learned that the vessel was built about a quarter of a century ago, when both sections of the late Union appreciated State Rights; that she was named in accordance with that sound American doctrine, and, as customary, all her appurtenances were so labelled. A few years back some enthusiastic Federalist Members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania expressed great concern that the Union should be without a name, and urged upon Congress the propriety of christening the country "Alleghania." They received, as an answer, that "United States" was the suitable title for a league of independent sovereignties, and the matter was thus disposed of. Politically speaking, the term "nation" does not apply to either the North or the South, any more than Great Republic or Model Republic, which have been erroneous expressions, and, in a measure, productive of evil. Southerners have ever in travelling appended the names of their respective States to their signatures; while Northerners, of recent years, have got into the habit of affixing United States. The political co-partnership under the Constitution of 1787 has never been possessed of sovereignty, which means dominion over the soil, for such was reserved by the creators of that instrument—the individual States—with the slight exception therein provided for. Article I., Section 8, says:—

Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the Legislature of the States in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings.

A few years since a treaty was made between an envoy of the United States and the Republic of Switzerland, which gave to their respective citizens a right to hold real estate in either country. The Senate of the United States could not comply with its tenor, in consequence of not having control over the soil of any of the integral parts of the Union, and that clause in the document had to be stricken out. In the case of the North-Eastern boundary, the dispute was left to the umpirage of the King of the Netherlands, whose decision met with the approval of President Jackson, but the State of Maine refused to accede to it, and it became a "vexed question" until disposed of by the Ashburton Treaty. On this occasion, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, and acting for the general Government, under the treaty making power in Article II., Section 2, of the Constitution, did not move in the negotiation without the concurrence of the commissioners duly appointed by the Legislature of Maine, who were at his elbow during the transaction. The Senate at first was not inclined to ratify the treaty, but Mr. Calhoun, in an able speech, said that it was no affair of the Washington Government, but exclusively that of the State of Maine, whose agreement they were bound to confirm.

It will thus be seen that the powers of the Government of the United States are very limited, and that the Union, if entire, might with propriety be called the "Thirty-four Nations," as the Iroquois Confederacy of Indians was designated the "Five Nations" until joined by the Tuscaroras, when they became the "Six Nations."

In the article on American Confederacies which appeared in the last number of THE INDEX, we made the following remarks in reference to the United States' seat of Government:—

While at Princetown, in 1783, the question of a permanent residence for Congress was raised, and excited a good deal of local feeling. One party was in favour of a Federal city on the Delaware; another named the Potomac; Maryland offered to cede Annapolis for that purpose; New York volunteered Kingston, on the Hudson. The Council of Pennsylvania, anxious to bring Congress back to Philadelphia, apologised for their timidity, which was the cause of its removal from that city. It was finally agreed that, so soon as a suitable site could be obtained, two Federal cities should be erected, at which the sessions of Congress should be alternately held; one near the Falls of the Delaware, the other near the Falls of the Potomac; and that until they could be built, meetings should be held at Trenton, in New Jersey, and Annapolis, in Maryland. Congress then convened at the latter place, and, after a recess of five months, the annual session was opened at Trenton, on November 1, 1784, when a resolution was carried, appointing commissioners to lay out a city near the Falls of the Delaware; and stating that it was "inexpedient" to attempt, at this time, to erect public buildings in more than one place; voting \$100,000 towards the same; and that the sessions should, in the meantime, be held at New York. The want of funds, and obstinate difference of opinion in Congress, prevented anything effectual being done towards the building of the proposed Federal city. In 1788, this matter was again introduced, but was postponed until the new Congress under the Constitution should go into operation.

In accordance with this deferment, and the terms of the new league that had then been entered into by eleven of the States, the question was again revived on September 3, 1789, when a representative from Pennsylvania introduced a resolution, declaring "that a permanent residence

ought to be fixed for the general Government of the United States, at some convenient place, as near the centre of wealth, population, and extent of territory, as may be consistent with convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, and having due regard to the particular situation of the western country." Objection was made to the expression "General Government," and "Congress of the United States" suggested. The New York and New England members had concluded that the east bank of the Susquehanna was the proper locality; some, the Delaware; and others, further South. Considerable discussion ensued in reference to the different situations. An effort was made by the Northern members to hold the sessions at New York until buildings were erected elsewhere, but this was not agreed to by the delegates from the South. A representative from Georgia was desirous of waiting to see whether North Carolina and Rhode Island would not join the Confederacy, and expressed regret that the matter had inaugurated a sectional feeling of jealousy; he asked, "Are the eastern members to dictate in this manner, and fix a seat of government? Why not come forward and demand of us the power of legislation, and say, 'Give us up your privileges, and we will govern you?' If a part of the States have the power to fix the seat of government, they may as well take the Government from the other. This looks like autocracy; not the united but the partial voice of America to decide." A Mr. Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, replied; he said, "In my view, on the principle of population, it is far beyond the centre [alluding to the Potomac]; for I do not think it just, on this subject, to take the constitutional computation. Will any gentleman pretend that men, who are merely the subjects of property or wealth should be taken into the estimate; that the slaves of the country—men who have no rights to protect—should be taken into view in determining the centre of the government? If they were considerate, gentlemen might as well estimate the black cattle of New England." Very warm remarks were made by several members, and Mr. Madison declared that if a prophet had arisen in the Virginian Convention that adopted the Constitution, and told them of the grasping propensities of the North, that State would never have acceded to the Constitution. The Massachusetts orator rejoined, "Will it be contended that the majority shall not govern; and shall the minority, because they cannot carry their points, accuse the House of a want of candour? Are we to be told that an important State would not have joined the Union had it known what would have been the proceedings this day? He believed that a deliberation of six weeks would not result in the change of opinion of a single member, and he was for immediate action." Mr. Madison continued to urge a postponement of the question until another day; he did not wish to address a determined and silent majority. "If this be the temper of the House to-day, let me appeal to a more favourable temper to-morrow. If gentlemen refuse this appeal, I must submit; but I will to the last moment assert my right, and remonstrate against a precipitate decision." Mr. Burke, of South Carolina, observed that the Northern States had had a fortnight to manage this matter, but would not now allow the Southern States a day, and stated that a league had been formed between the Northern States and Pennsylvania to the prejudice of the South. A Connecticut member feared that the whole of New England would consider the Union destroyed if the Potomac was selected. The matter was postponed until the next day, when there were twenty-one votes for the Potomac and twenty-nine votes for the Susquehanna; but this ballot was merely on the amendment, the original bill did not come up; after a long discussion the House adjourned and on meeting the next day, the consideration of the subject was resumed with even greater manifestations of sectionalism than on the preceding occasion.

On September 7, the Pennsylvania resolution, which was, offered four days previously, was adopted; when the following was brought forward:—

"That the permanent seat of the Government of the United States ought to be at some convenient place on the east bank of the River Susquehanna, in the State of Pennsylvania; and that, until the necessary buildings be erected for that purpose, the seat of government ought to continue at New York.

Mr. Lee, of Virginia, moved to strike out the words, "east bank of the River Susquehanna, in the State of Pennsylvania" and insert in lieu thereof, "the north bank of the River Potomac, in the State of Maryland." This motion was lost by twenty-one yeas and twenty-nine nays. Wilmington, Delaware, was proposed, but negatived by nineteen yeas and thirty-two nays. A suggestion to examine "the various sites on the Potomac, Susquehanna, and Delaware Rivers," was unsuccessful. The "banks of either side of the River Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls," received but four votes out of fifty. "The banks of the Susquehanna," instead of the "east bank," obtained twenty-six yeas, and twenty-five nays. A proposition offered to insert, after the word "Pennsylvania," the words "or Maryland," was lost by twenty-five yeas and twenty-six nays. A division on the question was then called for by Mr. Lee, and the vote was then taken on striking out New York as the temporary seat of government; receiving twenty-four yeas and twenty-seven nays. To omit the "city of New York," and insert "borough of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware," obtained twenty-one votes against thirty. A similar proposition was made in favour of Philadelphia, with twenty-two yeas and twenty-nine nays. The original resolution was then adopted. A resolution to appoint commissioners to carry out the act was considered, when various amendments were offered, all tending to retard a definite settlement of the

question, but it was finally carried by twenty-eight yeas and twenty-one nays. A committee was then appointed to bring in a bill in conformity with the resolutions, which they did on September 21, and it was passed the next day and sent to the Senate, where it was amended so as to read, that a "district of ten miles square, bounded on the south by a line running parallel at one mile's distance from the city of Philadelphia, on the east side of the River Delaware, and extending northerly and westerly, so as to include Germantown." With this amendment the bill was returned to the House on September 26, when it was immediately considered. Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, said, "Who are those that say to us that Germantown is the most proper spot that can be selected? They are the representatives of the State Sovereignities, where the large and small States are equally represented." It was moved to postpone the business until the next session, which was lost by twenty-five yeas and twenty-nine nays. Mr. Madison's suggestion to confine the law of Pennsylvania over the proposed district until Congress should otherwise provide, was agreed to, and no further action was taken upon the subject during that session, which ended in three days. During the early part of the second session of Congress, which met in January, 1790, the senate had passed a bill to locate the seat of government on the north bank of the Potomac; this act was taken up in the House on the 6th of July, 1790, and after much discussion on sundry amendments proposed, was passed on the 9th of that month. The bill contained the following clause:—

That a district of territory, on the River Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the eastern branch and the Connochoqueague, be, and the same is hereby, accepted for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States.

The measure was carried in consequence of Messrs. Lee and White, from Virginia, having offered to vote for the bill in reference to the assumption of the debts incurred by the States to conduct the revolutionary war, which had become a sectional question, provided two members from the North would change their votes in favour of the Potomac. More than half the aggregate of these debts was contracted by the Southern states, yet they, on principle, for a long while resolutely opposed, forcing the amount on the United States, as it was not created for the establishment of an Union, but for independence. Jefferson returned from his mission to France, during the argument, and acted the part of peacemaker, at the request of Washington; the Northern members having threatened secession and a dissolution of the Union. The bill declared that the Government was to remove to the new city in December, 1800; and until that date, Congress should hold its meetings at Philadelphia.

Prior to these transactions the State of Maryland had passed an act (on December 3, 1788) ceding to Congress a district ten miles square for the seat of Government of the United States, and the State of Virginia made a similar grant on December 3, 1780. The two cessions were accepted by the law of July 16, 1790, and the amendment thereto approved, March 3, 1791. The district of ten miles was accordingly located, and its lines and boundaries properly established by a proclamation of George Washington, President of the United States, on the 30th of March, 1791; and by the act of Congress, approved February 27, 1801, Congress assumed jurisdiction over the said district, in accordance with the Constitution. The territory was named the District of Columbia, and the seat of government, WASHINGTON. In 1848 so much of the district as was ceded by Virginia—being all that part lying south of the Potomac—was ceded back to that State, leaving the Maryland part only in the present District of Columbia, which embraces about sixty square miles, in the form of a right-angled triangle, with its base upon the Potomac. Virginia required the return of her share, to protect her citizens therein residing, by her own laws, as they had virtually become "subjects" to northern rule, and were completely disfranchised. So soon as Washington ceases to be the "permanent residence of the Congress of the United States," the territory reverts to Maryland, and the property with the public buildings thereon to the former owners of the soil, who had made a deed of gift to the Government for that special purpose.

The question may now be asked, whether it was not a false step to dedicate any particular spot for the capital of a league of States, and whether it would not have been better to have preserved the archives and held the sessions of Congress in some established city? We have seen that great trouble arose in reference to the question at the very outset of the operations of the Constitution, and recent events prove to us very clearly that the possession of neutral territory alone gives strength and force to the Lincoln Administration. Let the Confederates seize the capital and destroy the vipers' nest, and the backbone of tyranny in America will be broken. Washington politics and Washington society have been degenerating for years, under the influence of Northern spoilsmen, who have gone thither to attain their own selfish ends. The hotels have been crowded with "borers" from New York and New England, and it became one of the most disreputable cities in the world, with a population that gambled away the prosperity of the Sovereign States. The conservative elements of commerce, the arts, sciences, and manufactures, were much needed to give a tone of sobriety and responsibility to the place. It certainly has been a great mistake to have made the Federal seat of government of so much importance. Why should a league of States have jurisdiction anywhere, except on the ocean—the highway of nations? The laws of the respective States protect life and property. And how unjust it has

been that in a Republic the citizens of the District of Columbia were deprived of a representation in Congress, or a voice in the selection of President. A resident of Washington, no matter however great his qualifications, could not be a senator or member of the House of Representatives, or President or Vice-President, as persons holding those offices must by law be domiciled in the States. There has been something radically wrong in the arrangement from the beginning to the end. It gave more apparent importance to the "Union" than it deserved, and there is no doubt that the moral effect produced thereby has caused the people of the North to enter upon that career of madness and cruelty that brings down on them the condemnation of the civilized world. We heartily endorse the following graphic description of the course of affairs at Washington, made some time ago by the *Times*:—

What, may we ask, did Congress meet for at Washington? Did these senators and representatives do anything for the people who sent them to the Federal capital? Did they improve the laws of the States? Did they make railroads or canals, or perform any of the usual duties of legislation? No; they merely took their seats to listen to, to join in, acrimonious disputes on the everlasting subject of slavery. To talk about slavery, to abuse each other, defy each other, hudgeon each other about slavery, was the whole occupation of the Federal Congress. To this one question every other was made subservient. Whether a duty was imposed, or a new State admitted, the interests of the two rival sections were pitted against each other as if they had been hostile States making a treaty of peace instead of component parts of the same nation. How, then, can it be said by Mr. Seward that society on the American continent could encounter no reverse so disastrous as the division of the American Union? To us, on the contrary, it seems that the Union has been long ago divided, that the prophecy of Jefferson has been fulfilled, and that the coincidence of a geographical line with a division of interests and institutions have long since made North and South two nations. The withdrawal from the same Confederacy is only the formal recognition of this diversity. What, indeed, does it amount to? Merely that the two sections of the Union will not commit to the same authority the management of their post-office, their mint, and their national defences. In every other respect they will remain the same. As each State legislated for itself before, so it will now. As each determined for itself the question of Freedom or Slavery within its borders, so it will now. Why should Virginia go to war with New York, or South Carolina with Massachusetts, simply because they do not send delegates to quarrel in the same dreary capital? Under a Constitution which had become an anachronism, and which could never be modified, the situation of the Federal States had become intolerable. A mischievous Union has bred the war now raging. The best hope of permanent peace is a final separation.

The Union has been a mere "club" of States; the district of Columbia, the "Club House;" the Congress, the "directors;" the army and navy; the "servants." How improper was it then for the "directors" to assess the "members" south of Mason and Dixon's line, to support those north of that parallel by a system of protective tariffs; and how contrary to the "bye-laws" it was to endeavour to legislate the use of the common property of the "association" in the territories to the advantage of one section. But now we see the interference of the North with the domestic concerns of the South. It is a pity that the New Englanders had not better understood social etiquette, and that there had been a "limit" to the number of members. It was the New States in the West, peopled by the Red Republicans of Europe, uniting with the Puritan commonwealths of the East, inhabited by Black Republicans, that overthrew, by the Chicago platform, the institutions of the country, as established by the fathers of the Revolution. The Southerners have deemed fit to "resign" from this "club." In another column we give eminent northern authority on the right of Secession.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

THE FIRST FIGHT.

Camp, 3rd Alabama Volunteers, near Norfolk, — May, 1861.

The monotony of camp life has been enlivened during the past week. Last Sunday an unusual number of furloughs had been given to visit the city, and strong detachments from each company of our regiment were just sitting down to the well-supplied public table of the Atlantic Hotel, when a peremptory summons arrived for our immediate return to camp. We were to strike tents in two hours. Several of the regiments had received marching orders. Rumours of mysterious movements on the part of the enemy were already circulating in the streets. Hastily leaving our untasted meal, we hurried towards camp in such conveyances as the offer of extravagant prices could procure. The whole regiment was in a buzz of preparation. Comrades had already packed our knapsacks. The tents were stripped of their contents, ready to fall at the order to strike. Our negro followers were busy cooking three days' rations, or packing the superfluous baggage upon carts sent for from town. Soon each company was drawn up in line on the company parade-grounds—the roll called—no one was missing. Several non-commissioned officers now passed up and down the line, dealing out from huge baskets carbides, conical balls, and caps—thirty rounds to each man. "Rest" was then ordered. Buoyant with the hope of a speedy meeting with the

hated foe, feverish with impatience, we waited for two weary hours. Meanwhile orderlies galloped in from headquarters. The officers stood in little groups conversing in low tones. After all, we were doomed to disappointment. At 6 o'clock the usual dress-parade was held; we were then dismissed to our quarters; cautioned to sleep on our arms; and, at all events, to be prepared for an early start in the morning.

That night we slept in our now naked tents without being disturbed by any alarm. Next morning, at half-past 3, the reveillé sounded. At 4 the order to "strike tents" was given, and the canvas-built town fell, as if by magic, to the ground. At half-past 4 the regiment was in line of march—whither, none of us as yet knew. After a march of about three hours we halted upon a broad expanse of fallow land, and there, we now learned, we were to pitch our new camp. It was not in human nature to abstain from grumbling after such repeated disappointments, nor was our ill-humour mollified by finding, a few hours later, that our baggage had taken the wrong way, and we would not be able to pitch our tents before nightfall. The whole of that long day we were exposed to a broiling sun, with not so much as a shrub for a shelter, and with no food nor water except what our haversacks and canteens afforded. Trifling though it was, it was the first hardship we had been called upon to endure, and appearing to us utterly purposeless, we grumbled accordingly.

— May, 1861.

A few days have shown that the alarms of Sunday were not altogether groundless. Day before yesterday the Federal steamer Monticello, a merchant vessel converted into a gunboat, appeared before our unfinished battery at Sewall's Point, and from a distance of about one mile and a-half, commenced a brisk fire of shells and round shot, which was promptly and effectively answered by the four guns already in position. The steamer, after firing 125 rounds, was forced to signal for some tugs to haul her off, having been struck in some part of her machinery.

Yesterday I had an opportunity for visiting the scene of the conflict. The only damage sustained by the battery, from a fire of several hours, consisted of two embrasures being knocked into one, and this trifling injury was repaired during the night; not a man was hurt, except one very slightly wounded by a splinter from a tree. The result of this, the first engagement since war has been openly declared, is truly wonderful. The battery was defended by the Columbus City Guards, ninety-eight men, under Captain Colquitt. They have not been above a week at their present post, and, as they were recruited as an infantry company, have had but an exceedingly imperfect drill at the guns. The captain is an old artillery officer; and assisted by three practised gunners, who act as instructors to the company, he has been able to defend this rude and unfinished structure of turf and sandbags against a most formidable attack. Though the men were for the first time under fire, they behaved, not indeed with the coolness of veterans, but with a reckless daring amounting to foolhardiness. After each discharge some of them sprang upon the guns, waving their hats and shouting defiance at the Yankee craft. Captain Colquitt told us that he felt himself unable to restrain their mad enthusiasm. "The boys must be allowed a little frolic this time," he added, "after another brush or two they will sober down." The trees in the rear of the battery are literally mowed down, and the fields behind are thickly strewn with shell and shot. Few of the former exploded; the nearest within about twenty paces of the battery. Some have been found filled with sawdust instead of powder; a fact which argues ill for the faithfulness of the operatives in the Federal arsenals.

It was suspected in Norfolk that the attack of the Monticello might be intended to cover a landing in the rear of the battery, and a battalion of infantry had been hastily despatched to foil this intention. The ill success which had attended the steamer seems to have caused its abandonment, if it was ever entertained. The work is now continued with renewed energy, and in the course of a week fourteen heavy guns will command the channel, and defy the assault of any ordinary force.

It was not until several weeks after the occurrence of this little affair that the Northern accounts of it reached us. We were then amused to learn that the engagement was one of immense importance, that the rebel battery had been utterly demolished, that the rebels themselves had been seen rushing into the woods like flocks of scared sheep, and that foremost among the fugitives was an officer of high rank desecrated galloping away in wild haste. Such a success was cheaply purchased at the cost of a few lives on board of the steamer and the crippling of its machinery. It was long a question among us whether these ludicrous falsehoods were

wholly due to the inventive genius for which the Yankee nation is celebrated, or whether the poor scribblers had so lost their heads through fear that they believed at least a part of what they wrote. Thus the fugitive officer of high rank might have been the mounted vidette despatched to Norfolk with the news of the attack; the frightened rebels rushing wildly into the woods might have been the gang of negroes employed upon the works, who, at the discharge of the first gun, scampered away to the ditch dug for their protection in anticipation of such an emergency. On another occasion, when a young lady waved her handkerchief at the harmless pyrotechnic display with which we are favoured every afternoon by their great "Sawyer gun" at Fort Calhoun, the correspondents of the New York papers gravely reported that a white flag had been raised by the rebels at Sewall's Point.

LUXURIOUS LIVING.

During the last week in May, and nearly the whole month of June, no event took place to ripple the stagnant surface of camp routine. The roll-calls, the company and battalion drills, the dress parade, became almost as dull as the long intervals between them. All of us had shouldered the musket with the firm conviction that we would at once enter upon a campaign crowded with soul-stirring events, but which would be necessarily short. To men accustomed to mix in the busy pursuits of life—men who at a heavy sacrifice of interests and feelings left business and family behind them—no trial of patience can be more severe than to spend week after week in compulsory idleness approaching to inanition, and varied only by periodically performing the part of unthinking machines.

If material comforts could have compensated us, we should have had no reason to complain, for however much we might claim sympathy in other respects, we could not in this. Norfolk had been in times of peace the great market garden of New York and Philadelphia, and as the blockade cut off its ordinary customers, we became the beneficiaries of its abundance and lived literally on the fat of the land. Excellent beef and mutton was furnished at much more reasonable prices than we of the Gulf States were accustomed to. Fowls, including the largest and fattest of turkeys, were correspondingly cheap. The choicest vegetables could be obtained for almost nothing; indeed, several of the market gardeners in the neighbourhood gave us a free entrance to their teeming gardens, on no other condition than the unnecessary one, that we should take nothing save what we wanted for our own use, nor should waste anything wantonly. It will afford some idea of the cheapness of the place, that fresh *agoutis* and *monkeys* could be bought at 5d. per dozen; butter, far superior in quality to the best procurable in Mobile or New Orleans, cost from 7½d. to 10d. per lb. Strawberries, during the month of May, were sold by the quart, at 5d. In June melons took their place at even cheaper rates; soft shell crabs, which in the cities on the Gulf, are deemed a very rare and expensive luxury, had here a mere nominal value, and were ultimately excluded from the camp, as well as some other over-abundant luxuries, for sanitary reasons. Thus we were enabled, at the small rate of a shilling a day per head, to supply our mess table, very much after the manner of a well-regulated household. Coffee, salt meat, rice, and bread, were furnished as rations, but formed the least part of our meals. On Sundays, to give still greater variety to our bill of fare, we had what we termed our birthday dinners, when each member of the mess in turn became the host of the others. On such occasions, some special delicacy in the shape of game and wines was provided, and guests invited from among the different regiments or from the city. Most of the messes had substituted crockery for the rude tin ware that came from the quartermaster's store.* All had constructed deal tables and benches for their use, which were mostly sheltered from sun or rain by rough sheds. In our weary leisure hours we amused ourselves with amateur carpentering, and each tent could boast of a gun rack, or a set of shelves, or some other testimony of the ingenuity and industry of its inmates. Long before the authorities furnished us lumber for the purpose, most of the messes had, at their own expense, planked the floors of their tents. Cheap carpets even were introduced, and in individual cases, buffalo robes and heavy rugs ensured a still more comfortable couch to the owners. In course of time our company purchased three additional tents, which it had received permission to pitch upon its allotted ground, and then we could boast of having a chapel, a dining-room, and a writing-room of our own during the day-time, besides the sleeping-space so much needed during the sultry summer nights.

There was never any lack of money. Our brevet second-lieutenant, who acted as quartermaster, and also as banker, for the company, brought with him

about six hundred pounds in gold, partly the original property of the company, partly made up by contributions from some of the monied institutions of Mobile, as well as some of the parents or relatives of members. This sum was devoted to general company purposes, and also to the cashing of our individual drafts, within reasonable limits. For a long time we were able to make a considerable premium upon our drafts, as the Mobile banks did not suspend specie payment until a much later period, when compelled by an injunction by the Governor for political reasons. Our custom was therefore eagerly sought by the local banks of Norfolk. The further fact that an advertisement was inserted by our captain in the city papers, stating that all debts contracted by members of the company would be promptly paid on presentation to him, gave to us all an almost unlimited individual credit. In thus putting us upon our honour, Captain Sands ran but little risk, for each man in his command had a good name and his social respectability at stake, as the company proudly and justly claimed to be composed of the *élite* of the youth of Mobile. Inequalities of wealth indeed exist among us; comparatively few enjoy an income which can be properly called independent; by far the greater number depend upon parents, upon the proceeds of a business more or less damaged by their absence, or upon employers. Where the latter is the case, the salaries are nearly all continued, either in whole or in part. Still there are in our company, as well as in others, some instances of men who, in leaving home, have deprived themselves of all their pecuniary resources. It is for those cases that our company fund is especially useful, and it is a maxim in the application of that fund that no member should want for anything he really needs. Besides, the rich share freely their surplus with less favoured companions. Where a member of a mess is not quite able to bear his share of the expense, he is never asked for it, nor is the matter ever alluded to. Were we a company of strangers, thrown together by some caprice of fortune, this species of communism would be a practical impossibility. Lifelong acquaintances as we nearly all are, each mess composed of old friends, it serves only as another tie to bind us more closely together in the bonds of brotherhood.

Reviews.

IMPERIALISM IN FRANCE.*

THE main principle and chief characteristic of political quackery is, that it exalts theories and despises facts. All men agree to name the best Government as that which confers the greatest happiness on the greatest number; but there is no such agreement in practice. In England there are thousands of intelligent individuals who do not believe in any country being free, happy, and prosperous, unless it adopts the British Constitution. In vain we point out that different races, living under the influence of different climates, require different rule; and that if we apply the glorious principles of the British Constitution, it must be with considerable modification to suit the modified circumstances. English liberty might be anarchy in the East, and elsewhere seem too restricted; but our partiality for our Constitution is more excusable than the determination of such men as Mazzini to carry out their political views. They insist that freedom, happiness, and prosperity are inseparable from universal suffrage and mob rule. If a people is free, prosperous, and happy, without mobism, these geni of disorder are shocked at the immorality. Look at the kingdom of Italy for an illustration. In a few months she was, by the aid of her powerful ally, created and constituted. In less than two years she was, to a wonderful extent, consolidated. She had a free press, free discussion, popular representation; and personal liberty was fully guaranteed. This state of affairs Mazzini and his followers could not tolerate, and they have been ceaseless in their efforts to plunge the new-born nation into civil war, and were not so very far from attaining their object when they succeeded in making a tool of Garibaldi. Or take the case of America. With all its faults, we admit that the Constitution of the United States deserved the respect and consideration of mankind. It was a Constitution to which freemen were justly proud to owe allegiance. Its provisions were so excellent that if it had not been for the excessive greed of the North, the inevitable separation of States might have been postponed for a generation, if not for a much longer period; and they have proved strong enough to hold together two, and more than two, distinct nations for nearly a hundred years; for, looking at the character of the North and South, we rather wonder that secession did not take place much earlier

in the nineteenth century. We, therefore, do not find fault with the admiration expressed by some persons for the institutions of America, but we cannot sympathize with the fanaticism of Mr. Bright and his party, who defend the most despotic acts of the Lincoln Government, because they are done in the name of a free Government. The Federal press is gagged, the States' rights are disregarded, free discussion is prohibited, personal liberty is taken away, State prisons are full of citizens immured without trial for imaginary political offences, and yet not a word of censure or remonstrance is heard from the Member for Birmingham. Nay, both by his silence, and through his organ of the press, he endorses these doings. Mr. Bright is the staunch opponent of warfare, and yet he has not a remark to utter when a war is waged by the North to conquer the independence of the South. The outraged Constitution of the United States and the bloodshed, lust, and ambition are forgiven; for under that Constitution Mr. Bright sees that the mob and not the intelligence of the country, is dominant. Mr. Bright, the boasted friend of humanity, has not protested against the conduct of such men as Butler, Mitchell, and Turchin. At length, "as a military measure," the Lincoln Government decrees emancipation; that is, a servile war in the South—and Mr. Bright is silent. We are not charging the honourable member with moral cowardice, or with moral complicity in these doings, but we cite his case as an instance of the blindness that is induced by political quackery.

This example, however, is not more remarkable than that offered us by the comments made on the rule of Napoleon III. by the sympathizers with the habits of Leicester-square. We are not going to defend or even discuss the merits of Imperialism or any other form of government. We embrace the opportunity afforded by the work before us of directing attention to the results of the reign of the Emperor of the French, and which, in a most remarkable manner, refute the assailants of a Prince whose consummate ability and success have commanded the admiration of his enemies. We may, however, observe, that America and France at this time show the form of government does not guarantee the *de facto* nature of the Government. Under Imperialism a people may be prosperous, happy, and free; and under a form of Republicanism a people may be ruined and enslaved.

The author of "Ten Years of Imperialism" gives a very graphic account of what has been done since that memorable day when Napoleon, seeing France on the brink of another era of anarchy, cut the gordian knot by a *coup d'état*,—an act which was afterwards ratified by the votes of eight millions of Frenchmen. A "Flaneur" devotes a large portion of his modest volume to a description of New Paris, and the subject is certainly worthy of the elaborate treatment. The Paris improvements are an example of the great energy of the Imperial Government. They have been costly; but it is absurd to say that the country has been in any way drained to adorn the capital. The Emperor has been anxious to promote improvements in all parts of his dominions, and provincial towns have not lacked encouragement to better their condition. If any one will be at the pains to examine the development of French railways that have been inaugurated in the last ten years, he will find that the prosperity of France, and not the advantage of Paris, or merely military exigencies, have been consulted. It has been frequently alleged that the alterations in Paris have had no other view than distributing the working classes, and making the city more secure against insurrection. Now, it is true, wide streets are not so favourable to insurrection as narrow streets and labyrinths of rookeries; but it must also be conceded that public baths and washhouses, full employment, and general abundance, are so many securities for internal order; yet we should not sneer at a Government for attempting such improvements, because, as a secondary consequence, they were guarantees of its stability.

But it is not only in the rebuilding of Paris that the Emperor has displayed zeal and ability. That work is not unimportant, but it is, nevertheless, the least of the results of ten years of Imperialism. Under Louis Philippe, France had sunk in the scale of nations; her influence in Europe was diminished. At present she is the dominant Power of the Continent; her army has not only been somewhat increased, but the material and spirit of it improved. It is more than ever a volunteer army; for without unduly taxing the resources of the country, the occupation of the soldier is made lucrative. In the Crimea many defects were observed, and in Italy it was apparent that these defects had been remedied. The navy has also been augmented—a fact it is unnecessary to impress upon Englishmen, who have, indeed, exaggerated notions of the increase in the French navy.

*Ten Years of Imperialism in France (Impressions of a "Flaneur." London: William Blackwood and Sons.

The most wonderful transformation has taken place in the habits and thoughts of the people. They are no longer swayed by the passion for military glory, but have, with national energy and with surprising success, become a commercial nation. We do not deny that there is a vast amount of undue speculation, but that is an evil which works its own cure. Much has been done by the direct agency of the Government, and grants of money; but the chief cause of this prosperity is the cessation of political agitation, and the security and repose afforded by a strong Government.

In literature there has been a corresponding activity:—

In 1851, 7350 books and pamphlets appeared, while for the last two years the number has been close on 15,000, and this does not include musical publications, engravings, and lithographs, in which a proportionate increase has taken place.

In the condition of the working-classes there is a marked change:—

Whoever has known something about the mode of living of the *ouvrier* before 1845 will be astonished at the change which has taken place. The change is, above all, visible in the substitution of animal food for bread, and the traditional *soupe* with lard and onions. A great proportion of the workmen who formerly had at most once a day meat, now have it regularly twice a day, in the forenoon and in the evening; the consequence, greater health and strength, which must strike at the first glance.

Amongst the plans for the amelioration of the working class is one which might in some parts of our country be adopted with advantage. At Mulhouse—

Single or double cottages have been built, with little plots for gardens around them, and they are let at a little higher rent, so that after a number of years the tenant becomes the proprietor. It is surprising what a change this chance of becoming the proprietor makes in the habits of the workman; the public-houses in the neighbourhood feel it keenly.

The "Flaneur" commends the system of the capitalist sharing his profits with the workman. He does this everywhere, and in the instances cited by our author, instead of all the workman's profit being given him as wages at the end of the week, a portion of it is given him at different intervals.

We do not endorse all the statements and opinions of a "Flaneur," but his book will repay perusal.

GENERAL J. H. MORGAN.

The following orders, though not recent, will be read with interest. The first is an address to the Confederate troops, and the second a threat of retaliation that will no doubt have the effect of checking Federal injustice and spoliation:—

Headquarters, Morgan's Brigade,
Hartsville, Tennessee, August 22.

Soldiers,—Your gallant bearing during the last two days will not only be inscribed in the history of the country and the annals of this war, but is engraven deeply in my heart.

Your zeal and devotion on the 20th, at the attack of the trestle-work at Saundersville and of the Springfield Junction stockade, your heroism during the two hard fights of yesterday, have placed you high on the list of those patriots who are now in arms for our Southern rights.

All communication cut off between Gallatin and Nashville, a body of 300 infantry totally cut off or taken prisoners, the liberation of those kind friends arrested by our revengeful foes, for no other reason than their compassionate care of our sick and wounded, would have been laurels sufficient for your brows. But, soldiers, the utter annihilation of General Johnson's Brigade, composed of twenty-four picked companies of regulars, and sent on purpose to take us, raises your reputation as soldiers, and strikes fear into the craven hearts of your enemies. General Johnson and his staff, with 200 men, taken prisoners, sixty-four killed and 100 wounded, attests the resistance made and bears testimony to your valour.

But our victories have not been achieved without loss. We have to mourn some brave and dear comrades. Their names will remain in our breasts—their fame outlives them. They died in defence of a good cause; they died, like gallant soldiers, with their front to the foe.

Officers and men, your conduct makes me proud to command you. Fight always as you fought yesterday, and you are invincible.

JOHN H. MORGAN,
Colonel Commanding Cavalry.

Headquarters, Morgan's Brigade, Hartsville, Tenn.

Having noticed in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, of the 15th inst., an article dated "Paris Ky., Aug. 14, 1862," whereby it appears that the agents of the Federal Government are (to use their own words) forcing Morgan's "friends to pay for the act of their favourite chieftain," and thus violating all laws hitherto respected and acknowledged by civilized nations, forgetting and wilfully closing their eyes to the fact that I, in my justifiable attacks on Federal troops and Federal property, have always respected the private property and persons of Union men; I do hereby declare that to protect Southern citizens and their rights I will henceforth put the law of retaliation in full force, and act upon it with vigour. For every dollar exacted from my fellow-citizens I will have two from men of known Union sentiments, and will make their persons and property responsible for this payment. God knows it was my earnest wish to have conducted this war according to the dictates of my heart, and consonant with those feelings which actuate every honorable mind; but forced by the vindictive and iniquitous proceedings of our Northern foes to follow their example, in order to induce them to return to more humane conduct, I will, for the future, visit them in their exactions, retaliate upon them and theirs the cruelties and oppression with which my friends are visited, and continue the course until our enemies consent to make war according to the law of nations.

Signed by me, this 15th day of August, A.D., 1862.

JOHN H. MORGAN,
Colonel Commanding Brigade.

THE SOUTHERN COLONIZATION SCHEME.

President Lincoln has followed up his decrees for enslaving the free citizens of the North and emancipating the negroes of those territories which shall remain in rebellion, by enunciating another scheme for establishing a new and very peculiar colony, beginning apparently with Florida. Every schoolboy knows the peculiar conformation of that State, which is not unlike the Italian peninsula, only projecting into the Gulf of Mexico instead of the Mediterranean Sea. It is the southernmost apex of the North American Continent, torrid in climate, completely Southern in all its traits and associations, but somewhat removed from the highway of commerce or ordinary worldly business. Happening, however, during the present war to stand apart from the military control of the Confederates, Mr. Lincoln and his coadjutors are able to do in that quarter a little more as they please than they can even in Maryland or Pennsylvania, New York, or Washington itself. As yet we have only a bare outline of the project; but, according to our information, it is of this nature. Some ten or twenty thousand volunteers are to be detached to Florida, to "influence" that State and its neighbours; each volunteer receiving a homestead of public lands, and free transport for his family to the principal port where they are to be located. "It is intended by this means to infuse into the Southern States an industrious and loyal population, in order to protect the Union men." It has been confessed by Mr. Seward himself that the boasted "Union men" do not exist; but that does not matter much, we infer; for "it is supposed that the manufacturing and productive districts of England can be made to contribute to this emigration." German "Redemptioners" having been victimised in past days, and Irish emigrants having, in our own, yielded to the blandishments of the recruiting officers who fail to entrap the Yankees, the Seward-Lincoln party are resolved to try it on with Englishmen. The Lancashire lads and lasses, having been starved by the stoppage of the cotton trade, it is assumed that they will gratefully let themselves be carried to squat on other men's land, in a country just now ravaged by war, and always a prey to that most terrible of wild beasts—the yellow fever! The plan is borrowed from Austria and her military frontier; but the grand differences are, that the armed settlers of the European despot were not left without support in their rear, were not planted in a pestilential climate, were secured in subsistence and possessions by a great Power, and were not avowedly invited to fight the battles of a bankrupt and disorganized alien Government by acting as substitutes for slaves. We describe this notable enterprise on the authority of a New York contemporary; it is of a piece, however, with the Panama scheme, and is only so much madder than President Lincoln's other recent projects as we might expect each new act to be in the development of that official insanity to which the well-meaning occupant of Washington's chair has so manifestly succumbed.

NORTHERN PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

(From the *Mobile Register*.)

The foundation argument of Southern secession was that the North had violated the compact between the States to such a degree that it was no longer safe for the South to be under the same government with it. Hence the extraordinary appeal to arms, as preferable to the bad faith and political companionship of false and faithless allies. Yet the North makes war to save the "compact" they had first broken. The fugitive slave clause is a solemn and plainly written provision of the Constitution, and put there for the benefit and safety of Southern property. It is as binding a provision as that under which Lincoln was elected President, or the Black Republican Senators hold their seats in Congress. Yet this clause is trampled upon by the men who are shedding our people's blood to uphold the Constitution. To hold the institution of slavery intact in the District of Columbia, is an obligation as binding as any that can be imposed upon the honour of statesmen. Yet the Black Republicans have swept it away by a vote in Congress. The Freedom of the Press, the *Habeas Corpus*, the personal liberty of the citizen, the freedom from arrest, except by due form of law, and the trial by jury, are all corner stones of the Constitution of the United States. And yet there is not a monument of right and liberty set up in Magna Charta, or any English or American bill of rights which has not been set at naught and treated with contempt by these champions of the Constitution.

A glance at the past shows that these howlers for the Constitution and Union are new-born converts. They are on the record as its avowed and deadliest enemies.

We have before us a slip from the St. Louis *Republican* of 1856—the period of the Presidential canvass of Fremont and Buchanan. We find in it some of the utterances of Black Republican sentiment at that time. Nothing but war upon the Union was then breathed. It was denounced as a "league with the Devil," and "a covenant with Hell." The old flag of stars and stripes was mutilated, and Black Republicans held their meetings, and marched in procession under banners with all but sixteen stars erased. When Hamlin was nominated as a candidate for Vice-President, a salute of sixteen guns was fired at Portland, Maine. These men thus blackballed the Southern States, and excluded them from the Union years before the Act of Secession. Hear how they talked, and see how they acted, in 1856:—

"War between the Northern and Southern States—LET IT COME!"—[Black Republican party of Dubuque.]

"I have no doubt that the Free and Slave States ought to separate."—[J. S. Pike, of the *New York Tribune*.]

"It is the duty of the North, in case they fail of electing a President and a Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the Government."—[Resolution of a Black Republican meeting in Wisconsin.]

"I pray daily that this accursed Union may be dissolved, even if blood has to be spilt."—[Black Republican Clergyman of Poughkeepsie.]

"We earnestly request Congress at its present session to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful and equitable dissolution of the existing Union, as the exigencies of the case may require."—[Black Republican petition to Congress.]

"The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South."—[H. Greeley.]

"The Constitution is a reproach and a league with Tophet."—[Wm. L. Garrison.]

"Let the Union slide."—[N. P. Banks.]

DISUNIONISM.—Hannibal Hamlin, Lot M. Morrill and Charles W. Broddard, Esq., of Danville, addressed a Fremont meeting at Norway, on Monday, standing under an American flag, on which were only sixteen stars.—[*Democratic Advertiser*.]

The disunion flag, with only sixteen stars, still continues to float across the public highway in this village—an emblem of sectionalism, and a disgrace to the party who placed it there.—[*Norway Advertiser*.]

The truth is, the whole North has gone mad. Nothing but one of those hallucinations which God sometimes permits to take possession of the minds of nations as well as individuals can account for the spectacle the world now beholds. A whole people mounting in hot haste, and spurring and riding at John Gilpin speed on the high road to ruin. End as the war may, there is no redemption at the end of it for the people who have made it. We believe it is susceptible of demonstration, that the very worst solution of the struggle for the North, would be the full fruition of their darling hopes, and their tremendous efforts—to wit, the conquest of the South. It would be the effort and the result of Sampson's strength upon the pillars of the Temple. The North would be buried in the same political ruins with the South.

The hallucination of which we speak is not confined to the Abolitionists. There is "method in their madness." But the once conservative men of the North are not a whit behind them in the depth and guilt of the moral aberration. There is Daniel S. Dickinson, who once electrified us by declaring in his Senatorial seat that if war should come between the North and the South on the negro question, his sword should be drawn for the South! He is now one of the most truculent of the subjugators. He made his sword speech to win Southern votes for the Presidency. He is now our enemy.

Look again at Pickyune Butler and Caleb Cushing. There are no two men south of Mason and Dixon's line—not even W. L. Yancey and Barnwell Rhett—who are more directly and largely instrumental as the immediate authors of this revolution than these two men. We saw them with our own eyes *secede* (that is the word) from the last political convention that preserved the semblance of nationality, because, as they averred, it was not sound enough for them on the Southern question. They helped to snap the last ligament of the National Union and did that which made the revolution absolutely inevitable. And now where are they? At least neutral, we should think—at least, holding their hands in the struggle which they contribute to make! Not at all. Butler is in New Orleans, with fire, and sword, and proclamation, to burn, and murder, and violate, among a people whose offence is that they accepted a war which he, either in his blindness or guilt, forced upon them.

The whole Democratic party at the North, with now and a brilliant exception like that of Vallandigham, is given over to this national madness. He drew the sword to re-establish a Union of *consent*. They keep it drawn to glut in blood their vengeance for their own folly, and in the desperate hope of retrieving themselves from the financial bankruptcy and political ruin in which the war has overwhelmed them. Verily, "whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE WAR.

(Correspondence of the *Charleston Courier*.)

Probably at no period of the war has the religious element in the army been more predominant than it is at present. In many instances chaplains, army missionaries, colporteurs and tracts have accomplished great benefits; but by far the most cogent influences that have operated upon and subdued the reckless spirit of the soldiery, are those which are born in the heart itself, upon the field of battle.

It is not strange, therefore, as you go through various camps, even on a week day, that your ears are here and there saluted with the melody of a choir of voices, rich, round and full, sung with all the seriousness and earnestness of true devotion; or that before the lights are out in the evening, many tones are heard in thanksgiving for the blessings of the day; or that the Bible and prayer-books are common books upon the mess-table; or that, when Sunday arrives, the little stand from which the chaplain is wont to discourse, is the centre of a cluster of interested and pious listeners.

In many of the regiments much of this kindly influence is due to the pure and elevated character of the officers. Wherever these are found, you invariably also find a neat, well-disciplined, orderly, quiet command, as prompt in the camp as they are brave upon the field. Now and then you may hear a taunt about "our praying captain" or "colonel," but even these thoughtless expressions come from men who venerate their officers, and would follow them to the death.—As you know, some of our ablest generals are men who have dropped the gown of the Christian for the apparel of the soldier. Polk was a bishop, Pendleton a clergyman, D. H. Hill a religious author, Jackson a dignitary of the church, while scores of others, occupying subordinate positions, are equally well known for their devotion to the shrine of Christianity. All of these gentlemen have been eminently successful in whatever they have undertaken, have passed unharmed through the dangers by which they have been frequently environed, and are living illustrations of the truth that a fighting Christian is as terrible to his enemies as he is gentle to his friends.

General Jackson never enters a fight without invoking God's blessing and protection. The dependence of this strange man upon the Deity seems never to be absent from his mind, and whatever he does, or says, it is always prefaced "by God's blessing."

In one of his official dispatches, he commences "By God's blessing, we have to-day defeated the enemy." Said one of his officers to him the other day, "Well, General, another candidate (referring to Pope) is waiting your attentions." "So I observe," was the quiet reply, "and by God's blessing, he shall receive them to his full satisfaction."

After a battle has been fought the same rigid remembrance of Divine Power is observed. The army is drawn up in line, the General dismounts from his horse, and there, in the presence of his rough, bronzed-faced troops, with heads uncovered and bent awe-stricken to the ground, the voice of the good man, which but a few hours before was ringing out in quick and fiery intonations, is now heard subdued and calm, as if overcome by the presence of the Supreme Being, in holy appeal. Few such spectacles have been witnessed in modern times, and it is needless to add that few such examples have ever told with more wondrous power upon the hearts of the men. Are you surprised, after this recital, that "Stonewall" Jackson is invincible, and that he can lead his army to certain victory, whenever "God's blessing" precedes the act?

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER, Three and Six Cord Spool
Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering
Cottons. Imported by FOSTER AND MOORE,
Norfolk, Va.; F. RIMAILHO AND NEYREY,
New Orleans.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds.
Denims, Shirts, Shirts, and all sorts of Man-
chester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.S.A.
Represented by R. G. BEESLEY, Cotton Broker,
2, Byron-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.

Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
No. 3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM, & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

REID AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumford-place,
Liverpool.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by J. and A. CAUGHEY,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS:
A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a SALES-
MAN, also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.

A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Elysées—offers the
comfort of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-fencing, for TWO
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a YOUNG LADY
under fifteen.
Address, MADAME DE W., care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin in Paris.

MRS. E. PRESTON,
31, BURY STREET, ST. JAMES, S.W.
Furnished Apartments and Bed Rooms to Let.
References to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. J. E.
Macfarland, and Henry Hotze, Esq.

WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of the INDEX, supplies Station-
ery of all kinds, and for exportation.

WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of the INDEX, supplies Books,
Newspapers, Magazines, and all Periodicals and
Publications.

WILLIAM FREEMAN,
Publisher of THE INDEX, will promptly
attend to all orders from or for the Continent of
Europe and the States. Commissions for goods of
all kinds undertaken on moderate terms.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By J.
STANTAN Rigg. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somely bound, 5s.

POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By S. R.
REDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition).
A Tale, Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By C. A. PORTER.
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.

PROGRESS; or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. W. ANDERSON, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 3d.

THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. S. BEALE. Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.

THE TRUE THEORY OF A CHURCH. Or, The
Right of Principle of Christian Confederation.
Elicited and Developed by the Rev. F. G. HORTON.
Crown 8vo. sewed, 1s.

DECISION AND CONSCIENTY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By THOMAS COLEMAN, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.

GOLD OR GRACE: WHICH IS THE BEST?
By the Rev. SAMUEL WALKER, Curate of St.
Matthew's, Gosport. Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. W.
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.

IN THE PRESS.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By S. F. WILLIAMS.

PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE; on Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.

JESUS, OUR ARK.

THE MODEL CHURCH. The Nature, Constitu-

tion, Government, and Characteristics of the
Christian Church in New Testament Times. By
the Rev. L. B. BROWN, of Berwick-on-Tweed.

London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal SYSTEM OF ADVERTISING.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
activity but will continue its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of ad-
vertising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mighty lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.

2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
enterprise in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
cording to the programme letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of ad-
vertising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
sea-board and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.

Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861 630,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861 213,759 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861 366,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip issue
of 1860.

Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May 1861.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June 1861.

CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.

New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of New Orleans.

OFFICE: 78, Camp Street,
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861 282,908 38
Amount of Assets on 31st Decem-
ber, 1861 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT., after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.

Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.

Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.

A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.

New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com- pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT., on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also to pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.

DIRECTORS:

Geo. Connelly. J. N. Nevins.
John Pemberton. S. O. Nelson.
P. Maspero. C. H. Slocumb.
P. Poutz. F. Voorheer.
C. Honold. B. O. Vignaud.
G. Miltenberger.

CITIZENS' MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
of New Orleans.

The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of SIX PER CENT. in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. (20 per cent.) on the
net earned premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 30th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES:

Geo. W. West, Vice-
President.
D. Jamison.
A. Miltenberger.
J. Leisy.
Jas. A. White.
Douglas West.

M. Masson.
R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
C. de la Riviere.
A. Bohn.
Muna Augustin.
Omer Gaillard.

WEBER BROTHERS,
Commission Merchants,
SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA, C.S.A.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROTCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consigners o
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Louisi
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
Orleans—No. 80, lower-margins west, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
TREDEGAR IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

Grescent Mutual Insurance Company,
New Orleans.
OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861 831,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861 1,442,959 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT., after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 16th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 1st September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.

THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

The Index.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXV. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undonable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and, as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the flippancy and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indica-
tions of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of those
events.

This want it is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, re-
presentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of those States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal; and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
misapprehension to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gentle-
men already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to

WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by HENRY F. MACKINTOSH, of 11,
Crane-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102,
Fleet-street, London E.C., October 16, 1862.

THE INDEX

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

OFFICE:—102, FLEET STREET.

Vol. I—No. 26.]

LONDON—THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 23, 1862.

[PRICE 6D.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK—	
America	401
England	403
Europe	403
COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET—	
Liverpool Letter	403
Manchester Letter	403
TOBACCO MARKET	403
LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH	404
FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—	
New York	404
Paris	404
Berlin	405
THREE MONTHS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY—	
Mischief and its Cure	406
Conclusion	407
LEADERS—	
The Want of a Policy	403
Northern Duplicity before the War	409
The Prussian Crisis	410
THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE	411
REVIEWS—	
The Distinction of Races	413
America in the Quartermen	414
Short Notices	415
ADVERTISEMENTS	416

NOTICE.

From and after October 30, the Office of "THE INDEX" will be Removed to 13, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.

NOTES ON EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

AMERICA.

The telegrams from New York, as far as they relate to the war movements, are striking illustrations of the art of saying much and meaning little. The Northern accounts of battles are so much alike, that "ditto," with a change of names and places would be quite as accurate and intelligible.

At first the Confederates are always beaten and pursued; next day it is not quite certain whether the Confederates have left the battle-field; a few hours afterwards it is reported that the Federal loss was heavy, but, of course, not so heavy as that of the Confederates; and the victory, before it is forty-eight hours old, dwindles down to an "indecisive engagement." Such is the New York current history of the war, and it requires considerable care in finding the few grains of truth that are unwittingly mixed up with the heap of words.

It seems that an engagement took place at Corinth, Mississippi, on October 3 and 4. The Confederates, who are reported to have mustered 40,000, were under the command of Generals Price and Van Dorn; and the Federals, whose numbers are not stated, were commanded by General Rosencrantz. The first intimation we get of the result of the battle, is an official report of the Federal commander, in which he says,—"The enemy is in full retreat, leaving his dead and wounded. The loss is serious on the Federal side, particularly in officers; but bears no comparison with that of the enemy. Seven hundred Confederate prisoners captured." On the 7th inst. the latest official reports state, "The Federals captured two batteries and 300 prisoners." In twenty-four hours the number of prisoners is officially declared to be decreased from 700 to 300. As usual, it is added that the Confederates are "throwing everything away, and that the Federals are in sharp pursuit."

A later report makes the official statement we have quoted a little out of date. We are informed that the battle was resumed on Sunday, the very

day on which General Rosencrantz, or General Halleck, says "the Confederates have been routed, and are in full retreat." This account claims up to Saturday night "nearly 1000 prisoners" for the Federals. Thus we have three statements of the number captured—300, 700, and nearly 1000. These despatches are worth notice, as they show the careless way in which the Northern authorities invent their accounts of battles.

General Grant, whose corps was attacked at the beginning of the fight, is one of the most modest commanders the world has seen. He telegraphs to the Secretary of War, "that the enemy cannot escape without losing everything but their side arms." Now, a Southern commander—albeit the Southerners are not given to boasting—would claim such an advantage as a decided victory. Not so General Grant, who "does not allege that the victory was decisive."

The latest news is that the battle was very severe, and that the Confederates succeeded in reaching the main public square of Corinth, "but new batteries were opened upon them, and they retreated." If we may judge of these accounts by others we have had from the North, we may conclude that the Federals did not gain a victory; that at the early part of the fighting they were driven back, and that the "hot pursuit," and the "throwing away arms," is about as true as was General Halleck's description of General Beauregard's evacuation of Corinth. Without further information, it would be premature to claim a Confederate victory; but from the Federal reports we gather that, if the Southerners did not win, it was a drawn battle. The Federal loss is admitted to have been severe, and especially amongst officers; and altogether this victory at Corinth reads so much like a Federal defeat, that even New York, ready to believe all things good of the Federal troops, is not elated by it. What confirms the suspicion of disaster is, that the last mail, which did not leave New York until the 11th inst., says very little about the battle of Corinth. If anything could have been said confirmatory of the Federal triumph, we may be sure it would not have been kept back.

From Perryville the accounts are "confused" and somewhat amusing. After being informed of a battle on the 9th, in which the Federals were victorious, and the Confederates had been routed and were being pursued, we are coolly informed, "The report of a battle having been fought at Perryville on the 9th inst. was incorrect. General Buell officially reports that an engagement occurred at Perryville on the 8th, lasting from 10 a.m. till dark. The enemy was repulsed, but not without some momentary advantage on the left. The main body of the enemy fell back in the direction of Harrodsburg. General Buell adds, 'Our loss is probably pretty heavy, including valuable officers.' The uncertainty about the loss is ominous; and possibly, when this last rumour is also corrected, it will be found that the Federals have sustained a severe defeat."

The Confederate forces have again entered Maryland. According to the telegram, "The Confederates under General Stuart have again crossed the Potomac, at Hancock, into Maryland. They pushed forward across the country, and yesterday occupied Mercersburg and Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania. Their force is estimated at 3000 men; their advance, consisting of 1000 cavalry and six pieces of artillery. The inhabitants of Mercersburg and Chambersburg had no means of resistance. The Governor of Pennsylvania is, however, sending troops up the Cumberland Valley." We can readily believe that this news "created great astonishment in New York." After all the assurances that the Confederates were retreating towards Richmond, and that General McClellan's army was

following them up—after the congratulatory addresses about the Southern forces being driven out of Maryland—after the order of the Governor of Pennsylvania thanking the militia for having so effectively protected the State—it must be astonishing to hear that a Confederate force has crossed the Potomac, pushed through Maryland, and occupied two places in Pennsylvania. If General Stuart has no more than 3000 men with him, or if he has not been reinforced, it is possibly another of his brilliant exploits, which show the skill and daring of the Southerners, and the weakness or the want of precaution of the Federal Generals. Whatever may be the issue of this expedition, it is very reassuring to the friends of the South as to the position and strength of the Confederate army. Under date of October 11, evening, we are informed that—"Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, surrendered to the Confederates on the conditions that private property should be respected, but that public property would be removed or destroyed. The Confederates are moving in the direction of Gettysburg, to destroy the bridge at that point, and prevent the approach of General McClellan's troops."

Several skirmishes are reported, in which the Confederates "are routed," to which it is not worth while to refer in detail. They are devised to console the Northern public for the "victories" under Rosencrantz and Buell. It is also stated that General Morgan has been routed by General Damont at Frankfort; but without strong evidence no one will believe that the astute Confederate commander would place himself in a position from which he could not withdraw without being routed.

The significant item in the late news is that at New York gold is 27½ premium, and exchange 141, and that though money is abundant, stocks are lower.

In the Confederate Congress a resolution has been introduced, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase or impress one million bales of cotton at a fixed price, and also to send agents to Europe to sell this cotton. The resolution also proposes the repeal of all laws prohibiting the export of cotton from ports occupied by the enemy, when such cotton is purchased by foreign Governments or subjects.

The Ministers of the Central American Republics having protested against the colonization scheme being carried out in Central America, the Federal Government has abandoned it. What would become of the negroes if the North could become dominant, it is not easy to determine. They cannot be deported or transported, and they will not be allowed to live in the United States. The only plan in that case seems extermination.

It is reported that "General Bragg has issued a proclamation, urging the North-Western States to exercise their State sovereignty, and make a separate treaty of peace with the Confederates, as the Federal Government refused to conclude a general treaty. He declares that the South will never interfere with the free navigation of the Mississippi, and concludes by making a vigorous appeal to the people to desist from a war which he says can only, after greater sacrifices, terminate in a treaty of peace."

The State Legislature of Virginia has passed a resolution, declaring that no citizens shall be called to account for driving from the State or putting to death any person, with or without arms, who may be found aiding or abetting in giving effect to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation for freeing the slaves—a proclamation which the resolution stigmatizes as fiendish.

The conscription in the North is not making much progress. In Maine we are told it "has been nominally enforced, but each conscript was allowed

to call himself a volunteer and to receive the usual bounty money." The Maine conscripts may be glad that they are allowed to call themselves volunteers, and get the bounty. It shows in what spirit the conscription is to be enforced.

The Count de Paris has addressed the following letter to General Sickles. The Count displays some judgment in selecting a fitting correspondent for his communication. Let France be grateful that no member of the Bourbons is likely to try his notion of "free institutions" in that country.

Claremont, Sept. 11, 1862.

My dear General,—I have just read the letter you wrote to the *New York Times* in answer to the misrepresentations circulated about our departure from America, and I hasten to thank you for having taken up the pen under these circumstances. Although we are accustomed to calumny, and despite it, nevertheless it is very gratifying to see the facts put in their true light, and our situation so well understood and so clearly explained, especially by a member of the army with whose destinies we have been associated during nearly a year. We shall always remember that campaign with the Army of the Potomac as one of the best and most interesting epochs of our youths. It is with regret that we left our companions in arms, and nothing can be more valuable to us than such testimonies of remembrance and esteem. I need not add that our hearty wishes still accompany them; that the distance has only strengthened the interest we take in the success of the great cause for which we fought together. Depend upon it, however ignorant and prejudiced may be the public at large, there are still on this side of the Atlantic some hearts who follow with emotion the struggle of a great and free nation for her institutions, and who cannot believe in the ultimate success of the efforts of a deluded minority to establish a new community whose corner-stone shall be so odious, so dangerous, and so precarious an institution as that of slavery. Before ending this letter (for the bad English of which I must apologize), let me still tell you, my dear General, how glad I should be to shake hands again with you, and to talk once more with you of your winter quarters in that wild corner of Maryland; or of the summer days when your tent was pitched on the field of battle of Fair Oaks! I beg you, my dear General, to believe me always very truly yours,

LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.

The *Liverpool Albion* states:—

Advices from New Orleans report the arrest of Mr. J. G. Lingham, a British subject, by General Butler, and his incarceration for three years in Fort Pickens, for being one of the directors of the Merchants' Bank, which, it is alleged, made some over-issues. The abolishing of *habeas corpus* leaves Mr. Lingham without a chance of being favourably heard, and the particulars have been sent to his relations in London for representation to the Government, who have, with becoming promptitude, sent out instructions to the Embassy at Washington. Until lately Mr. Lingham acted as Vice-Consul in New Orleans, and was partner in the firm of W. H. Haynes and Co. there. His brother, the rector of Lambeth, arrived in this town on Friday, and has been most assiduous in concerting measures for his brother's release.

ENGLAND.

At an agricultural meeting at Hereford, the Secretary of State for War took the opportunity of giving a direct contradiction to the language used at Newcastle by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Gladstone said that our neutrality had been so construed as to give an advantage to the North; and that the Southern leaders had "made an army, a navy, and what is more, a nation." Sir G. C. Lewis says:—

The Government of this country was placed in the position of having to choose between two opposite courses—viz., recognition of the Southern States on the one hand, and sympathy or alliance with the States of the Federal section of the Union on the other. Well, the Government avoided both those extremes. They had consistently and strenuously pursued a middle course of strict neutrality, and had abstained from giving direct or indirect countenance or assistance to either of the belligerent parties. (Hear, hear.) It had been said that great complaints had been made by the Government at Washington that the Government of England had not maintained this strict neutrality, because it had recognized the South as a belligerent Power; and it had been said that, by recognizing the South as a belligerent Power, we had departed from a strict line of neutrality. Now he (Sir G. Lewis) could not but think that, if any impartial person reflected on the course of this unhappy contest, he would come to the conclusion that no word of the English language would apply with greater aptitude to the Southern States than the word "belligerents." These parties had combined for the purpose of carrying on a war; and when they looked to the number of armed men they had raised—when they looked to the large armies they had brought into the field, to the ability of the generals by whom those armies were commanded, and to the pertinacity with which the contest on their part had been waged—it could not, surely, be denied that they deserved the name of "belligerent" in reference to the manner in which they had carried on the war against the United States. Under these circumstances, it seemed to him (Sir G. Lewis) that a more unfounded charge could not have been made against the Government of this country than that of having departed from the principle of strict neutrality by recognizing the Southern States as belligerents. (Hear, hear.) But when the Government was asked to go a step further, and to say that the Southern States have constituted themselves an independent Power, then it seemed to him that international law would not be on our side. Everybody who read the accounts in the newspapers of what was doing in America could see that, although there was a war there between these two contending Powers, it was a war which was as yet undecided—a war which was waged on the part of the Northern States for the purpose of restoring the States to the condition of union they were in before the war began; and on the part of the Southern States it was a war to establish their independence. But the war must be admitted to be undecided. The battle-fields were still reeking with the blood of thousands of soldiers killed on both sides; and until the war had been decided on one side or the other, or until it had been decided so far in favour of the Southern States as to induce the Northern States to recognize their independence, or to prove to foreign States that the contest was

exhausted, and that the Northern States were incapable of continuing the contest—until that moment arrived, it could not be said, in accordance with the established doctrines of international law, that the independence of the Southern States had been established. (Hear, hear.) He believed it was the general opinion of the people of this country that the contest would issue in the establishment of the independence of the South. He himself did not express that opinion, but that was the general opinion in this country. Let them look to the state of things established between the parties. It could not be said that the Southern States of the Union had *de facto* established their independence. That being a matter of notoriety, he could not think they were guilty of any neglect in not recognizing the independence of the Southern States.

The members for North Essex, who may be considered to represent the independent or malcontent section of the Conservative party, enjoyed on Friday last their annual opportunity of addressing a large gathering of their most influential constituents. Major Beresford, as the senior member, took the lead. He regretted the attempt made to throw out the Government by an amendment to Mr. Stanfield's motion for retrenchment, and hinted that the Opposition might, had that question been pushed to a division, have manifested signs of internal disunion. He justified the Revised Code of the Education Office, and gloried in the defeat of the Anti-church rate party. The bill of Sir J. Trevelyan was thrown out by one vote—the vote which the gallant Major, though crippled with gout, went down to the House to record. He approved the neutral policy of the Government in regard to the American war, and admired the energy with which Lord Palmerston (his lordship always gets the credit of such acts of the Ministry as Conservatives commend) had acted in the case of the Trent. He expressed a personal sympathy with the South, and remarked that, as an agricultural people struggling with enemies chiefly addicted to commercial pursuits, the Confederates excited the interest of English agriculturists. With a sneer at the Irish emigrants who are trying to escape the American conscription, and a warm commendation of the heroic patience of the Lancashire operatives, Major Beresford sat down, and Mr. Du Cane succeeded him. This gentleman attacked Mr. Gladstone with considerable severity, excused the alleged differences of opinion in the Conservative ranks, displayed a remarkable acquaintance with the "Hand-book of Poetical Quotations," and an equally remarkable ignorance upon American affairs:—

We required all our faith in the doctrine of neutrality to prevent our re-echoing—much, indeed, as we appreciated it in private—Mr. Roebuck's cry for intervention. But, however tempting the doctrine of intervention might be, the hour in his (Mr. Du Cane's) humble opinion, had not come, and he trusted the hour never would come, to talk about intervention; and he would say, instead of abandoning that doctrine of neutrality which we had regarded hitherto as the polestar of our foreign policy, let us rather seize this great moment of its trial to test our enduring faith in its correctness. If we were to break the blockade to-morrow, and set free once more the commerce of the South, he believed it would be months, perhaps years, before any available supply of cotton could be brought to bear upon our manufacturing districts; and long before that time one of two things must inevitably happen,—either, on the one hand, the North must wake from its dream of madness, and recognize the great truth which we have long maintained, that the Union for which it was contending was "the baseless fabric of a vision," or, on the other, the prolonged, successful, and, in many features, heroic resistance of the South would earn for it the protection of the civilized world as an independent Power."

This is about the most complete collection of errors and inconsistencies, in a few words, that we have lately seen. If the blockade were broken, what should prevent cotton from coming forward? And if Europe is to remain neutral, how is the South, as an independent Power, to receive the protection of the civilized world? The members for North Essex have given great pleasure to the *Globe* and the *Times*, and have been somewhat caustically treated by the Conservative organs. The *Morning Herald* remarks that

A demonstration of the opinions of Messrs. Beresford and Du Cane is one thing, and a Conservative demonstration is another; and we are inclined to think of the two the latter would have been the more useful at the present moment.

Mr. Lindsay, at Chertsey, referred to Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle speech, and to that of Sir G. C. Lewis, at Hereford. He said:—

I think that the day is not far distant when humanity will demand that the great Powers of Europe shall step forward to stay the fierce carnage that is going on, and recognize in the family of nations a people who have shown themselves to be a nation. (Loud cheers.) I do not mean to say that England should do so alone; that could not be expected of her. But I have good reason to believe that some at least of the great Powers of Europe have felt for some time that the Southern Confederacy ought to be received into the family of nations. (Cheers.) And if they are not received into the family of nations, I have reason to believe that the barrier which stops the way is not any of the great Powers of Europe—is not the unanimous Cabinet of England, but is a section of that Cabinet—that the recognition of the Southern States by the great Powers of Europe is delayed in a greater degree than people suppose by that section of the Cabinet to which I am alluding. (Hear, hear.) The words of Sir Cornwall Lewis were, indeed, remarkable. He—evidently to some extent opposed to the views of his eminent colleague—remarked that, according to international law, the Powers of Europe can hardly recognize the Southern States until the Northern States have done so. If we wait—or rather, if the great Powers of Europe wait

—until the Northern States recognize the Southerners as an independent nation, this terrible war, from which we are great sufferers, may not be ended for the next quarter of a century. For how is it carried on? The generals in the Northern army say they will carry on the war until the whole of the people of the Southern States, consisting of 9,000,000 or 10,000,000, are exterminated—till they are swept from the face of the earth, black and white alike—till God's fairest image in this fair world is laid low in the dust, and there remains nothing but a desert for the armies of the North to march over. (Hear, hear.) If these are the opinions of a large section of the Northern people—and they appear to me to be the opinions of the mass of the people in the North—we may well ask when is this war to end? But I think the question is practically settled now. Let us for a moment consider the progress of that war. The Northern States asked for a certain time to allow them to restore the broken Union—to bring the men of the South back to their allegiance. They did, by virtue of the superior force of their fleet, gain possession of New Orleans. When they got hold of the great capital of the South they found no Union sentiment there. What were the words of the Mayor of New Orleans? "By strength of arms you have gained possession of our town—we are at your feet—deal with us as you please—but we tell you that we are determined to govern ourselves and be an independent people. Your taxes we will not pay, your flag we will not hoist, your laws we will not respect." Has any Union sentiment been displayed in that great capital? None whatever. By force of arms the Northerners acquired positions in the South, but the Southerners, standing upon the defensive, have harried them back, saying, "The soil is ours, and we will drive our invaders from it." They have shown that they can maintain their position against the fearful odds of the North. They have shown by their statesmen, and the mode in which they conduct their affairs, that they are to all intents and purposes a nation. Now let me ask this question. It is said that the Powers of Europe must not interfere until one party or the other gives way. Now, I should like to know, looking at the present aspect of affairs, when either party is likely to give way? Is there one man in a thousand in this country who thinks that the broken Union can be restored? I believe there is not. On the other hand, is there any probability, I may say any possibility, of the North conquering the South? I believe there is not; and the best proof of that is the language of the people themselves, and above all the proclamation of the Government of Washington. They admit in this proclamation that they are unable to bring back the South to the Union. Is not their proclamation a proof that their cause is a hopeless one, and that they cannot restore the Union by constitutional means? They sweep away the Habeas Corpus Act, they proclaim a servile war, and declare that they will protect the slaves in any measures which they may deem necessary for securing their freedom—for that is in reality the effect of the proclamation. In this state of things, seeing as we do the Constitution trampled under foot, hearing what the people of the Northern States say, and feeling that we are suffering to a large extent by this wicked, this worthless war, I do think the time has arrived when the nations of Europe should step forward and do this at least—exercise the power which they have a perfect right to exercise, and that we should receive at the Court of St. James's the gentleman whom these ten millions of independent people have sent here to express to us their grievances and their wrongs. But it may be asked, if the Powers of Europe were to recognize the South, would that bring about a termination of the war? Now, I have always entertained the opinion that such would be the effect. The war is waged on the part of the North to put down the rebellion, as it is called, and to restore the Union. Now, if the Southern States were acknowledged, the people would no longer, in the eyes of Europe, be considered rebels, but would be looked upon as an independent nation. The object of the people in the North would be gone, and they would begin to ask themselves, "What are we waging war for? It is no longer in the face of Europe to put down rebellion, or to restore a Union which, in their opinion, is gone, and gone for ever." I am thoroughly convinced that the moral effect of the recognition of the Southern States would be such that the sword in the North would be loosened in its grasp, and that this terrible war would soon cease.

Mr. Lindsay concluded his speech, which was loudly cheered throughout, by warning the Government against trifling with the sufferings, and presuming too far upon the patience, of the starving operatives of Lancashire.

The increase of pauperism in the manufacturing districts was larger last week than for some time past. There were more than 7000 fresh paupers; 1600 in Manchester, 1000 in Blackburn, and 1900 in Ashton-under-Lyne. The case of the last-mentioned town is particularly distressing. There are two Relief Committees, one of which seems to have been got up in a species of hostility to the other. The first Committee has shown some jealousy of ministers of religious denominations, though it placed on its list of members, at the suggestion of Lord Derby, the senior clergyman, the senior Catholic priest, and the senior Dissenting preacher of the town. This jealousy may have been at the bottom of the schism; which is now kept up, apparently, only in the hope of support from the Mansion-house Committee to the party which does not possess either the confidence of the town, or that of the Executive Committee in Manchester. It is a great pity that the Lord Mayor should have persisted in his refusal to hand over the funds at his disposal to the last-named body; as the existence of two centres of distribution is not calculated to promote either harmony or economy. The effect of the Ashton-under-Lyne disputes has been to prevent the place, which is in extreme need, receiving any aid from the London Committee.

We have called attention before now to the peculiarly painful position of the overlookers, who, as men of a higher class than the bulk of the operatives, and accustomed to situations of trust and authority, feel with especial keenness the degradation of having to apply for relief, parochial or eleemosynary. They

are now making an effort to obtain assistance to emigrate. This appears to us a sad mistake. Valuable as they would be to any country, they are not peculiarly adapted to a colonial life; and they will be much wanted in this country when trade revives, as one day it must do. Emigration is a remedy for permanent over-population, not for temporary trouble, however severe.

At the weekly meeting of the Manchester Executive Committee, it was announced that £5500 had been received, and that £5000 more was expected from Australia; that Birmingham had given £6000, and would probably give £2000 more; and that £800 had been collected in the churches of the diocese of Bath and Wells. (It appears, further, that £25,000 has been subscribed in India.) Mr. Farnall, Poor Law Special Commissioner, made the following report:—

My tabular report for this week on twenty-four unions in the cotton manufacturing districts shows that there is an increase in the number of persons receiving parochial relief as compared with the numbers so relieved last week of 7845 persons.

There are now 176,483 persons receiving parochial relief in the unions adverted to; in the corresponding week of last year 43,801 persons were so relieved; there is, therefore, an increase of 132,682 persons in the receipt of parochial relief, or 302.9 per cent.

The total weekly cost of outdoor relief is now £10,648 13s. 8d.; in the corresponding week of last year it was £2191 9s. 8d.; there is, therefore, an increase of £8457 4s., or 386 per cent.

The average percentage of pauperism on the population of these unions is now 9.2 per cent.; in the corresponding week of last year it was 2.3 per cent.

The average amount of out-door relief per head per week in these unions is now 1s. 3½d.; the lowest amount is 11½d.; and the highest is 1s. 8d.

On the 13th inst. I reported that during the five preceding weeks the increase of persons in the receipt of parochial relief in the above unions was 27,823 persons. This sixth report gives an additional increase of 7,845 persons, so that in six consecutive weeks 35,668 persons have become paupers in these unions.

I have now received authentic reports from the hon. secretaries of forty-seven local committees formed in the cotton manufacturing districts for the distribution of charitable aid, and I am enabled to state that in the forty-seven districts adverted to the number of operatives and workpeople usually employed is 352,240; that of this number 79,654 were when the reports were dated in full work, that 129,114 were working short time, and that 143,172 were wholly unemployed; and, further, that the loss of wages in these forty-seven districts amounted to £117,112 per week. The township of Preston is included in this return.

The Bishop of Exeter has directed that collections shall be made in the churches of his diocese.

An operatives' meeting has been held in Salford, at which some very unreasonable complaints were made against the Guardians of the Poor and the Relief Committee. The speakers objected to the giving of relief in tickets authorizing the bearers to receive articles of food from shopkeepers, instead of in money—a very just and necessary precaution; and also reviled the Committee for reserving large funds in hand, instead of distributing the moneys in their hands as fast as they are received. But this is an isolated case of misconduct and folly; the general behaviour of the operatives continues to be unimpeachable.

Another anti-Garibaldi riot has taken place at Birkenhead; this time without the slightest provocation. A private debating society were about to discuss the question of the late expedition to Rome in a schoolroom belonging to a church. The Irish rabble, which abounds in the place, got scent of this, and attacked the building. The riot continued for some days, the police were overpowered and maltreated, and the magistrates had not the courage to read the Riot Act, and call on the military to enforce order. It is a strange fact that while no one can accuse of timidity the class from which either is taken, the two cowardliest things in England are its magistrates and its mobs.

While his countrymen were thus demeaning themselves in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, Sir Robert Peel's "mannikin traitor," the O'Donoghue, has appealed to Irish sympathy for the ruffians who, well-provided with bludgeons of murderous weight, attacked and broke up the meeting in Hyde Park, and whom he represents as victims of English persecution. It is much to be feared that these outrages on the civil liberty of English Protestants will provoke retaliation on the Irish, and a popular reaction against the religious liberty accorded to the Catholics. Certainly no people ever showed themselves more utterly unworthy of freedom, and no religionists, save and except the Covenanting assassins of Scotland, and the bloodthirsty Puritans of Massachusetts, ever did so much to justify the suppression of their tenets by the strong arm of the law. It cannot be tolerated that Irish mobs should interfere with English freedom of discussion on all subjects, religious and political; and if the Government do not take strong measures to enforce the law, it is tolerably clear that the people will ere long take it into their own hands. The conduct of the Home Secretary is, as usual, simply imbecile; in no other country than this, and by no other than a Whig Administration, would the continuance of

such a man in office be endured. The patience with which the country bears the blundering incapacity of one-half the Cabinet, and the eccentric conduct of the remainder, is the strongest testimony that could be possibly given to the personal popularity of the Premier.

If a man's own words were a nourishing diet, Lord Russell ought to have acquired a much more substantial figure than he actually enjoys. He has repeatedly admitted that the Germanic Confederation has nothing whatever to do with the Danish Duchy of Schleswig; yet he has recently written a despatch to the Danish Government, in which he disapproves of the inclusion of Schleswig in the common Constitution of the kingdom of Denmark, and seems to lend his countenance to the claims which Prussia is disposed to advance upon the Duchy. The Danish Government has given to his impudent advice a reply more courteous than it deserves, but conveying a decided and final negative. His lordship had better understand distinctly that he will not be allowed to use the influence of England adversely to a nation more closely akin to us than any other, and in which Englishmen generally feel a deeper interest than in any country except, perhaps, Portugal, "our ancient and faithful ally."

The following very diplomatic reply has been given to a Mr. Moore, who "wanted to know what Mr. Gladstone thinks about slavery:—

11, Downing-street, Whitehall, Oct. 17.

Sir,—I am desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 13th inst.; and I am to say that he hopes that the policy of this country will never be directed to the support or encouragement of slavery; but, in viewing the conflict which now rages in America, we must all, Mr. Gladstone thinks, wish it were in our power, by friendly means, to stop the effusion of human blood.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Mr. W. L. Moore.

CHARLES L. RYAN.

EUROPE.

FRANCE.—"In the interest of the policy of conciliation, which he has laboured so loyally to carry out," M. Thouvenel has received from the Emperor a courteous dismissal. His successor, M. Drouyn de Lhuys is a man of far higher calibre. He resigned when the Emperor declined to carry out the policy of peace which he had advocated in 1855, and has since remained aloof from the Government. But he is supposed to represent the reactionary party in foreign politics, and his appointment is considered of evil augury for the Italian cause. At the same time, other changes of a similar complexion are made in the *corps diplomatique*. M. Benedetti is recalled from Turin; and M. de Lavalette is succeeded at Rome by the Prince de Latour d'Auvergne, who was accredited in a semi-official capacity to the Pope when at Gaeta, and who is suspected of anti-Italian tendencies. Rumours are rife of an impending Ministerial crisis at Turin; the consequence of this death-blow to the hopes which M. Rattazzi has taught his countrymen to entertain from his personal influence with the Emperor.

GERMANY.—The Prussian Government has followed up its *coup d'état*—if the dismissal of the Chambers is so to be considered—by severe measures of repression towards the press. Several newspapers are daily seized, and numbers of prosecutions have been instituted against journalists. This is a dangerous course, and should it be extended, and efforts be made to restrain the liberty of meetings for political discussion, as is generally apprehended, the consequences may be serious. The leaders of the Liberal party are very anxious to prevent outbreaks; but there are limits to the influence of leaders, and the patience of parties, in such crises as that through which Prussia is now passing.

In reply to deputations which have waited upon His Majesty to present Royalist or "Conservative" addresses, the King delivered the following remarkable speech:—

I am happy to see before me an assemblage of men all animated by the same sentiment, and come from all parts of the monarchy, especially in times so difficult as these. There exists a serious crisis, more serious than I had thought it could possibly become.

From the moment when I assumed the Regency, and put myself at the head of the Government, I placed my firm hope in the confidence of my people. But my words at that period have often been misinterpreted, because a misleading press had altered them. I am deeply convinced of the necessity of undertaking a task wholly belonging to me—the reform of the army, and of finishing it. It is against this very task, which is mine, that the most unexpected obstacles have been raised.

But what can avail all present wealth, all the development of industry—what can avail all the good things that God has given us, if there is no means of protecting them when they are threatened?

Seldom has any enterprise been attacked as that task has been which I began with a view to the protection and the prosperity of my country. It is true I was obliged to ask for it sacrifices on the part of my people; but I am fully convinced that those sacrifices were not excessive, as the financial statement demonstrates.

Where the demands might appear in reality too onerous I was ready to lighten them. To that end I consented to the suppression of the additions to the taxes. But has there been gratitude for this? On the contrary, the Chamber of Deputies voted an address which contained anything but thanks. This causes me much pain.

As you have remarked, it is not the transformation of the army which forms the point of attack properly speaking; but the mark is elsewhere. The intentions, at first disguised, have become partly unmasked.

I wish to conserve the Constitution ictegrally to my people; but it is also my invincible determination to keep unimpaired the crown transmitted to me by my ancestors, and the constitutional rights of that crown; this is necessary in the interest of my people.

For this, as well as for the protection of the good things mentioned above, there must be a permanently well-constituted army, and not a pretended popular army, which, as a Prussian has not feared to say, is to be the support of the Parliament. I am firmly resolved to yield nothing more of the rights which have been transmitted to me. Tell this to your constituents.

It seems not improbable that the result of the Prusso-French commercial treaty will be the dissolution of the Zollverein, and the formation of a South-German Customs Union, on protection principles, in which Austria will be included. This would be an inconvenience to Europe, and possibly a misfortune to Germany. But Prussia has brought it upon herself, by acting independently of her confederates; and the indignation of the South-German States is very natural, considering the treatment they have received.

COTTON AND DRY GOODS MARKET.

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday, October 22.

The great depression noted in my last report continued unabated on Thursday and Friday, the sales each day reached barely a thousand bales, and a further decline of ½d. was submitted to in Surats. Fair Dhollerahs were down as low as 15½ to 16d., and one sale from the quay was reported at 15½d. The Scotia's news on Saturday did not attract much attention, but a rather better tone was shown in the market, and the sales reached 2500 bales. The improvement chiefly proceeded from exporters buying more freely under the impression that prices would not decline further. On Monday the sales reached 3000 bales; and on Tuesday 4000, the prices for Surats gradually hardening. In Manchester a better tone was also displayed, and more hopeful views taken of the future; and to-day the business in our market reaches 6000 bales at rather higher prices, making an advance of a full half-penny from the low sales last week in Surats. In American cotton, scarcely any business has been done in the last few days. Yesterday no sales whatever were recorded, and to-day only 100 bales; the price of Middling Orleans may be put nominally at 26d. In Surats the quotations may be given as 16½ to 16½ for Fair Dhollerah, 16½ to 16½ for Omrawuttee, 16½ for Comptah, 18½ for Broach, and 20½ for Sawginned Dharwar.

The City of Baltimore's news is to hand to-day, reporting some fighting in Kentucky, without a decisive result; and announcing that a resolution had been offered to the Confederate Congress to empower the Government to impress one million bales of cotton and offer it for sale to foreign nations, permitting it to be shipped through ports in enemy's hands. Considerable attention has been called to this motion, and various conjectures put forward as to its import and object. But it is difficult to see how it can be of any practical avail. It is not to be supposed that the Federals in New Orleans would permit cotton sold by the Confederate Government, to be shipped unmolested, and the proceeds applied to furnish their enemies with the sinews of war.

It is evident that the proposition is futile so far as ports in the hands of the Federals are concerned, and at other ports it only authorises that contraband shipment which has been already practised as far as the blockade permitted.

It is not improbable, however, that this motion may be so construed as to damp the market.

MANCHESTER, Tuesday, October 21

The tone of our market is rather stronger, and the general feeling somewhat more confident since the close of last week; but at the same time, although the inquiry for yarns, and still more for cloth, is a little more animated, we can hardly report any increase in the amount of business doing, which in all departments still continues on the most limited scale.

Yarns appear in general to be very firmly held, and since Friday prices exhibit increasing steadiness, but the demand, although not so depressed as at the close of last week, is still, both for the home trade and for export, extremely languid, and has led to a very inconsiderable amount of business to-day. For doubled yarns there is scarcely any inquiry; and we hear of no transactions. The finer counts continue generally steady, but the medium and lower numbers are flat, and slightly worse to sell.

Goods are very firm, and little desire is shown by manufacturers to press sales. Some sellers report more inquiry for India shirtings, &c., and also for T. cloths and L. cloths for the Levant; but it does not appear to have produced any business, and the total amount of transactions seems to have been quite insignificant, although the tendency of the market has been slightly in favour of sellers.

TOBACCO MARKET.

LONDON, October 23.

The market strong, with a prevailing idea that prices will advance.

In stemmed the business has been very limited—for leaf the demand has been fair, as well for home trade as for exportation—there is an evident desire to purchase for re-sale; but holders are indisposed to offer in quantity. Manufactured is scarcely offered—holders expect a still higher scale of prices towards the close of the year.

LATEST DIRECT INTELLIGENCE FROM THE SOUTH.

The following is a list of State prisoners confined at Fort Delaware by Ministerial warrants from Washington:—

H. Gaskins, North Carolina; B. Colbert, North Carolina; Z. McMath, North Carolina; Liet. John Cornelius, North Carolina; Reuben Sexton, North Carolina; K. S. Lewis, North Carolina; P. T. Johnson, South Carolina; John Duncan, South Carolina; E. T. Wade, South Carolina; Barfield Powers, South Carolina; Adam Carter, South Carolina; Isaac Carter, South Carolina; Lafayette Wakefield, South Carolina; B. Hough, South Carolina; Herbert Hanchan, South Carolina; — Hughston, South Carolina; — Livingston, Florida; — McCleodon, Georgia; J. L. Greer, Virginia; — Forney, Virginia; Lieut. Justin Sowers, Virginia; H. K. Gregg, Wm. P. Smith, John T. Dowel, B. Buck, S. S. Sarvis, A. B. Hudson, J. A. Farmer, S. H. Collins, C. P. Wilson, E. N. Jeanneret, S. C. White, Wm. Savage, J. R. Gihbs, Jno. McGrath, W. P. Hare, W. M. Wescott, S. M. Jordan, Robert T. Kelly, Phillip Ritchie, David McGrath, Leander Carlisle, Townsend Henton, J. S. Lynn, M. Welch, C. D. Blackburn, J. R. P. Wall, J. W. Gay, H. Peyton, Robert Hamilton, J. W. Wason, A. H. Lawyer, Robert Barr, Charles Greaves, Jno. Byrne, D. D. Dobatch, Wm. Russ, D. Hamilton, J. O. Martin, Francis Clymer, Daniel Clymer, Ignace Matuski, J. A. Barron, Jackson Berlin, J. B. Barclay, Jos. Parsons.

We are permitted to make the following extracts from a letter written by a high official personage in Richmond, under date of September 15:—

The battle-fields have given us 30,000 additional stands of arms since May 1; importation through the blockade, about 25,000 more. If we can continue at this rate for only three months more, there will be nothing left to desire, and we shall be able to arm all the new conscripts we may need. * * * The new levies of 600,000 men for Lincoln's army will probably require additional exertions on our part; but we have long since ceased to fear for the result. The term of enlistment of one-half of that number will expire before they can be brought into the field against us, and the other 300,000 will barely bring up the Federal armies to their old standard.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES STEAMER ORETO OR FLORIDA.

The *Charleston Mercury* gives the following interesting information concerning this vessel, which recently entered the harbour of Mobile, under peculiarly trying circumstances:—

The *Augusta* and *Atlanta* papers publish a despatch from Mobile, announcing the arrival of "an iron-clad man-of-war" at that port. The statement is incorrect. A special correspondent at Mobile furnishes us with some authentic information in regard to the arrival referred to. The vessel is the steam corvette Oreto, now called the Florida, and is not an iron-clad. Our readers are aware of the difficulties which the commander of this ship encountered at Nassau, owing to the rigour of the British neutrality regulations. Having finally escaped from the clutches of the Court of Admiralty, Captain Maffit steamed away to the Gulf, and boldly ran the gauntlet of the blockaders at the mouth of Mobile Bay, in broad daylight, on the 4th inst. The captain was at the time sick with fever, as was most of her small crew of thirteen men. The Florida ran within sixty yards of the Yankee vessels, and her sides are peppered all over with shrapnel and grape shot. One eleven-inch shell went through her sides a foot above the water line, and lodged in the "coal bunkers." The Florida is a beautiful and well-armed corvette of great speed. Her armament consists of eight guns. Her dash through the blockaders, with a sick crew of only thirteen men, in broad daylight, is one of the most daring naval exploits of the war. The Florida did not fire a shot, as her crew were unable to man even a single gun. She had one killed and two wounded. She now lies below the city in quarantine.

Foreign Correspondence.

(From our Commercial Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, October 10.

It is said that "figures cannot lie;" neither can they when properly placed or fully told. Some people tell falsehoods by making misstatements, others by withholding the "whole" truth; the latter is the puritanical method of deception, and as Mr. Salmon P. Chase belongs to that "good" breed, he follows its precepts. Some time ago he favoured us with an account of Federal finances, up to May 29, now he gives us a statement for the three months ending June 30, or thirty-two days later, that he calls "receipts and expenditures of the United States," which, to a careless reader would look like a schedule of the indebtedness of the Washington Government; but not so, while he candidly admits that the estimate does not include "trust funds," nothing whatever is said about the vast sums that have not yet appeared on the books of the Treasury department, and are in the meanwhile represented by quarter-masters' receipts, colonel's vouchers, and a quantity of other methods too numerous to mention. Yet the newspapers upon the faith of the partial figures furnished, boldly state that the cost of the war is thus \$800,000,000; they may dodge the matter about as much as they like however, but the truth is that at least one hundred millions of dollars per month have been squandered, and when we get at the full particulars, even this stupendous amount may be much increased.

The bubble is continuing to enlarge in size, and will burst before long. Gold has touched 29, and exchange 41 per cent. The bankers and importers are head over ears in debt to their correspondents in Europe, and are now hastening forward remittances; they appear to be getting rid of their stupidity, and are endeavouring to save as much from the wreck as possible. It is likely that the exportation of the precious metals will be prohibited before November 1, when Mr. Chase has more interest to pay in specie.

Military affairs are all favourable for the Confederates, at this time they are better off for arms than the Federalists; they are, no doubt, short of luxuries and certain descriptions of clothing.

(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, October 21.

We have had an exciting, and I may say, an uneasy time of it since I last wrote. There has been a ministerial crisis—the friends of the Pope are in a state of exultation; the friends of Italy have been downhearted and the outsiders, the general public, have been amazed, anxious, and all at sea as to what was going on. To give an elaborate account of the crisis would be tedious, but a few words to lay the whole affair before you will not be unacceptable, as I perceive that, with two exceptions, the *Herald*, and the *Post*, your daily contemporaries have not kept the British public au courant of the very serious change in the Imperial policy, which has been looming in the distance for some months past, and which now seems to have come to a head.

Early in August last a new journal was started, called *La France*. Its founder and manager was no less a personage than M. de la Guernonière, a gentleman who has received the nick-name of the Emperor's *porte-plume*, it being well known that his ready pen was employed in editing the rough notes of his Majesty, which startled the world at the beginning of 1859 and 1860, under the form of pamphlets. No one has forgotten "Napoleon III., et l'Italie," or "Le Pape et le Congrès," and bearing in mind these remarkable brochures the public naturally looked to the columns of *La France* for an exposition of the Emperor's intentions. In one sense the public were not disappointed. From the very first day, M. de la Guernonière proclaimed to allow the Italians to go to Rome, would be sacrificing the interests of France, and in a series of articles which created a perfect storm of disapprobation among the liberal party laid down a comprehensive plan for the partition of Italy into two kingdoms—one north to belong to Victor Emmanuel, the other south to belong to some other prince, "to be designated hereafter,"—and the Pope to remain between the two, with Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter, like a piece of ham between two not over-well buttered crusts. In the event of this proposal not being approved of by a Congress which was to be summoned for this purpose, M. de la Guernonière gravely declared, that the French troops must indefinitely remain at Rome. Well, this plan was denounced, both by the Clericals who deemed the share of the Pope too small, and by the Liberals, who appeared to consider that France had no right to partition Italy. It was thought strange that the *Moniteur* said nothing—it was whispered that an illustrious lady, whose name it would be a profanation to drag into politics, had succeeded in converting her august consort to her own views on the Papal question, and neat epigrams were fired at poor M. de la Guernonière, who was taunted with having degenerated into Juno's peacock, after having been the thunder beaver of Jove. At the same time M. Thouvenel's friends in Paris—and he has many friends—made no secret of that Minister's determination to resign if the eternal Roman question were not speedily settled. Matters stood thus, when the *Moniteur* published (on the 25th ult.) the three remarkable State papers, written in May last, which filled with exultation both the friends of Italy, and the friends of the Pope. The documents in question containing arguments enough to establish conclusively either position. The report, meanwhile, of M. Thouvenel's retirement continued to gain ground, and matters stood thus when the Emperor returned from Biarritz to St. Cloud. Two Cabinet councils were held, but nothing appeared to be decided about Rome, when last Tuesday afternoon, just as the Bourse was about to close, a rumour spread like wild-fire that sent Rentes down one per cent. M. Fould had resigned; M. de Persigny had resigned; M. Thouvenel had resigned. A military man was about to be made Minister of the Interior, and the "plan" of M. de la Guernonière was about to be carried out.

Now the public (I mean the general public, whose sympathies for Italy are of the least pronounced character), cared comparatively little about M. Thouvenel; M. de Persigny's loss would have been viewed with equanimity; but M. Fould! M. Fould who is looked upon as the plank which stands between the country and the gulf

of bankruptcy, whose tight hold of the purse strings is considered a guarantee of peace abroad, and prosperity at home; if M. Fould resigns, then indeed all hopes of peace, prosperity, the extension of liberal reform, the reorganization of the finances—in fact, all the hopes which M. Fould's appointment had raised, and which his administration has to a great extent confirmed must be given up.

The *Moniteur* on Thursday, somewhat calmed down the apprehensions for which there was too much cause, by announcing the appointment of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the Foreign Office, vice Thouvenel—but as I write it is not known with any degree of certainty whether the other ministers named above, Fould and Persigny, will consent to remain in—Persigny solus as I have said before, is held to be very cheap, but it is understood that his departure would at no distant period involve that of his financial colleague. That both tendered their resignations, I am able to assure you, but the natural inference from the silence of the *Moniteur* on the subject, and from the assurances of the Semi-official press that M. Drouyn de Lhuys will merely continue to offer "de sages conseils" to the Court at Rome, is that they have withdrawn them *pro tem* on the understanding that there would be no decided change in the policy of the Government.

The Emperor is fully alive to the movements of public opinion, and the panic caused by the mere report of the resignation of M. Fould may have induced him to pause before committing himself to a policy which would not only deprive him of the services of that Minister, but estrange from him the great mass of his liberal supporters, the Democratic Bonapartists. This, however, is merely a conjecture. All we know is that the *Moniteur* has only announced the resignation of M. Thouvenel; that it may not announce those of M. de Persigny and M. Fould before the week is over is but a hope.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the new Foreign Secretary, enjoys high reputation as a diplomatist, and universal esteem as a man of integrity and character. He owes this prestige to a feeling which has become a rare one among French statesmen of a certain class who seem to look upon principles as aeronaunts look upon the ballast in a balloon, a thing to be thrown overboard when they want to rise. He has never sacrificed his convictions to his place. He amazed his official friends in 1855 when he threw up his portfolio in consequence of the Emperor's refusing to ratify the convention he had agreed to at Vienna, for the settlement of the Crimean war; and in the following year, in consequence of a public rebuke to the Senate for doing so little work for its money, he resigned his place in that illustrious assembly—a sacrifice which his colleagues looked upon as heroic, and, indeed, to them with their peculiar notions, it must have appeared Quixotic. It is not to be supposed that such a man had taken office as a mere head clerk, and there can be no doubt that he has come to some understanding with the Emperor as to the policy which is to be pursued. His first circular has been published; it is a mere formal document, very carefully framed, so as to conceal the writer's meaning. It is to be remarked, however, that it alludes only to the Roman affair; and, therefore, it cannot be looked upon as the full programme of the new minister, wherein he is expected to state his views in general on all the great questions of the day, and in particular on that which divides men's attention with the gravest European complications—the conflict in America between north and south.

On this subject I am assured that the new Foreign Minister has arrived at the conclusion which must force itself on all impartial observers, that the independence of the South is now a *fait accompli*; but it would be, perhaps, unreasonable to expect a public declaration of his views in this respect. I do not think, therefore, that the second circular, aforesaid will be inserted in the *Moniteur* as M. Drouyn de Lhuys belongs to the old school of diplomacy, who do "wear their hearts upon their sleeve for daws to peck at."

An important periodical, the *Revue Contemporaine*, comments at considerable length on American affairs, and advocates the prompt recognition of the South.

"The two contending parties," says the Reviewer, "appear equally invincible when defending their own territory, equally able to retrieve their position by brilliant victories even when it appears most desperate, but they appear to be alike incapable to inflict a decisive defeat on their enemy on his own ground. If Mr. Jefferson Davis is unable to proclaim at the White-house the victory of the South, Mr. Lincoln is no more successful in his attempts to dissolve the Secessionist Congress at Richmond. Europe, whilst seconding this state of things, only bows before a *fait accompli*, which is the more entitled to recognition from the fact of our having done nothing to bring it about—it is the result of

the force of circumstances alone. The very neutrality of Europe in the contest, compels her not to shut her eyes to the evidence of facts which have taken place at all events without her co-operation. * * * As for ourselves, we have not got two weights and measures, and it is repugnant to our feelings to admit that the New World which has ever been regarded as the model country of individual and collective liberty, is not ripe for the application of the doctrines which are applied without question to our old continent, the classic soil of right divine. No one ever questioned the right of the eight millions, which form the population of the Two Sicilies, to give up their autonomy, and annex themselves to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel—why, therefore, should the eight millions of Confederates be denied the rights of refusing to submit any longer to the government of Washington, and constitute themselves as an independent nation. Theoretically the Southern States were entitled to claim the recognition from the first day that they thought fit to proclaim it—policy may—but no right or doctrine exists to justify it—require delay—policy may think proper before recognizing a separation, to wait until those who claim it have shown their power to enforce it—diplomacy cannot enter into relations with ephemeral or accidental Governments, but only with fully constituted and enduring organizations—Can anyone deny that by this time all these requirements have been fulfilled by the Confederate States of North America?"

A report is current of the death of Garibaldi. No telegram has yet come to hand to confirm it, but it is asserted that the last bulletins are alarming in the extreme.

The Bourse has been rather sluggish during the past week, but there are symptoms of reviving activity.

(From an occasional Correspondent).

PARIS, Oct. 21.

Your last number was in type when M. Thouvenel's fall from power was announced in the *Moniteur*. It had been long foreseen, and yet the three days' crisis which ended in his dismissal, without the resignation of the rest of the Cabinet, took the Paris public by surprise, and sent the funds up. The public here is the crowd which assembles under the peristyle of the bourse. It rejoices at the change, not that it loves M. Drouyn de Lhuys more, or M. Thouvenel less, but that it feared that the God of its idolatry, M. Fould might come down in the fall. When, in June last, M. de Lavalette returned to Rome, after obtaining General Cavour's recall, no one who has studied the master mind of France, could doubt that the day was not distant when the Marquis and his abettors would pay for their momentary triumph. It is not that the Emperor has changed his Italian policy; from the first, he has acted very consistently up to his declarations, and if bystanders or ministers thought that more was meant than met the ear, in giving the rein to their zeal or their inclination, they overshot the mark. The Sovereign of France has declared that he is his own minister, our English name of the Secretary of State expresses the real position of his official organs. He is responsible to the nation, and we cannot blame him if he refuses to be committed by the interpolations of his servants. M. Thouvenel's fault has been that he has allowed himself to be urged on by Messrs. de Lavalette and Benedetti, to add a glaze to the Emperor's instructions. He has tried to alter his course, or at least to quicken the pace. With the silent patience which is one of his qualities, the Emperor suffered himself to be thus goaded all the summer, now and then making a trifling concession, but not deviating from his course. Four days after his arrival at St. Cloud, he dismissed M. Thouvenel, accepted M. de Lavalette's resignation, and recalled M. Benedetti from Turin. Sunday's *Moniteur* contains six diplomatic changes resulting from these. M. Thouvenel's dismissal is softened by a letter, which reads more as if it were the public declaration that his services are no longer wanted, than that they are cordially remembered, and this seems to be the ex-Minister's own interpretation, from the angry haste with which he contradicted a paragraph in the *Pays*, ascribing his immediate departure from Paris to Madame Thouvenel's illness. It is understood that he counted on the simultaneous secession of several of his colleagues, whose remaining in office cannot have gratified him. Their resignation might have embarrassed the Emperor, which some of them, at least, would be unwilling to do, and it would have been like a claim to interfere in matters not affecting their departments, while they have the benefit of irresponsibility. Of M. Drouyn de Lhuys it is premature to speak. When he retired from public life six years ago, none of the questions of the day, excepting the long-lived Eastern difficulty, was on the tapis. Italy was not even dreamed of, and the

American Union seemed to the European world in general, destined to the longevity of the Swiss Confederation. M. Drouyn de Lhuys could, therefore, have formed no opinions on these now most important questions, nor would it be safe to augur of his acts, as Minister, from his private conversations. In last night's papers, his circular to the diplomatic agents of France appears. It treats only of the Italian question, and is confined to the general tenour of the Emperor's letter of May last to M. Thouvenel. A significant fact as regards the meaning to be attached to this, may be gathered from the circumstance of M. de la Gueronnère, the editor of *La France*, having been invited along with him to dine at St. Cloud the day after his nomination. The Emperor wrote an autograph letter a few days ago to Victor Emmanuel, of which the contents are surmised to have been rather a caution against agitation, than encouragement to hopes which he is at present, at least, determined not to gratify.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, who goes as Ambassador to Rome, was formerly there as Secretary of Embassy, and by the charm of his manners made himself very popular in society. His brother is Archbishop of Toulon. His nomination will, therefore, give general satisfaction there. He is young for so important a post, but the Emperor has more than once shown a predilection for young blood—of the other new appointments. I need only say that M. de Talleyrand, who is going to Berlin, is not wanting in the hereditary talent, if circumstances afford scope for display. The court leaves this on the 26th for Compiègne, where the King and Queen of Portugal are expected in the course of next month. Mahomet Djemil Pasha, the new Turkish Ambassador, presented his credentials yesterday, and M. de Kisseleff his letters of recall. The ex-Ambassador of Russia gave up his post on account of advancing years, but he remains in Paris. If I add to my chronicle, Count Andrew Zamoycki's arrival here on his rather involuntary travels, I believe I shall have exhausted all the personal news.

In last night's *Patrie* there appears a very interesting, letter from Providence (Rhode Island), to which I call your attention. The account it gives of the position of emigrants in the States of the North should be studied by the deluded men who are being daily embarked to fill the ranks of the Union armies. There is a graphic description also of the humours of an election which Messrs. Berkeley and Bright might read with profit. This reminds me of a conversation I had a few days ago with a very intelligent Frenchman, a literary man, who spent twelve years in New York. He described to me the vexations and annoyances to which foreigners are systematically exposed in the Empire City, till from sheer lassitude they are forced to take out letters of naturalisation. He found himself in every relation of life treated as an inferior, until he consented to take this step. Another letter of very different purport to the one I have spoken of, written by M. de Leon, the late Consul-General of the United States in Egypt, which appeared a few days ago in the *Constitutionnel*, has attracted very general attention in political circles here. It contains a temperate refutation of many fallacies current in France, and not yet perhaps altogether exploded in England. You will find it in the *Constitutionnel* of the 16th. I need not tell you that the question of the recognition of the Southern Confederacy has made no way in the last week. Public opinion is undoubtedly favourable to this step, but there is in Paris at least—I do not speak of the provinces—no hearty opinion on any subject which does not affect the quotations on the Bourse. As Italy does this, it is the great preoccupation of the day, and the publishers' shops are again filled with pamphlets upon Rome. You may depend upon it that the Emperor will never hand over Rome to the Piedmontese; to do so would be to abandon the oldest policy of France, to stultify the acts of the last years, or, I may say, the whole period, of his reign, and to give to English influence a triumph which his subjects would never forgive. The almost unanimity of the French press in demanding the withdrawal of the garrison is not to be ascribed to a public feeling hostile to its continuance, but to the handsome subsidies which it is no secret that the Court of Turin has lavished on the Paris press. You must not lose sight of the difference between the press in France and in England. With us the press expresses the opinion of a more or less numerous party, here the press attempts to form that opinion. If the persevering efforts of the papers, of almost all shades, have had little effect in rousing a sympathy for Italy, so unkindly held back from the tempting prize it is straining for; this must be ascribed to the instinctive attachment of the people to the traditional policy of France, and still more to the dislike which the French army, officers and men, entertain for the Italians. Even Garibaldi's wounds have raised little

sympathy here. His gallant defence of Rome is, less remembered than the story of the silver candlesticks of St. Peter's which he tried to carry off in his baggage.

BERLIN, October 19.

We are living in an atmosphere too charged with political electricity to enable me to fulfil my promise of registering the phenomena of the great and little German systems. The events which are passing around us have an immediate and practical importance, which throws into the shade a controversy, whose ill-defined bases and uncertain results remind one involuntarily of the big and little Endians immortalized by Gulliver. The approaching great German Congress at Frankfort may throw some light on a subject from which I abstain for the present.

When I closed my last, the Berlin world was on the tiptoe of expectation, but hope still had the better of apprehension. The result of the Cabinet Council on Saturday, had been kept so carefully secret, that even the ordinary notice of the intended prorogation was not sent to the President of the House of Deputies. By taking them unwarned, it was hoped that the Deputies would be found unarmed, but Herr Grabow snuffed the impending storm, and took the energetic measures I have already mentioned, to forestall it. From 9 to 12 on Monday morning, the House discussed and passed a resolution, declaring the act of the Upper House unconstitutional, and such was the celerity and secrecy with which it acted, that the Premier, Von Bismarck, only heard of the proceedings on entering the House at 12, to announce the sitting for the prorogation for 3 o'clock. He was evidently taken aback, and only covered his confusion by studying the temperature of the House on the thermometer on the wall, while the President slowly and distinctly read the resolution which showed its temper. The Parliament was prorogued before a thin assembly of either House, and astonishment prevented the manifestation of feeling, when the King's message proclaimed his intention of governing extra-constitutionally. I spoke in my last of Charles X., and in doing so, wronged his memory, for he had at least persuaded himself that the letter of the Charter was in his favour. Our French friends invented the Historical parallel as the safest and most offensive engine of attack against their Government. It is a catapult which launches only foot balls that rarely hit, and at worst but bespatter the object at which they are aimed. I forego, therefore, taking advantage of the happy misprint which in your last number converted William Frederick IV. into James I., and abstain from comparing the psdantry of our James with the late Prussian King's more artistic learning, or the duplicity of his ill-starred successor with the one-sided conscientiousness of William I. We may hope that the tragic events that marked the English Revolution may be wanting in that of Prussia, but we cannot doubt, as all freemen must wish, that the results will be as decisive. The King is not yet committed by overt acts, and there is still room for reconciliation. But though we acknowledge that historical parallels prove nothing or too much; we are not, therefore, bound to turn aside from the teachings of history. I called your attention to the calm attitude of the House of Deputies, and I am happy to bear witness that even in the trying position they have been placed in, they have shown the representatives of a nation may be offended but not ruffled. They have persevered in this dignified bearing to the last. On the third day after the prorogation, all had left the capital for their homes, a proceeding as adroit as it was worthy of their mandate. By separating at once they avoided all suspicion of factious concert, and by returning to their homes they have taken the best means of counter-acting the manoeuvres which an avowedly revolutionary Government may well be suspected of employing to mislead the rural populations. If he saw this word revolutionary applied to himself, His Majesty would doubtless be startled, for these kings are too apt to forget that more revolutions have been inaugurated by royalty than by the people, and that such revolutions are generally the most fatal to all concerned.

The liberal members dined together before parting, and Herr Schulze Delitzsch, one of their most distinguished men, gave a toast to the solidarity of Press and Tribune, which he prefaced with a speech, not so dazzling as Victor Hugo's late oration, but full of the practical good sense which this was deficient in. He showed how the press, properly conducted, is the organ of popular sentiment, how it helps the deliberations of Parliament, and, in a crisis like the present, may supply its place. Herr Bloemer, a member of the House of Lords (of which the majority are neither great nobles nor great lauded proprietors), has taken advantage of

his accidental exclusion from the division on the budget, to publish a pamphlet, called, "A Word to my Fellow Citizens." It is an unimpassioned exposition of the rights of the Deputies of the Nation, such as our school-boys are (or should be) taught, and chiefly remarkable because it is thought, and really is, necessary for the instruction, not of country louts, but of the lords themselves. But it may be questioned whether there is any hope of teaching a body which could listen gravely to the argument that, inasmuch as the Constitution empowers the Upper House to pass the budget without amendments, or to reject it entirely, they were therefore entitled to reject the budget sent up by the Deputies, and to pass the one proposed originally by the Ministry, in its integrity. The Ministers who have seats in the House voted for the rejection of the amended budget, but they had sufficient prudence—call it cowardice who will—to abstain from voting on the proposal to pass their own bill. A characteristic anecdote is going the rounds of well informed circles. It is said that, in the secret sitting which resulted in this scandalous transgression of the Constitution, M. von Bismarck said that, as Minister, he must warn his hearers that the proposal was unconstitutional, although it would be very agreeable to him if they waved this objection. To return to Herr Bloemer's pamphlet; after expressing himself in justly severe terms on the Minister's for becoming the accomplices of the rejection of the budget, he goes on to show how gratuitously factious their conduct has been. The Deputies had voted nearly 134 millions of thalers. The sum in dispute was only about five millions. An act of indemnity or a supplementary budget in the next session would, as he says, certainly have been passed, to provide for such sums beyond those voted which have already been expended or which had been contracted for. The question was at first only one of organization of the army, it has become in the hands, of the Upper House, a constitutional struggle. He then gets somewhat into the clouds, and appeals to a star which is to burst through the gathering darkness and shine more brightly than ever on Prussia and her King. His Majesty with a needlessly redoubled guard at his favourite residence near Sans Souci, looks serenely on the storm he has raised, encouraged to hold his ground by the addresses which the feudal party are sending up to him. The royalist, not loyal, press, registers a dozen every day, and the liberal press not only reproduces the names of the places from which they come, but wickedly adds also the insignificant names and avocations of those who present them. "In one which the King received and answered most graciously, the signers of the address are made to say that they wish "no Parliamentary, but a royal Prussian Government." In others he is exhorted to persevere in vindicating the rights of the Crown against the usurpations of the Deputies, and he is assured that he is responsible only to God for the well-being of the country. To show you the value of these addresses in the eyes of the Berliners, I cannot resist inserting an advertisement which has just appeared in the *Kladderadatsch*, the Berlin Punch:—

WANTED to take up his residence in a large town, at present only inhabited by Liberals, and to represent its public opinion, a tried Conservative (if possible not convicted in any court of justice). The father of a numerous family of boys accustomed to sign addresses will be preferred.

If the insensibility of the King, even more than the stern calmness of the Prussian people, is threatening to the royal prestige, a worse augury may be found in the press prosecutions which have raged ever since the prorogation of the Houses. Seven trials have taken place in one day, five in another, and the editor of the *National Zeitung*, by an almost forgotten application of the law, has been sentenced not only to fine but to six weeks' imprisonment, for writing, at the time of the last elections, that the Minister of War had "ordered" "his men to the voting-urns." Voting-urns having been abolished, or not existing, the judges interpreted this part of the expressions figuratively, but refused to apply the same rule to the word ordered (*commandiren*). Two or three newspapers are now seized daily. It is understood that the Minister is on the look-out for a new Minister of Justice to carry out, with proper vigour, the stringent application of the gagging laws which he contemplates. Even in France such wholesale prosecutions were never heard of, and in France there might be found an excuse which does not exist in Prussia. There a new dynasty is struggling for existence against a host of malcontents of all colours; here there is no disputed succession, and, notwithstanding the shortcomings of the last forty-five years, there is a profound attachment to the reigning house.

In the Handelsstag or Trade Conference, now sitting in Munich, a proposition to stigmatize the French commercial treaty with Prussia as prejudicial to the general interests of Germany has been rejected by a majority of

138 to 60, and the wish that it should come at once into operation was approved by 100 to 96. The Conference separated after passing resolutions for the continuance and improved organization of the Zollverein, whose existence is threatened by the differences arising out of the French treaty, differences carefully fomented by Austria, which has always looked with a jealous eye on the power which the presidency of the Zollverein gives to Prussia.

FEDERAL THREATS.—On the 24th September the *New York Herald* published an editorial, in which after, rejoicing in the great victory of McClellan, and predicting the subjugation of the South before the meeting of Congress in December, concludes by admonishing England and France of Federal vengeance.

Then, with our glorious Union reinstated in full strength, and purged of the disorganizing elements of Southern secessionism and Northern abolitionism, we shall be prepared at once to exact atonement and reparation from England and France for the insults which they have inflicted upon us, and for the aid and comfort which they have given to our enemy in a thousand devious ways since the outbreak of this rebellion. Then we shall be prepared to try the force of our republican ideas and institutions in Canada, and to see that justice is done to Mexico.

Such are the grand and comprehensive results, in our domestic and foreign relations, foreshadowed by this great triumph of our army in Maryland, and their fulfilment is but a question of time. The Southern rebellion is doomed, and with its extinction our redeemed country will rise at once in the majesty of the most powerful nation in the world.

In the same issue an editorial appears, in which England is threatened with a repetition of the Trent affair:—

MASON AND SLIDELL COMING BACK.—We notice in the proceedings of the rebel Congress that it has been determined to recall Mason and Slidell from Europe. Perhaps this has been done with the hope of thereby securing a recognition of the confederacy, on the same principle that a skilful angler slowly withdraws his bait when he wishes the fish to make an eager rush for the hook. The question is, however, how are these diplomatic rebels to get back? We know that the Navy Department is about despatching Commodore Wilkes with a fleet to the West Indies, with instructions to allow no more Anglo-rebel vessels to break the blockade. Commodore Wilkes, therefore, will be on hand just in time to renew his acquaintance with Slidell and Mason. It is doubtful if they will consent to run the risk of another interview with him.

But the plotters and schemers, the bakers in the abolition administration oven—they are all right; they live in clover, dress superbly, and fare sumptuously. Hundreds of our merchants—and I blush to say it—are of this class. Their souls (which could be covered with an English sixpence) are fast and firm with the dominant party, and they are bound to make all the hay they can while the sun shines; they know that this unnatural position cannot always last, and when it is past they want something to lean upon that will carry them through the wreck that will follow. What care they for desolate firesides, for broken hearts, and orphans' tears? The war is right and just; the supremacy of the Government must be maintained; the South must be made to pay obedience to the same; let the war proceed.—From a *New York Letter*.

A press of matter obliges us to postpone the publication of several interesting articles until our next issue.

Three Months in the Confederate Army.

MISCHIEF AND ITS CURE.

The luxurious ease in which we whiled away the idle weeks of May and June, had its proverbial effect upon our military morals and soldierly character. Day by day our duties, and the engagements we had entered into with our country, appeared less solemn and less serious to our eyes. It seemed ridiculous to think or speak of stern resolves and heroic self-devotion where there was nothing to do but to eat well, to drink well, to sleep well, and to wax fat upon an admirably hygienic system of moderate exercise and calm repose. The daily drill had become intolerably monotonous, and puerile. No pet guard of some martinet monarch could march more regularly than we, none with greater ease and accuracy execute the various manoeuvres which extort applause at a holiday review. At dress parade no regiment could form a more exact line, and at the order "parade rest," the row of white gloved hands was a geometrical marvel to behold. All this, we knew, was very well in its place, but we felt also, and felt it keenly, that it was not the true school of the soldier. Of foot-sore marches, such as our brethren in North and Western Virginia had, of privations which should harden us into veterans, of outpost duties, of skirmishes with the enemy, we had none, nor did it seem likely that we ever would have any at our present post. Every day rendered an attack on Norfolk less probable, for battery after battery had been quietly erected to defend the approaches by water, and elaborate field-works ensured us even more completely against a land attack.

About this time an affair occurred which impressed us with an indescribable contempt of the enemy, and strengthened the already rapidly growing conviction

that there was "no fight in him." General Magruder, whose small *corps d'armée* was stationed on the opposite side of the James River, in the vicinity of Yorktown, had for some time "felt" the Federal army at and around Fortress Monroe, and tempted General Butler, in command there, by sending out foraging parties, almost up to the very walls of the fortress. One of these foraging parties or outposts, consisting of a part of a Georgian regiment, and a part of a North Carolina regiment, under Colonel Hill, and a company of Virginia howitzers, with five pieces—in all less than 1100 men strong—was suddenly attacked by four Federal regiments of infantry, and a considerable force of regular artillery. The surprise was so complete that retreat upon the main body, some twelve miles distant, was out of the question. According to all military probabilities, the little force should have been annihilated. Instead of this, with no better defence than a hastily thrown up breastwork, it repulsed and routed the vastly superior odds of the assailants, suffering a loss of only one killed and one wounded; and killing, wounding, and taking prisoners some 300 of the enemy. The details of this engagement, known as the "battle" of Great Bethel, are so incredible that we would not fully believe them until the most ample confirmation had been received. It then appeared that the attack was made in a solid column, which our few pieces could rake at every discharge; that in no single instance could the Federals be induced to charge up to our breastwork; but each time broke and ran after one volley of our musketry. Finally the whole body fled in wild disorder, strewn the roads with arms and knapsacks, hundreds of which were sent as trophies to Norfolk and Richmond. In the annals of warfare a more disgraceful tale of gross imbecility on the part of the commanders, and arrant cowardice on the part of the men, had never been told. There was one redeeming feature, indeed, and only one. Every man in a Confederate uniform spoke respectfully of Major Winthrop, a member of a distinguished New York family, who was shot through the heart by a North Carolinian rifleman while springing forward, sword in hand, vainly encouraging his men to follow. Sincerely did we pity him for being thrown by fate among such a gang of slinking vagabonds. When the Northern account of the affair reached us, we learned, for the first time, that before coming up with us, two of the attacking regiments had, in the darkness of the night, mistaken each other for enemies. One, a regiment of Germans, fired upon the other, a New York militia regiment, nine rounds of musketry, with as many discharges from a field-piece, at a distance of 150 yards, killing two and wounding five; whereupon the latter regiment broke and ran. The New York press, with a cynicism that added to our disgust, remarked that the Germans had proved themselves stancher men than the natives, but very poor shots.

The affair of Great Bethel, though an important success for our arms, did us harm. When men are already restless and discontented by inactivity, it is not well for them to learn to underrate and despise their enemy. General Butler, who had planned the expedition, became a by-word and a mockery among us. We punned upon the initials of his name, and he was generally known as "Bethel Failure Butler." The "masked rebel batteries," by which he accounted for his disgrace, and the other preposterous lies which made up his official report of the engagement, were a standing joke with us. We accepted the raw undisciplined rabble we had so easily routed as a fair specimen of all the Federal armies present and prospective, and we found it impossible to believe that a people could seriously contemplate a long war, which received the news of so indelible disgrace in the manner the Northern people seemed to have done. We, had the same thing happened to us, should have been disposed to exaggerate our loss as an extenuation of the disgrace; they, at the very time that we buried eighty-seven of their dead, published their loss to the world as eighteen killed and thirty-seven wounded, apparently without perceiving how their own figures added to their shame that any body of troops should flee in disorder before one-fourth of their number after so trifling a loss.

Despising the enemy, despairing of winning any glory in meeting him, or of having any serious work to do, disgusted with the dull routine of camp-life, we were gradually losing that stern sense of responsibility, that pride in our position, with which we had entered the ranks. A sort of demoralization, not in the worst meaning of the word, but still serious enough to be painfully felt, was spreading through the regiment. Men began to look upon it as a clever thing to slip through the lines after "taps," spend the night in town, and return without detection before roll-call in the morning. If detected, the extra twenty-four hours of guard duty was not deemed a punishment, because the public

opinion of the regiment no longer considered it a disgrace. Cases of "sleeping on post" also began to occur, partly because extra guard duty had become too frequent a punishment, and partly because of our fancied security from any danger whatever. Idleness had bred silly camp gossip, which in turn gave rise to petty jealousies among the different companies, and even quarrels among individuals. An unfortunate editor in our mess, who had been plagued into writing, sorely against his will, letters from camp to his paper at home, became suddenly the object of almost universal enmity, for no better reason than a typographical blunder. He had written of his own company that only one other excelled it in drill, and none in gentlemanly behaviour. The types had substituted the word *equalled* for *excelled*, and forthwith every other company considered itself insulted in the most sensitive chord of its self-respect, and individual members felt themselves called upon to resent the insult. More serious quarrels arose. One day a member of one of the Mobile companies was found shot through both thighs in the vicinity of the camp. As neither he nor any of the parties in the secret ever divulged a word that could give a clue to the cause of the accident, the official inquiries resulted in nothing; but it was evident that a duel had been fought—one of the most serious crimes according to the military code. Nor were the disturbances confined to our own regiment. Men, when in town, whether with or without furloughs, had several times come into collision with members of other corps. Intemperance—always the cause of such disputes—had once or twice resulted in bloodshed. On one occasion a serious riot was imminent between the Alabamians and Virginians in the city, when, fortunately, the major of our regiment rode up to the spot, and without inquiring into the cause, ordered "every member of the 3rd Alabama at once to camp," an order which was instantly obeyed. It is but fair to add that the *esprit de corps* of the regiment never failed to severely condemn the offenders or even the participators in such disturbances. Not quite so decided was our public opinion, however, in a less serious occurrence. A captain of our regiment had knocked down a saucy Norfolk bookseller, for some offensive personal remark. It was thought a very shabby thing of the colonel to do, to order the captain into arrest for his summary resentment of an insult, and even to make him answer before the Mayor for the offence, like any ordinary civil disturber of the peace.

During the period to which I refer, our colonel was appointed a brigadier-general. I presume he must have been deeply impressed with the truth of the old adage about Satan and idle hands, for he suddenly found us so much work to do, that Satan would have been sorely puzzled to find any idle hands among us. Our comfortable camp, whose broad smooth avenues looked like the streets of a well-regulated city, was summarily transferred into a dense pine forest. From sunrise to sunset the men were now busy felling the huge trees. To clear a space large enough for the camp of 1100 men, with ten ample company parade grounds, and one regimental parade sufficient for two battalions to drill at once, was neither small nor easy work. When the trees were felled and burned—branches, leaves, and undergrowth—the "stumps" or roots had to be dug up, hewn into firewood, and the cavities filled with solidly trodden earth. This on Southern plantations is called "grubbing," and is about as severe and back-straining an employment as fashionable young gentlemen ever undertook. Next came digging and draining, more clearing of the forest, and lastly there were guard barracks to be erected, and our newly-acquired carpenters' skill came into play. Lest all these various tasks allotted each day to each company should not sufficiently employ us, the general discovered that he had urgent need of some thousands of fascines for the entrenchments. The spade and shovel have never in the Confederate army been deemed fit implements for the soldiers, except in a case of sudden emergency, and thus our field-works had been thrown up by a gang of several hundred negroes, hired from, or gratuitously furnished by, their owners for this purpose. But fascine-making was, in the general's opinion, quite suitable work for his intelligent and industrious command, and fascines we did make, at the rate of about 100 a day to each company.

Besides this dose of "hard labour" administered to the whole regiment, the general had special remedies for individual cases. A few summary dismissals by Courts Martial—bodies which were singularly deaf to the eloquence of counsel, and stolid to influence of the social position and family—were read from the head of the regiment with very salutary effect. One or two officers were rumoured to have been compelled to send in their resignations to be accepted on the slightest lache on their part. Measures even more severe were reported from

other regiments. A whole company had been deprived of their arms, and placed under arrest, for venturing upon a remonstrance against some order they considered unjust. In another instance the penalty of death was decreed for "sleeping on post," but commuted by the general into the wearing of "the ball and chain." The hand of justice evidently was heavy upon us, and the reins of discipline were drawn tight. Increased guard duty also came. There were details for provost marshal's guard, for brigade headquarter guard, fortification guard, special duty; patrols, which, added to our own regimental guard, required daily nearly one-third of our effective strength.

Strange to say, and yet perhaps naturally enough, with the inauguration of this new *regime* all discontent, if not all grumbling, ceased. There was no more restlessness of inactivity; we were happier, healthier, and we might fairly claim—what was freely accorded to us by staff officers who visited us from time to time—to be the best disciplined, most efficient, and smartest-looking brigade in the service, and a credit to any army, either of the Old or the New World.

CONCLUSION.

Towards the end of June and commencement of July, it was noticed in the regiment with what ease long furloughs to visit home and honourable discharges were obtained. An application for either, if made in due form, was almost always certain to be successful. It is true that every discharge was made contingent upon the condition that a substitute should be furnished; but this condition was in practice a merely nominal one, since a number of applicants were always ready and eager to fill up any vacancy in our ranks. Many of these applicants were constantly waiting in Norfolk, courting popularity in the regiment, and watching their opportunity to enter. Admission into our company was specially sought after. It therefore became optional with any of us to continue in the ranks or to leave them. The matter at first created no little surprise, and gave rise to some severe comments, but in course of time came the explanation, and proved that the policy of the Government was wise and farsighted. New levies on a far larger scale were already then in contemplation. The regiments then in the field were drawn from the flower of the Southern youth. Ours, for instance, was composed almost exclusively of men who in any society might claim the rank of gentlemen. These men had had two or three months' practical experience of active service; they had most of them qualified themselves in the school of obedience for the duties of command. The military ambition aroused in them, seconded by their personal and family influence at home, were valuable auxiliaries to the Government in promptly raising to a reasonable standard of efficiency the 300 new regiments which, a month later, were authorized by Congress.

With scarcely an exception, the young men who obtained long furloughs to visit home profited by them to raise companies of their own, which were afterwards tendered to the Government; in many cases fully equipped, and even armed, at individual expense. Sometimes two or three combined together to raise a company, dividing among themselves the commands, according to the amount of money or the number of recruits which each had contributed. Battalions, and even whole regiments, were thus formed and organized. As a rule, and unless some special grounds for rejection existed, troops thus raised were accepted by the War Department, and those who tendered them received suitable commissions. Recruiting was easy, and every young man of respectable social position, and a moderate degree of popularity in his town or county, found little difficulty in obtaining the complement of men he required. Father or guardian would furnish the means to feed them until the formal acceptance of the command; for the Government, except where special authorization had been given, allowed neither pay nor rations until the whole regiment, fully organized, was mustered into service and its officers were commissioned. Female relatives would assist the aspirant to military honours with blankets for his recruits, stripped from the family bedsteads, and with clothing made by themselves and their servants. At a later period, and where unusually large means were requisite, the ladies would club together to give amateur entertainments—concerts, masks and charades—which never failed to yield large proceeds to be devoted to the necessities of this or that newly-formed or forming regiment. It is not, probably, an exaggerated average to estimate that every man of the first levies, relieved from his enlistment, came back into the service with a company. It was thus that, at comparatively little cost to the Confederate Treasury, the 300,000 men called for after the battle of Manassas (Bull Run) were ready to hand as soon as wanted. By a judicious

policy, bringing into play individual ambitions, and individual wealth and talents, the Government was saved the expense of a system of recruiting, the delay of drilling raw recruits; and it, moreover, accomplished that most difficult of all tasks with a suddenly improvised army—securing a respectable social *status* and military proficiency in the distribution of the subaltern commissions. Comparatively few of the officers in the present Confederate armies, who are not graduates of a military college, received their appointments before they had served some time at least in the ranks.

At first, before we understood the secret motives which prompted the policy of easy discharges, we were little disposed to take advantage of it. Many disdained commissions and claimed that the place of honour was in the ranks. All felt that we had no right to wantonly absolve ourselves from a solemn obligation into which we had voluntarily entered; all dreaded the judgment of public opinion at home. At first one or two in the regiment, who had families dependent upon them, went home, allowing unmarried brothers to take their places. The scramble for commissions, however, did not commence until our general gave us, as it were, the signal. In organizing his staff, he made his selections, with one exception, from the rank and file. Our company supplied him an assistant adjutant-general and two aids-de-camp; the rest of the regiment a brigadier-quartermaster and a number of minor staff *employés*. These sudden promotions spread the taste for military titles. It was not in human nature to see the messmate of to-day, on the morrow gallop into camp on a handsome charger, giving orders, without desiring to follow in the same rapid path of promotion. Three months after the period of which I write our mess of twelve had only three of the original members left; and these could not be tempted by gold lace. The company—still numbering its old effective strength—had furnished to the army one major, five captains of infantry, one of artillery, one of cavalry—in all, forty-three commissioned officers. It is only fair to those who thus exchanged the musket for the sword to say, that youthful ambition, though a strong, was not the strongest, motive for the exchange. The mere garrisoning of a fortified place, without prospect of meeting the foe, had become distasteful to them, and they longed to seek danger and win glory on more exciting fields. All of them found the danger they sought, and most of them have purchased the glory with their lives. Nor were the comrades they left behind destined to spend their lives in inglorious inactivity, or in felling trees, "grubbing" stumps, ditching, and fascine-making. In the battles before Richmond no regiment earned a more enduring fame than the 3rd Alabama Volunteers. They have been repeatedly decimated; they have lost seven-eighths of their effective strength; yet they have never broken, never faltered, never for a moment lost their regimental organization even in the deadliest of the fight.

My notes are now drawing to a close. The full details of the battle at Manassas reached us on the 23rd of July, exactly three months after we had left Mobile for the war. A court-martial was in session at the time at our brigade headquarters. An unfortunate member of a North Carolina regiment was being tried for sleeping on post. The proceedings were suspended, and when the Recorder had read the details of the great victory, the President rose and said, "On this day no Confederate soldier shall be tried for his life. The Judge-Advocate will withdraw the charge. The Court is adjourned." At the same time a civil tribunal was in session at Norfolk to try some soldiers for a broil in the streets. There also the proceedings were suspended, to allow the reading of the news. The State Attorney entered a *nolle prosequi*. The disputants shook hands. Everybody shook hands. The commanders of the corps between which feuds had obtained, made mutual apologies. Alabamians and North Carolinians and Virginians pledged each other to everlasting friendship, and to stand by each other like brothers in defence of the sacred cause. From that day, I believe no silly State feuds or rivalries ever disturbed the friendly goodwill among the Confederates from the wild South-west, from the cities of the Gulf, and from the older States of the Atlantic seaboard.

My military experiences did not end with the date of the battle of Manassas; but from that date I ceased to shoulder the musket as a private in the ranks. The object of these rude sketches has been to throw some light upon the formation of our first armies. With the period at which these sketches end, begins a new system of military organization on a far larger, but less interesting scale. The efficiency of that system requires no illustration from my pen; it is illumined by the lurid glare of many a well-fought battle in the East, in the West, in the North, and in the South, of the new-born Confederate Republic.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our friends in the United Kingdom and on the Continent are earnestly requested to forward to us, at their earliest convenience, such information relative to the military movements and condition of affairs in America as they may receive through private letters, either from the United States, or from the Confederate States. They may rely upon the most scrupulous precautions being observed; that no names or facts leading to identification will, under any circumstances, be revealed. No communications, however, will be noticed unless authenticated by a responsible name. Southern newspapers, of any rate, will be useful and acceptable presents.

For the convenience of our distant subscribers, all the receipts for subscriptions signed by any of the official representatives, or commissioned officers of the Confederate States, will be recognized at this office.

Our subscribers in the South will have their paper supplied through Messrs. Horzner, Esq., the Confederate States' Commercial Agent at London, who has kindly tendered us his services in this respect during the continuance of the blockade.

Subscription, 26s. per annum—post paid, 30s., payable in advance. Advertisements to be forwarded to the publisher at 102, Fleet-street.

THE INDEX.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1862.

The Want of a Policy.

It is no news to political observers that the Ministry is divided on the American question; that, as Mr. Lindsay justly remarks, the opposition to the recognition of the South is the act, not of the unanimous British Cabinet, but only of a section of the Cabinet. We have shown before now that England alone stood in the way of a European acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederate States; it is now sufficiently evident that not England, nor even the Government of England, but only the Foreign Secretary, and a few of his colleagues, constitute the obstacle to a just, wise, and really pacific policy. It would not, perhaps, be difficult to name the members of the Cabinet on whose support Lord Russell relies; but it would be useless to do so. Two Ministers only have publicly expressed their opinions on the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared his sympathy with the South; affirmed that her leaders "had made an army, are beginning to make a navy, and, what is more, have made a nation;" and implied, though he did not actually assert, that the time had fully come when that nation ought to be recognized. To counteract the effect of this speech, the Secretary for War delivered himself, a few days later, of one of the most remarkable arguments that ever fell from the lips of a distinguished statesman. Sir G. C. Lewis is an able man; perhaps one of the ablest men in the House. He is not a good speaker—indeed, there is scarcely any distinguished politician whose oratorical powers are so defective, and whose delivery is so signally awkward; but he has the reputation of a first-rate administrator, a man of original thought, and a philosophical statesman of the highest class. From such a man, on such a question, something distinct and sensible, at the least, might have been expected. If we could not agree with him, we should have supposed that his reasonings would be cogent and his conclusions clear. But, on the contrary, his language was more confused than usual, and his argument, so far as it was intelligible, was at variance with law, with fact, and with common sense. The speech resembled nothing so much as those which he was wont, when Home Secretary, to deliver on Wednesday afternoons, to the edification of the House, and the no small amusement of the newspapers. In those speeches it was always evident that, whatever might be his reasons for supporting the measures of his Radical and Dissenting allies, they were not the reasons which he alleged; that the conclusion at which he arrived had been predetermined before he began to cast about for something to say in its behalf. In a word, he was always put up to vindicate something which his colleagues were resolved to do, but ashamed to defend.

There can be little doubt that he was in the same position at Chertsey. The Cabinet had determined not to recognize the South; and Mr. Gladstone had made it necessary that some one should say so in their name. But as their reasons for that determination were such as would not bear the light of day—being altogether of a party, personal, and Parliamentary nature—it was necessary that their spokesman should be a man who was not above talking nonsense for the good of his country, and who would not mind putting forth utterly untenable arguments

in defence of a foregone conclusion. Sir G. C. Lewis undertook to immolate his reputation for his party's sake; and he went manfully through the task assigned him. We ought not, he said, to recognize the Confederate States while the war was yet undecided. We had done no wrong in admitting their belligerent character, which no reasonable man could deny; but until the North was exhausted by the war, or consented to separation, we should commit a breach of international law by recognizing them as an independent nation. According to this doctrine, it rests entirely with the ousted Government to determine when a new Power shall be admitted to rank with its equals; for the exhaustion by aggressive war of a nation which uses its military resources with any degree of prudence requires many years—nay, decades—for its accomplishment; and if we are to accept the assertion of the Secretary for War, so long as the dispossessed Power can and will maintain the war against the disseizer, no foreign Government has a right to recognize the latter. We committed, therefore, a breach of international law in acknowledging Greece, the Spanish colonies in America, Belgium, and Italy; for neither Turkey, Spain, nor Holland were in any sense exhausted by the war with their revolted subjects, and of Italy a large part is still held in secure possession by Governments ousted of a portion of their dominions. France committed a similar wrong in recognizing the United States, and these in recognizing Mexico and offering to recognize Hungary. In a word, every existing precedent on the subject is pronounced by Sir G. C. Lewis a violation of the law of nations. But that law is made up of precedents; and therefore the assertion of the Secretary of State resolves itself into a simple and absolute absurdity. The fact is, that we have a right to recognize any *de facto* Government whenever we please; and that we are bound by custom to recognize it when it has proved beyond doubt its ability to maintain its independence. That so able and well-informed a statesman should have committed himself in this extraordinary manner sufficiently shows the extreme difficulty which is felt by him and his colleagues in defending a position which as yet they cannot, as a Cabinet, resolve to abandon.

But that speech of the War Minister, irrational and illogical as it is, is strictly in accord with the policy which the British Government has pursued throughout. In no case—except when the outrage on the Trent roused all England to fury—has it acted with vigour or consistency. In the House of Commons their American policy has been defended not by themselves, but by their allies below the gangway; and the only tolerable speeches made on the Ministerial side came from Mr. Foster, the Radical member for Bradford. Most of the Ministers remained obstinately silent; those who did speak gave their friends reason to wish that they also had observed a prudent reticence. Lord Russell has made himself the laughing-stock of Europe and of America. In spite of Lord Palmerston's warning that a statesman should never venture on predictions till after the event; in spite of the equally prudent advice of Mr. Hosea Biglow, whose warm Northern feelings must ensure him Lord Russell's admiration—

"Don't never prophecy unless you know!"—

he ventured to endorse Mr. Lincoln's "bills at ninety days," and to predict a termination of the war within three months after the opening of the spring campaign. He did a good deal of mischief in the cotton market by this utterly unfounded vaticination; as he has done more important mischief by his practical measures. His despatches have been models of forcible weakness and energetic imbecility. To read the first of his missives on any subject is to be impressed with a conviction of his earnest and somewhat too peremptory vigour; but when the series is complete, the question settled, and the result summed up, it plainly appears that nothing whatever has been done, and that the Minister of England has submitted to be snubbed, insulted, and defied as the Minister of Holland or Portugal might have been. He has allowed British subjects to be robbed, arrested, imprisoned, forced to take the oath of alle-

giance to an alien Government before they could obtain their liberation; and he has exacted no indemnity, and no security against similar outrages for the future. He has allowed British ships to be seized in British waters, to be fired upon while obviously pursuing an innocent voyage from one neutral port to another; and he has uttered no protest. The shipowners complained; and he complacently told them that as the American cruisers were resolved to interrupt their trade with Nassau, they had better give it up—that trade being as lawful as the trade between Liverpool and Dublin, and the United States' cruisers having no more right to blockade Nassau than to blockade Southampton. Not one manly act, not one effectual protest against outrageous wrongs, not one efficient measure for the protection of British subjects, with the single exception above-named, has emanated from the Foreign Office during the whole period of the American War.

What is worse, it has been made clear to all the world that the English Government has no policy whatever; that in reference to the greatest question of foreign policy that has arisen for the last half-century it does not know its own mind; that while our people are starving, our commerce interrupted, our industry paralyzed, our Ministry have no plan, no idea, no intention to do anything but fold their hands, talk of strict neutrality, spare the excited feelings of the North, and wait, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up. Neutrality, in the sense in which the word is employed by ministerial apologists, is not a policy; it is the negation of all policy, the proclamation of helpless perplexity and imbecile irresolution. To remain strictly neutral in the contest, jealously guarding her own rights and interests—watchful to prevent any invasion of the privileges of neutral nations, of which in such a war she is the natural guardian—waiting to recognize the new nation that was undergoing its baptism of fire until its independence should be asserted beyond doubt by its own good sword—this would have been a course worthy of the wisdom, the honour, the dignity of Great Britain; worthy of a Cabinet comprising, with few exceptions, all the ablest and most experienced of her statesmen. To proclaim neutrality, and so to interpret it as to give every advantage to the stronger party and the aggressor in the war—to allow herself to be bullied into concessions still more advantageous to that party—to permit her subjects to be wronged and her flag to be insulted, her ports to be blockaded and her ships plundered with impunity—to abandon the championship of neutral rights, and see Consulates robbed, and neutral waters invaded, without a protest—to put off the recognition of the South until it shall please the North to give leave for recognition; such is the course actually pursued—a course derogatory to the honour of the country, and disgraceful to the Ministry which has adopted it. It is plain that the Government have been deficient alike in the capacity to comprehend the magnitude of the question before them, and in the courage to deal with it vigorously and consistently. Lord Russell is full of Northern prejudices, and subject to Northern influences; he is, moreover, impressed with a superstitious fear of quarrelling with the North; and he has been allowed to control the course of the English Government in the interest of the North. What he has accomplished the world can see. He has not conciliated the Northern people; he is liable to constant and increasing insolence from their Government and its representatives; he has not prevented the development of Southern resources, and the achievement of Southern independence, but he has prevented the recognition of that independence by the European Powers; he has rendered himself an accomplice in the ruin of the cotton manufacture, and the starvation of half a million of his countrymen, and he has materially weakened the influence of England in the councils of the world. Is it not true that the Ministry should resolve to change their course? A policy of inactive neutrality will not much longer be possible. Mr. Lincoln has thought fit to declare a war to the knife. He has challenged the South to choose between victory and desolation, and the

South has accepted the challenge. The issue cannot be doubtful; but the struggle may be a long one, and while it lasts there can be no relief for the misery of Lancashire; no revival of the most profitable branch of English trade. Will England remain passive under such an infliction? Will her Government still refuse to understand the prospect before them; still fold their arms, and expect from Heaven the relief which they decline to achieve for themselves? Will they hold aloof when Europe, exasperated by suffering and disgusted by the savage character which the war is about to assume, refuses any longer to await the pleasure of England, and resolves, with her or without her, to assert the rights of neutrals, and vindicate the jurisdiction of the civilized world over a quarrel which involves the interests of all nations, and which is becoming as much a scandal as a scourge to humanity at large? In one word, will England abdicate her place among the great Powers? For such an abdication, and nothing less, is involved in the longer perseverance of her Government in its present abstinence from everything like a policy on the American question.

Northam Duplicity before the War.

POSTERITY will not decide upon the lawfulness of secession by accepting, without a searching investigation, the assertions and arguments used by people engaged in a bitter and deadly conflict. A reference will be made to the Constitution and history of the United States, and upon the terms of the Federal compact will mainly depend the verdict. If in the Constitution secession had been prohibited, it would not have been less necessary or less inevitable, but it would then have been rebellion, and legally justified the attempt of the North to subdue it by force. But since secession is not prohibited, since no provision is made for such a contingency, it is not, according to the letter of the Constitution, rebellion; and since the sovereignty of the States is strictly conserved, and the powers and functions of the Federal Government strictly defined, secession, so far from being rebellion, is a constitutional act. This becomes clearer from time to time, as we find Mr. Lincoln cannot move in the matter of suppressing the so-called rebellion without violating the Constitution of the United States. If, instead of entering on this unholy war of subjugation, the peaceful overtures of the South had been frankly accepted, neither the Constitution nor the prosperity of America would have been impaired. We do not in any degree assent to the proposition of those who say, in that event long ere this the South would have been clamouring for readmission to the Union; because secession was not the result of a political intrigue, but of the operation of a natural law, which induces the political severance of communities that are distinct in character and interests. But the peaceful dissolution of the political bond would in all probability have done away with the growing enmity between the two sections, and such being the case, the States comprising the two confederacies might have formed a firmer league of friendship for their common defence than they had done since the time of Washington. Under such circumstances, the United States would not have lost its prestige; but, unfortunately for a pacific solution of the difficulty, there was the personal ambition of Mr. Lincoln and his friends, and the desire of the North to maintain such a hold over the South as would enable her to continue to reap what she had not sown, and to wax rich on the produce of Southern industry. The progress of the war has altered the feelings and motives of the Northern people. Vengeful hatred, and the desperate hope of escaping from impending national ruin, are the motives which impel the continuance of the war. Until this moment the South has not changed her programme. From first to last she has fought to be let alone. Perhaps the North may succeed in forcing the Confederate States to engage in another and direful kind of conflict; but this record will stand for ever—that after eighteen months of war, during which the South suffered terribly from an unprovoked inva-

sion, in the moment of victory she offered peace, and she did not ask for one yard of Northern territory, but only that the North should let her alone. The next campaign may inaugurate a war of extermination, and if so, the change in hostilities must be charged to the North.

Northern aggression, and not Southern secession, violated the Constitution, and if any doubt existed as to the proper construction of the text of that instrument, it is solved by the judgment so often passed upon it by those who were parties to the compact. Before 1860 the right of secession was pretty generally admitted, and those who most opposed it never ventured to assert that any act of a convention of the people of a sovereign State would be rebellion. Those who thought secession would be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution never hinted that a sovereign State was to be kept in the Union by force of arms. Secession was not a novel idea in 1860; it had often been heard in the Federal Congress; it had been frequently discussed in the Federal press. During the canvass for the Presidential election in 1860, the Southern journals warned the North from day to day, and from week to week, that if a section attempted to force a President upon the whole Union, a President who was committed to a policy inimical to the rights of the South, the Southern States would secede. What was the reply of the North? That secession would be rebellion? Not at all. The Democrats protested there would be no need for such a measure; the Republican party boasted that the Union would get on better without the South, and the Abolitionists advocated disunion with fanatical zeal. The general rejoinder of the North was a taunt and a sneer. "You say you will go out of the Union, we only wish there was a chance of your so doing." The Hon. C. Morehead, ex-Governor of Kentucky, in the course of his speech at Liverpool on the 9th inst., which has been printed as a pamphlet, and to which we shall again revert, recalled an incident that in a remarkable manner illustrates the truth of our observation that secession was not called rebellion until after 1860, because the affair concerns two prominent members of the Lincoln Cabinet. On February 1, 1850, Mr. John P. Hale, an Abolitionist, presented to the Senate of the United States eight petitions in favour of the peaceable dissolution of the Union, and on the 7th of the same month he offered a resolution—"That the Federal Constitution in giving its support to slavery violates the Divine law, and makes war upon human rights, and is inconsistent with republican principles; that the attempt to unite slavery and freedom in one body politic has already brought on the country great and manifold evils, and has fully proved that no such Union can exist but by the sacrifice of freedom to slavery. They therefore respectfully ask Congress to propose without delay some plan for the immediate and peaceful dissolution of the American Union." We need hardly observe that Congress had no power under the Constitution to devise a plan for the dissolution of the Union; that its functions were limited to administering the affairs of the Federation according to the directions and authority delegated to it by the States. The States could secede, but Congress could not plan a secession. Besides the general repugnance to breaking up the Union—a repugnance that was felt more acutely at the South than at the North—the unconstitutional nature of the resolution insured its rejection by an overwhelming majority. There were three ayes and fifty-one noes. Who constituted the trio so anxious to dissolve the Union that they were ready to sacrifice the Constitution to effect the object? Of course the promoter of the resolution was one of its supporters. But who were the other two senators who voted for this unconstitutional dissolution of the Union? Surely, the uninitiated reader may think, they must be men who are now fighting on the side of the South. Not so. They were Northern senators—they were Mr. Seward, present Federal Secretary of State, and Mr. Chase, present Federal Secretary of the Treasury—prominent and leading members of the Government which has declared secession to be rebellion, and having failed to crush

such rebellion in the field, has, in order if possible to effect it, not hesitated to decree a servile war in the South. We need not multiply proofs that secession was regarded by all sections of the late Union as a possible, and, in most quarters, as a constitutional, proceeding. By no class was it regarded as an act of rebellion, and no politician ever advocated the subjugation and conquest of a seceding State. That Messrs. Seward and Chase voted in the Senate of the United States for the dissolution of the Union is sufficient evidence of how little secession was esteemed rebellion, until it suited the ambitious designs of these men and their colleagues to induce the nation they represent to so declare it. Indeed, secession was not regarded by the North as a very great evil until the Lincoln party had exercised some influence on public opinion. When the Border States asked for guarantees to be given to the South to prevent secession, the representatives of the North repudiated the idea, and expressed their willingness to see the Union broken up into a thousand fragments, rather than give a single guarantee.

In another phase of the secession question there has been such unanimity that we need not discuss it. Leading politicians of all shades of opinion have at different times protested against the Union being maintained by force. Mr. Morehead quoted from a speech of Mr. Seward, delivered in 1848, in which the Federal Secretary of State said, "The Union could only be preserved by consent; that it was preposterous to think of maintaining it in any other way." But we can find higher authorities than the Lincolmites. Daniel S. Dickinson, once United States' senator, and now Attorney-General for the State of New York, has said, "The Union is not to be maintained, by force." Chancellor Walworth, of New York, declared, "It would be as brutal to send men to butcher their brothers of the Southern States as it would be to massacre them in the Northern States." John Quincy Adams, an ex-President, said, "If the day shall come—may Heaven avert it—when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other, when this fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, then the bonds of political association will not hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship from each other than to be held together by restraint." The Democratic State Convention which met at Albany in March, 1861, declared, "Civil war will not restore the Union, but will defeat for ever its reconstruction." A letter written by Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, which was published in the *Boston Courier*, on February 2, 1861, says, "To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous. The idea of civil war, accompanied as it would be by servile insurrection, is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If our sister States wish to leave us, in the name of Heaven let them go in peace."

Nor is this all. When secession was accomplished the seceding States were for months unmolested. Nay, the Government of the Confederate States was constituted and administered without an official protest on the part of the North, or even without any intimation from the Northern press and Northern politicians that secession was to be treated as rebellion. Was not such inaction an emphatic, though tacit, endorsement of secession? Is there an instance in history of overt and avowed rebellion being allowed to exist for months without steps being taken to suppress it? There was not a hint of coercion, and the Confederate States, relying on this, and the constitutional character of their proceedings, made no preparations for defence. When the Lincoln Government came into power, the same policy was pursued, a policy of unparalleled duplicity. In our issue of the 5th of June, No. 6 of THE INDEX, we published the Message President Davis addressed to Congress on April 29, 1861. In that—one of the most lucid, exhaustive, and eloquent State papers ever issued—is an account of how the

Southern Commissioners were played with; how Mr. Judge Campbell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, was, by the false dealing of the Lincoln Cabinet, made the instrument of lulling the suspicions of the Commissioners, while preparations were in active progress for the invasion of the South. That Message of President Davis, and the documents in connection with it, submitted to Congress on May 8, 1861, are alone amply sufficient to vindicate the South from any charge of beginning the war, and prove incontestibly the deceit, the fraud, and the ambitious designs of the North. In our comments on the documents, published in the same number of *THE INDEX*, under the title of "Who Commenced the War?" we observed:—

It will be seen that one of the first acts of the Confederate Government was to open with the incoming Administration of Mr. Lincoln those negotiations in which South Carolina had so signally failed with the Administration of Mr. Buchanan. In the very selection of its Commissioners it proved its earnest desire for a peaceful settlement. Of the three, each represented one of the old parties which, in by-gone times, had contended for predominance in the common Government. We have President Davis' official announcement to the Confederate Congress, that their instructions were to make every honourable concession for the sake of peace. Now, let the reader peruse for himself how these Commissioners, and through them, the Confederate Government, were lured into a false security by assurances as false as Judas' kiss; how a Justice of the Supreme Court—the most honoured office in the United States—was made the unconscious instrument of perpetrating this fraud; how a solemn promise was made, and kept like that of the witches of Macbeth; how a hostile fleet was secretly equipped, and its purpose only revealed several days after it had sailed, and when, in the ordinary course of navigation, it might be expected to reach the doomed city, warned to late; how it was the finger of God, by a tempest, that alone defeated the bloody scheme so nefariously concocted. We are strangely mistaken if any man to whom public faith is more than an empty word, and who believes nations, like individuals, to be amenable to the laws of honour, can read this history without repeating, with the Confederate President, "The crooked path of diplomacy can scarcely furnish an example so wanting in courtesy, in candour, and in directness, as was the course of the United States' Government toward our Commissioners in Washington."

We repeat, the Message of April 29, and the Message of May 8, and the accompanying documents, decide the question of Northern duplicity. Yet it is not out of place to notice the further and graphic accounts given by Mr. Morehead of the dishonest and double dealing of the Lincolmites. On one occasion Mr. Seward, in conversation with Mr. Morehead, "pledged his sacred honour that there should be no collision between the North and the South," and he added, "Nay, Governor Morehead, let me once hold the reins of power firmly in my hands, and if I don't settle this matter to the entire satisfaction of the South in sixty days, I will give you my head for a football."

Shortly after this Mr. Morehead, accompanied by Mr. W. C. Reeves, formerly United States' Minister to France, Judge Summers, from Virginia, General Donovan, from Missouri, and Mr. Guthrie, who had been Secretary of the Treasury in Mr. Pierce's Administration, had an interview with Mr. Lincoln. The conversation lasted several hours, and Mr. Morehead, as soon after as he could, wrote down the substance of it. Mr. Lincoln began by saying that he was accidentally elected President of the United States, and that he was surprised at the enmity of the South; for his speeches were not opposed to Southern institutions, except the one in which he had observed they must be all free or all slave States, and that, he said, "was an abstract opinion, and never intended to be made the basis of his political action." The sooner United States' politicians make their abstract opinions the basis of their political conduct the better it will be for the country. Mr. Lincoln said he was willing to give a constitutional guarantee that slavery should not directly or indirectly be molested in the States, or in the district of Columbia; and, further, that slavery should not be interfered with in the docks, arsenals, forts, and other places within the slaveholding States; "but as for slavery in the Territories, that his whole life was dedicated in opposition to its extension there. He was elected by a party which had made that a portion of its platform; and he should con-

sider that he was betraying that party if he ever agreed, under such a state of the case, to allow slavery to be extended in the Territories." This was merely fencing the question that the deputation had waited on him to discuss, and General Donovan put an end to it by suggesting the three courses Mr. Lincoln might adopt in reference to secession:—1st, he might pursue a policy of noninterference; 2nd, he might give the guarantees demanded, and bring the whole power of his Administration to bear in obtaining them; or, 3rd, he might resort to coercion. We will let Mr. Morehead tell in his own words how Mr. Lincoln treated these suggestions:—

When the conversation had slackened a little, I ventured to appeal to him, in a manner in which I never appealed to any other man, and never expect to do again. I said that as to the last proposition I desired to say one word—that I trusted and prayed to God that he would not resort to coercion; that if he did, the history of his Administration would be written in blood, and all the waters of the Atlantic Ocean could never wash it from his hands. He asked me what I would do, and if I meant by coercion the collecting of the revenue and the taking back of the forts which he said belonged to the United States. I replied that that was the only mode in which it was possible that he could, under the Constitution, resort to coercion—by an attempt to collect the revenue and to take back the forts. He had placed himself in a chair with rounds to it, with his feet upon the highest round—a long, lanky man, with very large side whiskers, with his elbows upon his knees, and his hands upon the sides of his face, in an attitude of listening, and when he would speak he would drop his hands, and raise his head. Dropping his hands and raising his head, he said he would tell me a little anecdote which had happened when he first came to the bar. An old man, he said, had applied to him to bring a suit, and made out a capital case, as he thought; but when the evidence was detailed before the jury it was the worst case that he had ever listened to, and whilst the evidence was going on the old man came listening to the evidence himself, and whispered in his ear "Guv it up." (Laughter.) "Now," said he, "Governor, wouldn't this be 'guvin' it up?'" I assure you, Mr. Chairman, I don't present it in any light different from that in which it actually occurred—none whatever. I said to him, "Mr. President, it may be said that it would be 'guvin' it up,' but hadn't you better 'guv it up' without bloodshed, than drench this land with blood, and then have to 'guv it up?'"

Mr. Lincoln then referred to his oath of office, and indulged in another anecdote, this time a version of one of "Æsop's Fables." The deputation felt irritated by such unseemly, we must add vulgar, trifling with the solemn issue under consideration. Mr. Reeves addressed him seriously, and told him that if coercion were employed, Virginia would secede, and added, "Nay, sir, old as I am, and deeply as I have loved this Union, in that event I would go with all my heart and soul."

Mr. Lincoln jumped up from his chair, as Mr. Reeves was standing, advanced one step towards him, and said, "Mr. Reeves! Mr. Reeves! if Virginia will stay in, I will withdraw the troops from Fort Sumpter." Mr. Reeves stepped back and said, "Mr. President, I have no authority to speak for Virginia. I am one of the humblest of her sons; but if you do that it will be one of the wisest things you have ever done. Do that, and give us guarantees, and I can only promise you that whatever influence I possess shall be exerted to promote the Union and to restore it to what it was."

The interview then terminated. Mr. Lincoln, so far from avowing his real intentions, impressed Mr. Morehead and his friends with the idea that he did not contemplate coercion, though he was then, it is now known, engaged in preparing for war. Surely the nickname of "Honest Abe" is a biting sarcasm; for hereafter, when the history of the dissolution is written, Mr. Lincoln will be represented as one of the most deceitful, as well as one of the weakest, statesmen of his age. This corrupt and tortuous policy of the North in its treatment of the South—which is in its way as infamous as the wicked war of aggression of which it was the prelude, though not so execrable and hideous as the officially sanctioned outrages on humanity of such men as Butler and Turchin, or as the unparalleled atrocity of the attempt to exterminate the people of the South by a servile war—more than justifies the Southerners in their fierce and unalterable determination to accept death and desolation rather than the shame and inevitable ruin involved in submission to the North.

The Prussian Crisis.

ALMOST any form of Government will answer in prosperous times, but when difficulties arise, Con-

stitutionalism, Republicanism, Imperialism, and all other political isms, are put on their trial, and if they escape shipwreck they are nearly sure to incur the damage that results from a temporary deadlock. The remarkable feature of the breakdown in Prussia is, that the Constitution has come to grief when the course seemed particularly smooth, and the race might have been won by quietly walking over the ground. The waves are unruffled, there is no indication of a storm, yet the ship founders. We are not denying that the effect must have had a sufficient cause; we merely contend the cause is not very apparent, and that it would not have produced so much effect in any other country as it has done in Prussia. King William is not inclined to give up a tittle of what he esteems his Royal prerogatives, and which are in remarkable contradiction to the position of a constitutional monarch. By accident, if not by deep design, the question at issue—we are referring now to the affair of the Budget—is one that for the people involves the whole of their constitutional liberty; for if the popular representatives cease to control the purse strings, constitutional liberty is at an end; and so long as the people have a direct control over Government expenditure despotism is impossible. On the other hand, no subject could have been broached that more nearly touches a King of Prussia. If the King could have given way on any and every other question of expenditure, he could not, without belying the traditions of his dynasty, and weakening what he has been taught to believe the foundation of his authority, have made the slightest concession in regard to army expenditure. If Prussian Constitutionalism can pass through this ordeal unscathed, its strength, vitality, and endurance will be unquestionable—if King William succeeds in his present measure, he will be as absolute as any sovereign in the world. The probability is that there will be a compromise. The German people are too much imbued with the military spirit to insist very strongly upon a Royal Commander-in-Chief being in the matter of military expenditure a mere servant of constitutional forms; and the King knows too well the popular nature of the army to goad his people to resistance, by insisting on a proceeding that is unmistakably despotic. We should rather have said that a compromise is possible rather than probable. At present, neither party seems willing to make the slightest concession. No statesman can feel easy whilst a dispute exists between the Executive and the Legislature, which in Prussia represents the most influential classes. Those who sow discord are never sure of the kind of harvest they may reap. In a vast majority of instances, revolutionists never realize their expectations, and if they could have foreseen the results of agitation, would have cheerfully borne the evils, real or imaginary, which they sought to remedy by violent changes. Possibly the contest provoked by the Liberal opposition to the Government Budget may lead to the practical abnegation of the parliamentary system. Possibly the King's attempt to make the House of Representatives, so far as military expenditure is concerned, a mere court of registration, may be the means of defining and curtailing the Royal authority. It is a problem which can only be solved by the march of events.

That the King's act is unconstitutional, is undeniable; and we must do His Majesty the justice to note that he does not make any effort to conceal from his subjects the design and character of the bold game he is playing. The point in dispute will be readily appreciated by Englishmen. According to the Prussian Constitution, the Chamber of Lords has a veto on the monetary resolutions of the Chamber of Deputies, but it has no power to alter or modify such resolutions; it can only reject or accept them. The way in which the Chamber of Lords exceeded its constitutional functions is so well expressed in the resolution proposed to the Chamber of Deputies by M. de Forckenbeck, on behalf of the Committee of the Budget, that we cannot give a clearer view of the case than by quoting it:—

The resolution voted by the Chamber of Lords to its sitting of October 11, relative to the Budget of 1862, violates the sense

and the letter of Article 62 of the Constitution, in so much as not confining itself to adopt or reject the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies of October 3, which was alone submitted to it, after the rejection of that resolution, and adopted the Budget project of the Government, which did not come under its powers at all; that consequently that resolution is null and without value, and the Royal Government cannot derive any right therefrom.

Upon this resolution being submitted, eight members protested and left the assembly, and it was adopted without discussion by the 237 members who remained. This evidences a remarkable unanimity, which could never have been brought about but for the palpable unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the Chamber of Lords. The King, undaunted by such a general protest—and be it observed, the feeling of the Chamber was well known before the above resolution was voted—caused the session of the Diet to be closed in the afternoon of the same day.

From a comparison of the dates, it would seem that the dismissal was intended to take place before the Chamber of Deputies could pass any resolution on the decision of the Upper Chamber—an intention which was frustrated by the precipitate action of the deputies. The unanimous endorsement of the Budget Committee's blunt resolution cannot fail to strengthen and encourage the Liberal party.

The Message was as outspoken as the resolution. It is avowed that "His Majesty is under the necessity of wielding the public affairs outside the conditions prescribed by the Constitution." A plainer declaration could not have been framed. The King, finding the two Chambers cannot agree, thinks it incumbent on him, on behalf of the public service, to set aside the Constitution, or, at all events, temporarily suspend its operation—thus assuming a function equivalent to that of a State Convention in America, yet with an important difference. A Convention is a perfectly constitutional authority; whereas the act of the King of Prussia is unconstitutional. But the candid tone of the Message renders it unnecessary to discuss its illegality.

In order that there might not be any misconception as to the Royal policy, it is stated, "The Government of His Majesty the King could not rally to the resolutions of the Chamber of Representatives," thus approving the proceedings of the Chamber of Lords, and more than hinting that the King, through his Ministers, reserves to himself the right to reject the financial measures of the Chamber of Representatives. The reason assigned is somewhat curious. The Government "would render itself culpable of a serious forgetfulness of its duties if, conformably to the resolution of the Chamber, at the price of abandoning the considerable sacrifices it has already made, and to the detriment of the power of Prussia, it were to retract the reform of the Constitution of the army, accomplished in conformity with former votes of the national representation." Are we to infer that, in the opinion of the King, the enactments of the Chamber of Representatives, once sanctioned by the Sovereign, are, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable, and that the deputies have not the power to repeal their own or their predecessors' acts? Such a doctrine is untenable, but not quite novel. A section of American politicians have enunciated the principle in regard to secession, by saying sovereign States have a right to enter a Union but not to retire from it. But the doctrine is evidently fallacious, for it is obvious that the power to make must include the power to unmake. This applies to individuals as well as to legislatures; hence in all compacts there is a stipulation for a forfeit in the event of nonfulfilment.

The message is emphatic, but the speech made by King William, in reply to an address from various deputations, is positively defiant. The King seems bent on crushing opposition by a daring avowal of his intention not to regard the Constitution when it interferes with his sovereign will. He makes a merit of consenting "to the suppression of additional imposts" thus asserting that the financial measures of the Chamber of Representatives are subject to his gracious condescension. The Chamber ought to feel grateful when the King thinks proper to endorse its acts. "Did I receive gratitude in return? On the contrary, the Chamber of Deputies

has issued an address which contains anything but thanks."

Yet this is the mildest part of His Majesty's speech. It appears as if he desired to goad his subjects to do their worst. The 237 deputies are flatly charged with disloyalty and insidious designs. "The reform of the army is not the real object of attack, it is elsewhere. Views formerly concealed have dropped the mask, at least in part." He wishes to preserve the Constitution intact, but immediately adds, "It is my indispensable mission, and my firm will also, to maintain intact the crown inherited from my ancestors, and its constitutional rights;" and further on, "I am firmly resolved not to sacrifice anything more of my hereditary rights;" and he reminds his auditors that the motto of Prussia is "with God, for the King and the country." No sovereign, either constitutional or despotic, ever addressed a bolder defiance to his subjects. To carry out such a policy he needs a well-organized army, and not a self-styled national army, which ought, as a Prussian has not blushed to say, to "stand behind the Parliament." He thus insults the national forces of Prussia, and looks for an army that will fight for the King, and not for the Constitution. If the Royal policy of defiance succeeds, we must conclude that the Prussian people are not fit for constitutional government.

Troubles never come singly. The delegates of the South German States assembled at Munich have protested against the Prusso-French Treaty as inadmissible and detrimental to the interests of trade. Prussia is a member of the Zollverein, and yet enters into this treaty as though commercially independent. If the South German States are as firm as the House of Representatives, either the Zollverein must be dissolved or the treaty must be revised. King William has overrated his influence in supposing the Bund would submit to his dictation; and he cannot checkmate his federal colleagues by a *coup d'état*. It would have been but common prudence to have obtained the assent of the States to the treaty before it was signed; as it is, there seems to be a strong desire to resent the high-handed slight. The delegates at Munich have declared in favour of a customs union with Austria by a majority of 138 to 57. Unless Prussia recedes from the position she has assumed, it is not improbable that the present Zollverein may be dissolved, and a union formed between the South German States and Austria. Such a result would benefit Austria, but it would be distasteful to Prussia. King William, who so lately ascended the throne with the fairest prospects of being popular with his own subjects, and influential with the German Bund, has managed very effectually to displease the one and the other. When he informed his people that he reigned by the Grace of God, in a way that inferred his Divine right to the kingship, he was honest as well as explicit. So far as the Constitution did not infringe on his notions of Royal prerogative, he would observe it faithfully, but his Royal prerogative was a higher and better thing than the Constitution, which must give place to it. King William, like his predecessors, is a martinet, and like them, looks to the army as the bulwark of the throne. This is not surprising, seeing that the kingdom of Prussia owes its existence to military prowess; but the army would be an insecure support against a popular uprising; since it is not only recruited from, but intimately attached to, the people. The Prussian military system in an especial manner fosters the civil feeling and sentiment of the soldier, and it will be difficult to raise an anti-national army. We do not suppose the King intended to rule the German States imperiously; but that making the French Treaty on his own responsibility was a blunder he must deplore.

King William is trying to extricate himself from difficulty by fostering the cry of nationality, and pointing to the Danish Duchies. This is likely to please his subjects, who are fanatics on the point of "Fatherland" being co-extensive with the German language—they may possibly lay claim some day to portions of the Western States of America—and who, under such excitement, will, if they are very blind indeed, forget their constitutional wrongs. A war

with Denmark would be highly popular with the Prussian army, as the most bitter hostility exists between Germans and Danes. The members of the German Diet would be heartily glad to detach the Duchies from Denmark. Accordingly, propositions have been made to Denmark which it was well known Denmark could not accept, and which it is hardly consistent with the self-respect of Denmark to do more than refuse by a simple but decided negative. It is impossible to doubt that the proposition was so framed as to ensure its rejection. Meantime our Foreign Secretary, who has been in Germany, in the midst of Schleswig-Holstein exiles—it was arranged that an exiled Holstein clergyman should preach before Queen Victoria—has advised Denmark that he thinks unfavourably of her claims upon the Duchies, and counsels her to cancel the common Constitution for the kingdom of Denmark and Schleswig. This is remarkable, for whatever diversity of opinion there may be about Holstein, there is no question that Germany has no right to interfere in Schleswig; and his lordship knows this, for on January 31, 1861, he wrote to our representative, Mr. John Ward:—"The German Diet has no jurisdiction in Schleswig, and no right to interfere with her administration;" and on February 23, 1861, he observes, in a despatch to Lord Cowley, "Schleswig is a Danish Duchy, and although it is at once for the honour and for the interest of Denmark that Schleswig should be treated in an equitable manner, the King of Denmark cannot, without compromising the interests of his country, enter into negotiations with Germany on the conditions which His Majesty may be pleased to make with that Duchy." We will not seek to fathom his lordship's motive in thus eating his own words and tendering such unfriendly advice to a friendly Power, and which, we need hardly add, has been "positively declined," and which, without much impropriety, might have been "scornfully rejected." His lordship fears an outbreak in Europe, and thinks to avert it by sacrificing Denmark. Such a compromise with right might postpone complications for a time, to make them worse some little while hence. It is not likely either Prussia or Denmark will rely on the moral support, or be guided by the counsel, of our present Foreign Secretary, who seems to think his duty consists in giving advice gratis to those who neither need it nor heed it, and always to render his advice palatable to the stronger Power.

The Louisiana Purchase.

No portion of the late American Union has undergone such a variety of political changes as the territory of Louisiana. A slight sketch of its history may not, therefore, be uninteresting at the present time.

Ferdinand de Soto, who had distinguished and enriched himself in the conquest of Peru, was appointed by Charles the Fifth of Spain, to the office of Governor of Cuba, and obtained a grant for Florida, where he hoped to find and plunder populous and wealthy nations. With an expedition he sailed from Havannah in May, 1539, landing at Tampa Bay, whence he penetrated into the interior. After these few explorations, he reached the banks of the Mississippi, in the neighbourhood of Memphis, where he passed the winter of 1541, and died the following spring. The remnant of his party constructed rafts and floated down to the Gulf of Mexico, and disembarked at a Spanish settlement near the site of Tampico. These discoveries, made in the vain hope of finding gold, were not prosecuted, and 130 years elapsed before the Mississippi was again visited by white men.

Colbert, the first Minister of Finance under Louis the Fourteenth, formed the "West India Company" in 1664, for the extension of commerce with the islands of the Caribbean Sea, which had been partially occupied by the French during the previous thirty years, and to this new association the province of Canada was transferred, in consequence of the incapacity of the "Company of New France." Tracy, the Viceroy, after regulating matters in the West Indies, proceeded to Canada with a military force, and defeated the Indians, who had much annoyed the early settlers. This induced an exploration in a southerly direction, and after nine years' search the Mississippi was reached on the 17th of June, 1673. These adventurous Frenchmen were afraid to descend the river below Arkansas, as they were told that there were hostile tribes of Indians, there, and knowing that the Spanish, who were in Mexico, might learn of their discoveries they resolved to return north, and arrived at Quebec in 1681. The reports concerning the "great river" having been received in Canada several years anterior to the return of these

pioneers, La Salle obtained a commission for perfecting its discovery in 1677, set out upon his journey the following year; and after passing through a variety of perils took formal possession of the mouth of the river on the 9th of April, 1682, on behalf of the King of France; the country on its banks received the name of LOUISIANA. He returned to France, and in 1684 was furnished with a frigate and three other ships, on board of which were embarked twelve priests, twelve gentlemen, fifty soldiers, a number of hired mechanics, and a small body of volunteer agricultural emigrants, well furnished with tools and provisions, in all 280 persons, designed to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The ships missed the entrance of the river, and landed their passengers on the coast of Texas in February, 1685. By sickness and despair the colonists were reduced to thirty-six persons. In this extremity, in January, 1689, La Salle set off with sixteen men for Canada, and after three months' wanderings, he was murdered by two of his companions, who were killed by the others. Nine of the men joined the Indians, and the remaining five arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas, where they met a party who had set out from Canada to meet the emigrants from France, but not finding them, were on their return home. The twenty men left in Texas obscurely perished, but France in after times claimed the region thus transiently occupied as a part of Louisiana, which claim was revived more than a century afterwards.

The prosperity of the western part of St. Domingo in 1698 induced the French to make another effort to plant a colony on the Mississippi. D'Iberville, a Canadian, was selected as a leader in the enterprise, and placed in charge of two frigates with two tenders, and about 200 passengers, mostly discharged soldiers. The ships came to anchor near the group of Chateaufort; some of the colonists built huts on Ship Island, others entered the Mississippi, which they knew by its muddy appearance, and ascended it as far as Red River; returning inland, they joined their companions. The drowned lands of the Lower Mississippi did not invite settlement; the shores of the Bay of Biloxi were, therefore, selected for the incipient colony, when D'Iberville embarked for France to obtain supplies in May, 1699. The Spanish considered the settlement as an intrusion upon territory which they claimed, but an alliance between their throne and a Bourbon Prince prevented any serious opposition. It was rather English than Spanish rivalry that the French had to dread. The course and mouth of the Mississippi had become known in Europe, and Coxé, a London physician, but a large proprietor in New Jersey, purchased the old patent of Carolina, granted in 1630, under which he put forward pretensions to the Mississippi, which two armed English vessels had been sent to explore. Sauvolle, left as Governor during D'Iberville's absence, made treaties with the neighbouring Indians—the Choctaws—while Bienville took a trip into the interior. Coming back to the river, about fifty miles from the gulf, he encountered one of Coxé's vessels, whose commander he assured had made an error; that it was not the Mississippi, but a dependency of Canada, occupied by the French. The master turned about and left the river, and this reach is still called *English Turn*. D'Iberville got back about the end of the year with two vessels and sixty Canadians. After establishing a settlement at Natchez, he again returned to France. In 1702, Sauvolle and many of the colonists died. D'Iberville came the third time from France with provisions and soldiers, who located at Mobile, where they were joined by a number of those who had preceded them, and this Alabamian settlement became the headquarters for the colony. Although recruits repeatedly arrived, the whole number of colonists for the next ten years never exceeded 200, such was the loss by sickness.

In order to encourage the rapid settlement of Louisiana, the whole province was granted in 1712, with a monopoly of the trade to Anthony Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, who expected to make great gains from the discovery of mines and a trade with Mexico. He contracted to send every year two ships from France with goods and emigrants. He was to be entitled to import an annual cargo of slaves from Africa, notwithstanding the monopoly of that business was in the hands of a special company. The French Government agreed to pay 50,000 livres for warlike defences. A trading house was established at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1714, and another in 1716, at Natchitoches. After five years of large outlay and small returns, Crozat was obliged to resign his patent. Other speculators, still more sanguine, were found to fill his place. The exclusive commerce of Louisiana for twenty-five years, with extensive power of Government and a monopoly of the Canadian fur trade, was bestowed on the "Company of the West," otherwise called the "Mississippi Company," known presently as the Company of the Indies, and notorious for the stock jobbing, and bubble hope of profit to which it gave rise. At the date of this transfer, the colony contained, soldiers included, about 700 people. The Mississippi Company undertook to introduce 6000 whites, and half as many negroes; and their connection with Law's Royal Bank,* and

the great rise in the price of shares, of which new ones were constantly created, gave them, for a time, unlimited command of funds. Private individuals, to whom grants of land were made, also sent out colonists on their own account. Law received twelve miles square on the Arkansas, which he undertook to settle with 1500 Germans. D'Iberville died at St. Domingo. Bienville remained on the Mississippi, and was appointed Governor in 1718; in that year he set a party of convicts to clear up a swamp, the site of the present city of New Orleans, and the seat of Government was removed thence in 1723.

The failure of Law's Royal Bank, and the decline in the Company's stock, put a sudden check to immigration. There were, however, several thousand inhabitants in Louisiana, and the colony was considered as fairly established. The unhealthiness of the climate was an obstacle to its progress; the unfitness of the colonists was another difficulty, many of them being convicts or vagabonds collected from the highways of Europe. But these proved so unprofitable that their further importation was forbidden, and the chief reliance for agricultural operations was on African slaves. The German settlers in Arkansas moved to the neighbourhood of New Orleans, fixing themselves in that rich tract known as the "German coast." Trade, in its most minute ramifications, was carried on by the colonists at prices fixed by the Company; but there were a species of merchants or brokers who conducted transactions with the Indians on a system of barter. Constant communication existed between Canada and Louisiana, which was interrupted frequently by English traders from Carolina, and hostile Indians. These obstructions caused serious loss to the Mississippi Company, which, with the expense of the war with the Natchez, caused them to resign Louisiana to the Crown in 1732, when affairs were carried on pretty much as before. Bienville was appointed Royal Governor. The enmity of the Chickasaws was so great, that the French determined to attempt the conquest of that haughty nation, while the Canadians were fighting the Iroquois; but they were repulsed—the native race receiving aid from the English traders. The colony of Louisiana, though by far the most important French domain in America, had made but little progress at the breaking out of the war with the British, in 1756, which was disastrous to the French arms. Canada being conquered, France was stripped of all her possessions in North America, except that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, together with the Island of Orleans, which she at once ceded to Spain, in consideration of her losses in the contest.

The Treaty of Peace was made at Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, at which time Spain exchanged Florida for the Havana. By the terms of the treaty, the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, was to be free to both parties, without liability to stoppage, search, or duty.

The French were not pleased at being placed under Spanish rule; the transaction was attended by afflicting events to the ancient population of the province, and the delay in the delivery to Spain caused them to entertain a hope that the transfer was a mere simulation for the purpose of securing Louisiana to the crown of France against the hazard of future wars. It was not until 1766 that Don Antonio de Ulloa was sent over to receive possession; he remained two years at the head of a military force, but never took formal control of the country, and was compelled to withdraw, on his refusal to furnish the Council with his powers and instructions from the King of Spain. Don Alexander O'Reilly arrived the next year, and, after a bloody tragedy, the Council was abolished, and the laws of Spain introduced. Louisiana was then placed under the captain-generalship of Cuba.

The treaties between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States, concluded in 1783, opened the navigation of the Mississippi without restrictions to the United States; ceded the Floridas back to Spain, and bounded the possessions of the two countries by a line eastward of the thirty-first parallel on the Mississippi, to the Apalachicola River, down the St. Mary's River to the Atlantic. These treaties were soon followed by embarrassing disputes, in which the Spaniards laid claim to a large tract of country, and exclusive right to the navigation of that portion of the Mississippi which passed through their territories, against both of which claims the United States protested. In 1788, Spain offered to cede the free navigation of the Mississippi to the inhabitants of all the territory west of the river, in the hope that they might detach themselves from the American Union, which then existed under the Articles of Confederation, who treated the proposition with contempt. The United States again, in 1790, made an effort to procure the right of the Mississippi; also the island on which New Orleans is situated and the Floridas, and offered to protect the other possessions of Spain in America in case of a war with England. The proposition was not assented to, but five years afterwards a treaty was made for the freedom of the river, and the use of New Orleans as a depot for ten years. The possession of Louisiana became an object of great moment. Genet, the French Minister, on his own responsibility endeavoured to get up a filibustering expedition in America to conquer it, but Washington opposed the scheme on the grounds of neutrality. Governor

in commotion—every man, woman, and child became a financier—the boot-black and the collier of to day were the grandees of to-morrow, and their splendid equipages dazzled the populace. The Royal Bank stock went up to six hundred times its par value, and dividends were rendered at 200 per cent. The exhaustless mines near the Mississippi would reimburse any investment, it was said. In three years John Law was a bankrupt and a beggar. The Government of France received a terrible shock: the deluded votaries of stock-jobbing were undone; the magnificent western company—the Mississippi scheme—became a bye word; the banking bubble, when inflated to the skies, burst.

Blount, of Tennessee, had a plot to invade it with the aid of British troops from Canada; he was disgraced, and the British Government exonerated. Bonaparte was anxious to regain the ascendancy of France in America, and on the 1st of October, 1800, the treaty of Ildefonso was concluded between the Catholic King and French Consul, by which Spain promised and engaged to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions therein stipulated in relation to the Duke of Parma, the colony and province of Louisiana with the same extent that it had in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and the other Powers. The stipulation to the Duke of Parma was, that he should be put in possession of Tuscany. Another stipulation provided for a preference to Spain in the event of Louisiana passing again out of the hands of France. Laussat, the Colonial Prefect, arrived in Louisiana, and issued a proclamation denouncing the previous separation of the province from France, as the fruit of a corrupt Government, an ignominious war, and a corrupt peace. In the meanwhile, and before the existence of the treaty between Spain and France, which had been made in secret, was announced, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana had abruptly suspended the right of deposit on the mouth of the Mississippi, which had been secured to the United States until the year of 1805.

As soon as it became known in the United States that France had again come into possession of her old province, the greatest anxiety and uneasiness were manifested on every hand. The West was suddenly in a flame. New Orleans was about to escape, and with one deep and pervading sentiment, they exclaimed, "the Mississippi must be ours; its mouth is the only issue which nature has given to our waters, if our liberty be disputed, nothing shall prevent our taking forcible possession. If Congress refuses us effectual protection, we shall adopt the measures which our safety requires. No protection, no allegiance." It was everywhere taken for granted that France would entirely exclude American citizens from the Province; and Congress itself, and the President, Mr. Jefferson, shared in the general uneasiness. Mr. Munroe was despatched to Paris. Mr. Livingston, the minister there, had already displayed some temper on the subject, and had advised his Government to extreme measures. "Hasten to France," said Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Munroe. "If we cannot, by purchase of the country, ensure a perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be far distant, it behoves us immediately to prepare for it." Mr. Munroe was directed to offer two millions of dollars for the city of New Orleans; and Mr. Rost, of Pennsylvania, proposed in the Senate to place five millions of dollars at the disposition of the President, and to raise fifty thousand men to take possession of Louisiana by force. Napoleon was informed of all this; he saw a thick cloud impending over France, and another fifteen years' war with England, as he expressed it, on the eve of breaking out; he consulted with two of his ministers upon the subject. One said, "we should not hesitate a moment to make a sacrifice of that which is slipping from us;" while the other replied, "we must retain Louisiana, there does not exist in the face of the globe, a single port, a single city, susceptible of becoming as important as New Orleans." Napoleon, however, yielded to the first opinion, and Barbé Marbois opened negotiations at once. Mr. Munroe arrived in France. He had the singular good fortune of reaching Paris on the eve of the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Mr. Livingston met him with the expression, "I wish that the resolution offered by Mr. Rost in the Senate had been adopted. Only force can give us New Orleans." Mr. Livingston had no confidence in the overtures of M. de Marbois. The three negotiators met together and deliberated. The question came before them in every possible point of view, and when the terms were agreed upon and presented to the First Consul, he said, "Let the Louisianians know that we separate from them with regret, that we stipulate in their favour everything they can desire; and let them, hereafter, happy in their independence, recollect that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which they could not have obtained from any other power." The treaty was dated at Paris, the 13th of April, 1803; it ceded to the United States, for ever and in full sovereignty, the province of Louisiana, with all its rights and appurtenances in full, and in the same manner as they had been acquired by France from Spain. Eight stipulations exist in the treaty, one of which gave to the inhabitants all the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the several American States

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

The United States agreed to pay sixty millions of francs, and to discharge certain claims due by France to American citizens, for illegal seizures made by the French navy during the late war. The stipulation for the cash amount was as follows:—

For the payment of sixty millions of francs, the United States shall create a stock of eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, bearing an interest of six per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly in London, Amsterdam, or Paris, amounting by the half-year to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, according to the propositions which shall be determined by the French Government, to be

* In the year 1715, John Law, a Scotchman, settled in Paris. He was a singular character, a restless projector, a daring financier, high minded, and full of enterprise. This extraordinary man soon succeeded in gaining a ruling influence over the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France, obtained a charter for a bank of \$1,200,000, substituted paper for specie, and set the whole French nation mad with magnificent schemes of creating wealth, as it were, by the waud of a magician. The Chancellor, D'Aguesseau, opposed this daring scheme with infinite peril to himself. To the Royal Bank of Law was attached a great commercial company, in which were to be concentrated all the rights, privileges, and possessions of all the trading companies then chartered in France. To this company was granted the great territory of Louisiana, as it was surrendered up by Crozat. All Paris was

paid at either place: the principal of said stock to be reimbursed at the Treasury of the United States, in annual payments of not less than three millions of dollars each; of which the first payment shall commence fifteen years after the date of the exchange of ratifications; this stock shall be transferred to the Government of France, or to such person or persons as shall be authorized to receive it, in three months at most after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, and after Louisiana shall be taken possession of in the name of the Government of the United States.

It is further agreed, that if the French Government should be desirous of disposing of the said stock to receive the capital in Europe, at shorter terms, that its measures for that purpose shall be taken so as to favour, in the greatest degree possible, the credit of the United States, and to raise to the highest price the said stock.

Much as political affairs influenced the sale of Louisiana, there is no doubt that the financial necessities of the Consulate also rendered it desirable. Before the treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States, the celebrated house of Hope and Company, of Amsterdam, had made a heavy advance on the forthcoming American scrip.

The following commercial arrangements were embodied in the treaty:—

As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communications of both nations for a limited time in the countries ceded by the present treaty, until general arrangements relative to the commerce of both nations may be agreed on; it has been agreed between the contracting parties, that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce and manufactures of France or her said colonies; and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the ports of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain, or any of their colonies, without being subject to any other or greater duty on merchandize, or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States.

During the space of time mentioned, no other nation shall have a right to the same privileges in the ports of the ceded territory; the twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of ratifications, if it shall take place in France, or three months after it shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government, if it take shall place in the United States; it is, however, well understood that the object of the above article is to favour the manufacture, commerce, freight, and navigation of France and of Spain, so far as relates to importations that the French and Spanish shall make into the said ports of the United States, without in any way affecting the regulations that United States may make concerning the exportations of the produce and merchandize of the United States, or any right they may have to make such regulations.

These articles in reference to commerce, would seem to be in direct conflict with the treaties of the United States with Great Britain and other countries; that of November 19, 1794, with England, says:—

The River Mississippi shall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports or places on its eastern side, to whichsoever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his Majesty in Great Britain.

There shall be between all the dominions of His Majesty in Europe and the territories of the United States, a reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce and navigation. The people and inhabitants of the two countries respectively, shall have liberty freely and securely, and without hindrance and molestation, to come with their ships and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places, and rivers, within the dominions and territories aforesaid, to enter into the same, to resort there, and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time. Also to hire and possess and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce, and, generally, the merchants and traders on each side shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce; but subject also as to what respects this article to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

But the fact is, that the "United States," as a Government, has never been formally acknowledged by the other Powers. The early treaties mentioned the names of the individual States, and no change was made after the adoption of the Constitution; hence all agreements with other countries were only binding upon States which were members of the Union anterior to their date. What greater evidence can we have in favour of the doctrine of State Rights? A new partner in a commercial house is not liable for the engagements of the firm contracted before he became connected with it.

The King of Spain protested against the transfer, and it was not until February, 1804, that he gave his acquiescence. The French flag had been displayed only twenty days at New Orleans, when the American ensign was unfurled to the breeze on the 20th December, 1803. There was some ambiguity in the treaty, that left the western boundary in dispute, which was in 1819 settled with Spain, by fixing the Sabine as the limits, resulting in that country annexing Texas to Mexico, and ceding Florida to the United States.

Soon after the treaty was made Mr. Jefferson called Congress together, when it was denied by the Northern members in the Senate that the Constitution permitted the acquisition of foreign territory, and more particularly without the consent of its inhabitants, but the administration was too powerful to render opposition other than futile in the extreme.

The Southerners were right. Article IV., Section 3, says—

New States may be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or any particular State.

The Federalists insisted that Jefferson was not entitled to any merit for securing Louisiana. In vain they reproached him with having permitted himself to push this undeserved success too far; with having, by thus accepting from fortune too vast a gift, included a territory within the limits of the confederation which, by the force of circumstances, would be one day led to separate itself from the Atlantic States, after having thinned their population to increase its own. The public, intoxicated with joy, cared very little about these distant possibilities, which made more impression upon the mind of Jefferson, while depressing it as little. On this subject, in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge, dated August 12, 1803, he said:—

Besides, if it should become the great interest of those nations to separate from this, if their happiness should depend upon it so strongly as to induce them to go through that convulsion, why should the Atlantic States dread it? But, especially, why should we, their present inhabitants, take side in such a question? * * * The future inhabitants of the Atlantic and Mississippi States will be our sons. We leave them in distinct but bordering establishments. We think we see their happiness in their Union, and we wish it. Events may prove it otherwise, and if they see their interest in separation, why should we take side with our Atlantic rather than our Mississippi descendants? It is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, and keep them in Union, if it be for their good, but separate them if it be better.

The act of 20th of March, 1804, which established the Territorial Government, divided Louisiana into two sections; that portion now known as the State of that name was called Orleans. The people of Orleans were not satisfied with their local administration, and applied to Congress for a change in 1805, when a Territorial Government was established similar to that of Mississippi, which provided for its admission into the Union as a State as soon as its population had reached 60,000; and on the 8th of July, 1812, under the name of Louisiana, she became a full member of the American Confederacy, upon the condition that the free navigation of the Mississippi and other rivers within her borders should be secured for ever to all the older States, free from "any tax, duty, import, or toll." The State of New York at that very day exacted a toll of one dollar for every passenger that passed up or down the Hudson and it was a clear violation of the treaty with France to exclude Louisiana from this privilege. But the United States also broke faith in enacting the Missouri compromise line, upon the admission of the State of that name in 1821, it being a portion of the territory ceded by France. Nor have they to this day settled with the creditors of France in America for the four millions of property illegally seized and disposed of. Arkansas, another part of the purchase, became a State in 1836. The Louisiana purchase, in fact, comprised the whole of the country west of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the British possessions, with an undefined western boundary. This included the whole of Iowa and that portion of Minnesota west of the Mississippi, Kansas, Oregon, and the remaining territory to the Pacific, other than that ceded by Mexico to the United States in 1848.

Louisiana withdrew from the Federal Union on January 28, 1861, and joined the Confederate States at their formation on the 4th of February following. Arkansas did likewise on May 6, and Missouri on November 28 of the same year.

When Louisiana seceded, the people of the North alleged that whatever right any of the original States might have to retire from the compact, the commonwealths that had been purchased could not justly assume such power. The Federalists disregarded the terms of the treaty as well as the following clause in the Constitution:—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Nor had the pecuniary consideration anything to do with the matter; the amount was paid principally by the Southern States, who at the time had the preponderance in the Union. As well might a claim have been set up against the original States, in consequence of the Federal Government having assumed their debts contracted to carry on the Revolutionary War, which were as follows:—

New Hampshire	\$300,000
Massachusetts	4,000,000
Rhode Island	200,000
Connecticut	1,600,000
New York	1,200,000
New Jersey	800,000
Pennsylvania	2,200,000
Delaware	200,000
Maryland	800,000
Virginia	3,200,000
North Carolina	2,200,000
South Carolina	4,000,000
Georgia	300,000
	\$21,000,000

Subsequently the surplus funds in the Treasury were divided among all the States, except South Carolina, which declined to receive her share, on the grounds of the unconstitutionality of raising more money than was needed for the support of the Government by a system of protection tariffs.

The amount paid for the Louisiana territory was \$14,914,872²⁸/₁₀₀. The United States received from the sales

of land situate therein, between the years 1833 and 1839, inclusive, the following sums:—

Louisiana	\$6,880,880
Missouri	3,240,369
Arkansas	3,110,377
Iowa	1,307,643
Iowa grant	1,270,690
	\$15,809,959

Large sales of land were made both before and since those years, but we have not the figures before us. The number of acres unsold in 1847 was about 1,000,000,000, and there yet remains in the territory belonging to the Northern States about 800,000,000 acres.

The money paid for internal improvement in the States by the General Government between the years 1790 and 1847 amounted to \$17,000,000, of which only \$4,000,000 were expended in the South, and since 1847 the disbursements in the North have been in a far greater ratio. It will, therefore, be seen by account current that there is a large balance to the credit of the States composing the Southern Confederacy, to say nothing of the naval fleet and public buildings in possession of the Federalists.

In an early number we will furnish an account of Burr's conspiracy for the conquest of Louisiana.

Reviews.

THE DISTINCTIONS OF RACE.*

This book is not, strictly speaking, either an original or a translation. It is founded upon M. de Gobineau's "Inégalité des Races," and reproduces the leading ideas and arguments of that work in an English dress. But it contains a good deal that is not to be found in the pages of the French theorist; and on several minor points Mr. Hotze's notes express a difference of opinion with the author from whom the principal features of the book are avowedly borrowed. While it deals with the same topics in the same manner and from the same point of view, it is to a considerable extent an independent work; and its value is much enhanced by the notes of the American editor, and by an appendix, in which Dr. Nott, of Mobile, one of the chief ethnologists of America, has embodied the result of the most recent discoveries in his own and cognate branches of science. Its principal fault is attributable to its hybrid character; it is a good deal out of proportion. In many parts it is too full for an elementary treatise—a character which, indeed, it was hardly intended to bear—or for a summary of conclusions like Darwin's "Origin of Species;" while it is far too meagre to be considered in any degree exhaustive of the vast field of inquiry upon which it enters. Nevertheless, it distinctly establishes some conclusions, and points the way to many more which have a very important bearing on historical philosophy and political science.

It was the doctrine of Robert Owen, that education makes the man—that individual character depends wholly, or almost wholly, upon the influences brought to bear upon the infant, the child, and the adult, and not upon any moral efforts of his own, or upon any peculiarities inherent in his physical or psychical nature. This doctrine is repudiated alike by Christianity and by common sense. Religious men denounce it, because it absolves individuals from that responsibility for their own actions which is the foundation alike of heathen and of Christian ethics, and strikes at the root of a faith which attributes to every man the power to mould his life according to the light which God has vouchsafed him, and holds him answerable if he wilfully disobey the voice of conscience and of Revelation. Practical men ridicule the idea that there is no inherent difference in individual characters and capacities, as one which is in flagrant contradiction with each man's daily and hourly experience. We see men who have been brought up together from infancy resembling one another less than each resembles a score of strangers, whose antecedents have been altogether different. We see that while the similarity produced by education is for the most part superficial and eradicable, the distinctions which are reputed congenital are inherent in nature and character, and can never be effaced. We know that, whatever demagogues and theorists may say to the contrary, an average child taken in infancy from the hovels of Whitechapel or the garrets of St. Giles', to be brought up along with the heir of a noble family, would not possess the attributes, moral, intellectual, or physical, of his playmate. To some of us it may have happened to see children taken at the earliest age into a strange family, and brought up with its offspring; to such it never yet occurred to find in the adopted child the marked characteristics which distinguish the natural

* The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races, with particular reference to their respective influence in the Civil and Political History of Mankind. From the French of the Comte de Gobineau. With an Analytical Introduction and copious Historical Notes, by H. HOTZE. To which is added an Appendix, containing a summary of the latest scientific facts bearing upon the question of Unity or Plurality of Species, by J. C. NOTT, M.D., of Mobile. (Philadelphia, J. P. Lippincott and Co., 1860.)

progeny. Our simplest proverbial philosophy, our most thoughtful and searching inquiries, our accepted religious creeds, alike insist upon the influence of the ancestor upon the posterity whom he may never have seen, and of whose education he is not even in the remotest degree the author. We all remember maxims by the score which indicate the ineradicable character of hereditary qualities; a truth early apprehended and recorded in the traditional sayings of every civilized nation. Revelation assures us that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children; and science, as usual, confirms and illustrates abundantly the brief assertion of Revelation. Women who have watched over the cradles of a score of infants, and philosophers who have carefully digested the phenomena collected by hundreds of patient observers, are cordially agreed in affirming the inherent diversity of character which education may cloak, but which it can never eradicate, and scarcely even modify. No competent schoolmaster, no observant nurse, no one who ever had anything to do with the young, believes that they are what education makes them, or doubts that each human soul comes into life with a nature of its own, as distinct from the nature of every other as the bodily features of each individual are distinct. The idea that the individual mind is a "blank tablet," or rather, a lump of plastic clay, of which the teacher may make what he will, is not seriously entertained by any reasoning man or woman who has attended to facts instead of indulging in speculation.

But what no thoughtful person will admit to be true of individuals, thousands will believe when some fanatic asserts it to be true of nations, and even of races or groups of nationalities. The equality of men is known to be an arrant absurdity; yet the inequality of races is not a popular idea. Everybody knows that individuals differ, not merely by education but by nature—are not merely differently moulded, but made of different material. Every one discerns, moreover, a greater difference between nation and nation than in the same nation between man and man. And yet there are hundreds of intelligent people ready to believe that the greater difference is produced by causes which they know to be inadequate to produce the less—who will have it that circumstances, which do not create the individuality of the individual, create the individuality of nations. John Smith differs from William Brown not merely because the former was brought up at home and the latter away from home, but because one was born with a clear mind and a weak will, and the other with a strong will and a confused intellect; because they are the children of different parents. But we are to hold that France differs from England—the average Englishman from the typical Frenchman—merely because the one has enjoyed liberty and order while the other has alternated between revolution and despotism—mistaking cause for effect; or because the one lives some hundred miles south of the other; or for any reason, except that which is most simple and obvious—because the two are descended from races of an entirely distinct character. Even the curious resemblance in many important respects between the Frenchman and the Irishman—who have nothing in common, except an ancestry which was divided before the memory of man—makes no impression on that numerous class who are determined to believe that while men are made by God, nations are the offspring of accident. The truth is, that so far from national character being moulded by national circumstances, the circumstances are governed, and, in fact, created by the character. England is a free country, because freedom is a necessity of natural existence to the race by which the national character of England has been determined. France oscillates between revolutionary chaos and personal despotism, because the capacity of self-government, and the determination to enjoy individual liberty, are not among the many noble and brilliant gifts that belong to the nature of the Celtic race. We have implanted representative institutions in Ireland; but they do not flourish there, despite the presence of a large colony of English blood, and if Ireland were severed from Great Britain, few men doubt that she would within ten years be subject to a despotism. No race of Scandinavian blood has ever endured that kind of tyranny which seems to be popular with Celtic nations. The former may have a despot on the throne, but they will have freedom in the cottage. The latter, even when governed by universal suffrage, expect and almost demand a more than paternal control in all social relations, and in all municipal affairs, from the Government of their choice. England tolerates a social tyranny over opinion, but will not bear interference with action; the Germans, who are patient of vexatious bureaucratic interference with everything they do, insist on a license of thought and speech greater than exists in any other country. Nothing would ever make the Turk a labourer or a merchant worthy of the name; the Greek, in the

same climate and under the same Government, is as superior to the dominant race in industry and mercantile skill as he is inferior to them in manliness and soldierly qualities. It may be doubted whether the Neapolitans will ever show themselves fit to be either soldiers or freemen: the Piedmontese, who speak the same tongue and live in a very similar climate, have proved in the council and in the field their worthiness to be placed in the first rank among nations. The Lombards come next to them, and every one knows that the Piedmontese and Lombards are not Italians.

We might multiply without end the proofs of radical and ineffaceable distinctions between nations of the same stock. Everyone of those named above is of that which is called the Aryan race, and speaks a language descended from the Sanscrit. But the great purpose of the book before us is to trace the wider differences which exist between different races; to indicate clearly the greatness of the gulf which separates the Caucasian from the Mongolian, and both from the African family of mankind; to show that those differences are not fortuitous or temporary, but fixed and congenital; that as races differ in physical appearance, so they differ in moral and intellectual attributes; and that it is absurd and misleading to speak of them as if they belonged to one stock, or to reason as if that which is true of one race were necessarily true of the others. Both M. de Gobineau and Mr. Hottze were wise enough to avoid the rock on which Mr. Darwin made shipwreck. He, insisting on tracing similarities to a common descent, conjectured one origin for men and shell-fish, and roused against him at once the natural and the religious prejudices of his readers. In treating of human species, the authors of this volume have been content to waive all speculations as to origin, and to confine themselves to the facts of invariable and immemorial specific difference. Whether Negro, Chinese, and Englishmen be all descendants of one primeval pair, they do not inquire, nor need we. It is enough that, so far as the records of human existence can be traced, the distinctions of race were what we find them now; and that, therefore, we are justified in regarding them as being permanent in the only sense in which any earthly phenomenon can be called permanent. With the "origin of species" we are not called upon to concern ourselves; the fact of specific difference suffices us. So long as the world of which we know has existed, the Negro has been a Negro, the Asiatic an Asiatic, the Caucasian a Caucasian; and we must conclude, therefore, that these distinctions will remain as long as the races continue to exist.

We have used the term "species" to designate the various races of mankind. If man be a species of the genus monkey, or course we have no right to do so; but if the human creation be a genus apart, then it would seem that Negro and European are as much distinct species as are horse and ass, or hare and rabbit. There are only two rational objections ever urged against the doctrine of specific difference among mankind. The first is, that inasmuch as the various races were originally located in distinct regions, we may suppose their physical differences to be merely the effect of climate, operating during innumerable generations. The answer to this is, that the supposition is wholly gratuitous. Races that have lived in the same climate for centuries remain as distinct as ever; neither sun nor soil can make the Caucasian resemble the Mongolian, or bring the Negro one whit nearer to the white man. Again, it is asserted that hybridity is a test of specific difference, and that human mixed races exhibit no signs of hybridity—that is, do not exhibit that infertility which is its assigned attribute. Of this objection we think that Dr. Nott's appendix conclusively disposes. He demonstrates clearly, first, that the permanent fertility of mixed races has not yet been established; and, secondly, that among animals infertility is a matter of degree; some crosses between species admittedly distinct being fertile to the third generation.

But admitting that even the most widely distinct of human races are only to be called *varieties*, it is impossible to deny that they are historically permanent varieties, and that their characteristics are, so far as we know or can judge, immutable and inexchangeable. The last refuge of those who dislike the idea of human inequality is to affirm that these characteristics are merely physical; that the Negro and the Chinese are equals in intellect and moral character; and that each of them is, or might by education be made, the equal of the European. To look at a specimen of each race is to feel that those who argue thus are arguing against conviction. It is impossible to believe in the intellect of the negro, or the moral vigour of the Mongolian. But if the question is to be discussed, it should first be asked how, if the Negro was qualified by nature to be the rival of the white man, it happens that he has always remained a savage, except where he has been made the white man's slave? It

should be asked, if there be in the Mongolian or the Hindoo no inherent inferiority to the European, why within historic memory neither Mongolian nor Hindoo ever made any progress in civilization? Are we again to be met with the doctrine of circumstances—or, in other words, of chance? And again, how comes it that, whether slave in Africa or in the Confederate States, or freeman in Jamaica or in Massachusetts, the moral and physical peculiarities of the Negro remain unaltered? Everywhere he is sensual, indolent, and incapable of taking care of himself; everywhere he is an unwelcome guest, except where he is utilized by slavery. How comes it that the Chinese is everywhere a Chinese, unfit to be a slave, and disliked as a free immigrant, carrying everywhere the virtues and the vices which have made China what it is? But it is scarcely worth while to discuss an assertion so notoriously untrue and so obviously absurd. Whenever and wherever we find each race, we find its moral and its intellectual characteristics as strongly marked, and as invariable as its physical peculiarities; and the same experience which proves the invariability of the one, establishes the permanence of the other.

It is absurd—it is dishonest—to select a few individuals from the inferior races, who have been distinguished by peculiar ability and exceptional force of character, and to present them as types of their race. Of course there are Red Indians who are cleverer than a stupid American; Chinese who are more virtuous and more energetic than a lazy and vicious Englishman; and even Negroes who are more capable than incapable Europeans; though in many cases it proves, on inquiry, that these selected specimens were men of mixed blood. It is as ridiculous to affirm that, because Toussaint Louverture displayed capacity which would have done credit to an ordinary European, therefore Negroes might be made equal to Europeans, as it would be to assert that every clown might, by education, be made the rival of a Pitt, a Newton, or a Napoleon.

M. de Gobineau believed, on good historic evidence, that all civilization was initiated by a tribe of the Aryan stock; that even the exceptional culture of China and Hindostan are due to the presence of a white race which has since died out. And this is probable *a priori*, inasmuch as a race capable of bringing civilization to the point which it has reached in China and Hindostan, could hardly be incapable of further developing it. We have seen no parallel instance within historic memory; because we have seen no Aryan civilization imposed on an Asiatic race. But we have seen the same experiment tried on American tribes by the Jesuits; and it was found that, as soon as the white instructors were withdrawn, their docile pupils returned to their former savage state. The Asiatic races, of a somewhat higher quality than these, retained what they have received, but were incapable of adding to it. The Negroes resemble the tribes of Paraguay. One instance there is in which civilized Negroes have been freed from the presence of the whites; and in despite of the influence of a considerable population of mixed race, Hayti has relapsed into African barbarism. A race which cannot improve its civilization must be inferior to one which never ceases to improve; a race which cannot keep the civilization it has received can only be saved from utter barbarism by continual contact and close juxtaposition with its civilizers.

And here we come to a point which is not treated in this volume—the conditions on which such juxtaposition of races is possible or desirable. Can they live together as equals, when both feel that nature has made them unequal? The experiment has been tried in the West Indies, and has utterly and disastrously failed. There remain, then, but three possible issues where, as in the Southern States, vast masses of two distinct and widely separate races are interfused—the extermination of the weaker, the amalgamation of both, or the subjection of the inferior. The removal of either race from the South is a matter of obvious impossibility; the destruction of either would be a crime from which the Enemy of Mankind might shrink with horror. Amalgamation must, we should think, revolt the feelings of every member of the superior race; it certainly is a consummation heartily to be deprecated by every man who knows what is the character of the mulatto blood. What remains, then, but that the Negro race should exist in a condition of permanent subjection, under the governance and tutelage, in some form or other, of the white man?

This problem is not directly touched in Mr. Hottze's book; but the whole argument prepares for it, leads up to it, and suggests a solution not the less clearly because it contains no immediate reference to the question.

AMERICA IN THE QUARTERLY REVIEWS.

THE QUARTERLY, No. 224. (London: Murray.)

The breakdown of the North and the success of the South have surprised the thinkers of Europe, as well as

the general public. The boasting of the North has been repeated until it has commanded some share of credence, and the malignant slanders of Mrs. Stowe and the New England Clergy in respect to the South have been fully believed. It is now known that the reverend gentlemen who clamour for an anti-slavery God, and an anti-slavery Bible, who preach upon the goodness of a Sharp's rifle, and who hate the negro as much as they hate the Southerner, are quite as mendacious as Federal commanders. It is now known that the people of the South are not an enervated race, and that their slaves are not illused, and are not ready for revolt. Still, the heaven is not altogether taken away. The writer of the singularly able article, "The Confederate Struggle and Recognition," has here and there fallen into some errors with regard to Southern society. He refers, for instance, to "mean whites," a class which has no existence, except in the mouths of Northern slanderers; but such inaccuracies, do not in the main, affect the merit and usefulness of the essay. In two years a wonderful progress has been made in getting information as to the institutions and social status of the South, and we may express a hope, without being charged with being over sanguine, that in another two years all the mists of Northern slanders will be cleared away.

The failure of the North, so complete and unexpected, is ascribed to democratic institutions. These, we are told, keep the talent of the country in obscurity, and promote mediocrity.

By what malignant fate has it come to pass that the people who individually are proverbial for their readiness in surmounting obstacles that seem to others hopeless, should as a nation have made the most ignominious failure that the world has ever seen, in an enterprise in which all the chances were on their side? There can be but one explanation—it is that which is in everybody's mouth. They were infamously led. It has been well said that a regiment of asses with a lion at their head will do more than a regiment of lions with an ass at their head. Good leaders are the one thing needful; which no other excellences, however supereminent, can replace. In this case there was everything else the most sanguine patriot could have desired—gallant soldiers, magnificent equipments, an overwhelming superiority of numbers, and so easy communication with their sources of supply. But there is one fatal defect, which has made them, with all these advantages, the inferiors of the ill-armed, ill-fed, ill-clad, out-numbered Confederates. The defect was, that they had not, and have not now, one man who can be called a general in the field, nor one man who can be called a statesman in the Cabinet.

The Americans have never denied that this poverty of greatness was the result of their democratic institutions.

In this description the advantages of the Federals, great as they undoubtedly were, are somewhat exaggerated, and, in like manner, the disadvantages of the Confederates are rather heavily shaded. No wonder. For eighteen months the world has been forced to listen to Northern glorification of its own process, and the miserable condition of the "rebels." The North had more men and vastly better equipments than the South; but then, her men were not quite of the same stock, nor were they fighting for the liberty of their country against the attempted subjugation of invading hosts. We admit the genius of the Southern commanders; we admit they have displayed the most consummate military ability; whilst the Northern commanders have been conspicuous for their blundering; and that such a difference in the end is, other circumstances being equal, enough to account for victory. But though it is true a great captain can do wonders with inferior soldiers, it is not less true that good soldiers will, in the course of two campaigns, find good commanders. Actual war is a greater leveller than Democracy, and Mr. Lincoln would not have been able to keep an able soldier in the background. In the American armies the officers are taken from the same class as the private soldiers, and therefore, if there had been any military capacity in the Northern fighting element, it would have appeared. We are not saying the Federals have not military ability. In the Seven Days' Battle, although utterly routed, McClellan saved his army from capture and annihilation by very clever generalship. We contend that the mixed people of the North are inferior in the battle-field to the people of the South.

But the South, as well as the North, has been subject to the influence of democratic institutions; how, then, are we to explain the superiority of the former? The author of the article on which we are commenting says that the institution of slavery, by creating an aristocracy, has saved the South [from sinking into the condition of the North. We must also allow for the difference of race and settlement. On one side of Mason and Dixon's line the emigrant settlers are few—on the other side emigration has peopled whole districts and States. Nor is this all. In the North there are descendants of the early settlers, who constitute the most respectable, but not, unfortunately, the most influential class, and they have inherited many of the characteristics of Puritanism; in the South the old chivalry of the cavalier gives a tone to society. There is a marked difference between the inhabitants of the Confederate

States and the United States, which may have been fostered, but was not primarily induced by the differences of institutions, and in no degree by differences of climate.

After some telling observations on the Lincoln despotism, and the quiet submission of the Northerners to the loss of their liberty, and on the lessons Europe is learning from America, the matter of recognition is treated lucidly, and, as we think, unanswerably. By refusing to recognize a fact we find ourselves in a position which is supremely ridiculous.

In admitting diplomatically the indisputable fact that Mr. Jefferson Davis and the Congress at Richmond are the rulers of the Southern States, we do not merely pay them an idle civility. What we thereby do is to saddle them with a responsibility for all that is done to British citizens by the authorities of the region over which they rule. As matters stand now, we have no redress if a British subject is maltreated. If the wrong be done at a seaport, we might bombard the town; but if it were done at Montgomery or Richmond, we should be absolutely without resource. We could not plead international law to the Government at Richmond; for international law regulates only the relation between two nations, and the Confederates, by our own decision, are not a nation. We could not invade the territory of the Confederate States, because, on our theory, they are still part of the territory of the Government that rules at Washington. As a matter of strict law, the only person we can call to account for any wrong done to one of the Queen's subjects at Richmond is President Lincoln. It of course would be out of the question practically that any proceedings so absurd should be taken. But still that ridiculous predicament brings home to us the fact that the only Government responsible to us for the well-treatment of English subjects over a vast region of North America, is the Government which, of all others, has the least power to secure it. The anomaly, of course, is equally great on the other side. There are hundreds of Confederate citizens in England who have no legal guardian of their rights. To Mr. Adams or to any of the Federal consuls they could not apply without disavowing the allegiance which they believe themselves to owe to the new Government; and, in disavowing the existence of that Government, we of course refuse to admit any authority in its agents. These things are not a mere matter of form; if they were, the whole machinery of consuls and diplomatists would be a very useless burden upon the Consolidated Fund. The neglect of them may at any moment seriously compromise both national interests and private rights.

We commend this article to Sir G. C. Lewis, who will find out that, according to all historical precedent, the United States ought not to be the first to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States; and that England, as well as the United States, has on all occasions, until now, been ready to accept facts without entering "upon any scrutiny of the process by which these facts were accomplished."

THE EDINBURGH. (London: Longman and Co.)

"The American Revolution" is a very comprehensive article so far as the number of topics treated in it, but it is more in the character of a review of the topics, than a thorough investigation of them. If we may judge from the essay before us, the writer of it represents a large class of Englishmen. His mind in reference to America is in a transition state. He has not any sympathy with the North; he does not wish the war of conquest to succeed; he cannot refrain from acknowledging such of the virtues of the South as have been made manifest by the war, but he does not give his hearty adherence to the Southern cause. Unconsciously, he still looks at Southern society through a distorted medium. He places faith in the mendacious statements of Mr. Cairnes, though he exposes the absurdity of that writer's arguments in reference to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. We must confess we are surprised that a writer in the *Edinburgh*, who displays great ability, and whose sincere desire to mete out justice we do not question, should rely on the unauthorized statements of Mr. Cairnes. The slander about the "mean whites," for instance, can be disproved by a reference to the census of the late United States, and is, moreover, in itself highly improbable, not to say incredible. What Mr. Cairnes would have us believe is, that in the Southern States the negro population is sadly used, and that 7-10ths of them consist of thieving pauper vagabonds. By seeking to prove so much he disproves the whole of his assertions; but from the cool audacity with which false statements are put forth, they are for the moment half believed. Mr. Cairnes has traded upon the weakness of humanity. He knows that to accuse the innocent is not far from condemning the innocent, in the opinion of the world. Christianity and civilization restrain men who value their good names, or who are "troubled with a conscience," from bearing false witness against their neighbours, and especially from following the example of the Belfast Professor, and maligning a whole nation; but it is too common to believe and enjoy the mendacious charges preferred by those who feel no shame, in supporting a pet cause, or gratifying their private spleen, by slandering those without cause whom they hate without reason.

The writer in the *Edinburgh* admits that if the North conquered, "the change to the negro would be only a change of masters," and this is undoubtedly true. If the Government could not deport the negroes—and if the Go-

vernment could do so, the masses of the people would not sanction the measure—they would not live there with them upon terms of social equality; they would not tolerate the presence of the coloured race as equals; and nothing would remain but slavery under a race that hates the negro, even though that slavery should be called by some other name. Many a Northern commander has cheered on his men by promising to them the rich possessions of the South, and the joy of living in Southern mansions the lords of Southern slaves. Mr. Lincoln has a little mistaken the motives, at all events the primary motives, of his subjects in entering on this war. The South is an *El Dorado* to the North, and it was not intended to desolate it. The object was not to free but to own the slaves—not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, but to take possession of it. If the South had been poor and declining, the North would not have spent a dollar for the restoration of the Union. In the midst of all his reverses, the Northerner cannot help chuckling at the credulity of the few on this side the Atlantic who think he is fighting for what he is pleased to call "the nigger."

The future of slavery we shall not discuss. We will not on this occasion contest the idea that the union with the North supported it, and that disunion weakens it. We may, however, assure the writer of "The American Revolution," that "the atrocities of slavery and of Lynch law" do not exist in the South, and that the Southern slave is under the protection of Southern law. To injure or kill a slave is punished as surely and as severely as injuring or killing a white man. As to Lynching, it might as well be said to be the custom in England because there are in this country murders and assaults. Lynching is as much a transgression of the law in the Southern States as it is in this country.

The only other point we need comment on in the essay before us—an essay we commend to the careful perusal of our readers—is with regard to the Confederate Government. After condemning the conduct of the Federals, the writer says, "Do not let us, however, forget that in all likelihood the measures of the Confederate Government have not been less arbitrary or less vigorous." To this we reply, that personal freedom, and the free expression of opinion, have not been violated in the Confederate States. The criticisms of the opposition press have not been violated with persecution. The Constitution of the Confederate States has not been violated by Act of Congress, or by act of the President; on the contrary, it has been zealously watched and guarded. The Southern public are not deprived of the blessing of liberty, and hence they are more determined to defend their country from subjugation.

SHORT NOTICES.

Undiscovered Crimes. By WATERS. (Ward and Lock.)

The title of this book may attract purchasers, but it is deceptive. The undiscovered crimes narrated in this volume have never been committed, and if any criminally disposed person should be encouraged by the perusal of this work to defy the hulks and the gallows, he will find that he has been allured into wrong doing by an absurd fiction, and that it is next to impossible to elude the vigilance and vengeance of the law. The guilty sometimes escape, but not so often, we suspect, as the innocent suffer unjustly. This book should have been respectfully dedicated to would-be criminals. It was intended, no doubt, to be sensational; but it consists of proxy trash, which can produce no other sensation than that of weariness, with perhaps a slight flavour of disgust.

An Old Man's Thoughts about Many Things.

(Bell and Daldy.)

The worst feature in this work is, that it contains no thought. It is a wordy, superficial trifling with very deep things. We do not mean by trifling that the author is guilty of any irreverence or buffoonery, but simply that he does not attempt to do more than dilate on the surface of subjects which are generally treated profoundly. The author is evidently sincere, and displays considerable learning. His essays on statues and books are the best, and will compensate the reader for the dreariness of some others. They are light and gossiping, without being frivolous—a rare merit in these days of light literature.

Lloyd's Steel-plate Coloured Map of the United States, the Canadas, and New Brunswick.

This map, which is 4 feet long and 5 feet wide, is elaborately finished, and engraved from the most recent surveys. It is a country and railroad map, and, notwithstanding its fulness, easy of reference. It will be found useful in following the movements of the contending armies in America.

THE INDEX, VOL. I.

A limited number of the first half-yearly volume of the **THE INDEX**, neatly bound, can be obtained by timely application at this office. Price 21 1s. Covers for the first half-yearly volume of **THE INDEX** can also be obtained. Price 2s. 6d.

FRANCIS FORD, Manufacturer,
MANCHESTER: Three and Six Cord Spool Thread, Cotton Balls, Knitting and Embroidering Cottons—Imported by **POSTER AND MOORE**, Norfolk, Va.; **F. RUMALHO AND NEYREY**, New Orleans.

R. D. RUSDEN, MANCHESTER,
ENGLAND, American Drills of all kinds, Devices, Stripes, Shirtings, and all sorts of Manchester Goods.

SEARING AND CO.,
Commission Merchants,
MOBILE AND NEW ORLEANS, C.F.A.
Represented by **R. G. BEESEY**, Cotton Broker,
2, Byrton's-court, Royal-exchange, Manchester.

ROBINSON & OLIVER,
Commission Merchants,
NEW ORLEANS,
C.S.A.
Represented by
Jos. T. ROBINSON & Co.,
No. 3, India Buildings, Water-street,
Liverpool.

JOHN FRASER & CO.,
CHARLESTON,
South Carolina.
FRASER, TRENHOLM & CO.,
Liverpool,
Commission Merchants.

RED AND STEWART, Com-
mission Merchants, SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.
Represented by **Andrew Stewart, 1, Rumsford-place,**
Liverpool.

HARPER AND CAUGHEY,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA. Represented by **J. and A. CAUGHEY**,
Tempest Chambers, Tempest Hey, Liverpool.

TO EAST INDIA MERCHANTS.
A GENTLEMAN, in his 30th Year,
who has had nearly 16 Years' experience in
the Manchester Yarn and Cloth Market as a **SALES-**
MAN, also 24 Years' experience in East Indian and
American Cottons, desires to go out to Bombay,
under the auspices of a first class firm, to act as their
Cotton buyer.
Address, **BOX, J. 19, Post-office, Manchester.**

TO SOUTHERN AMERICAN FAMILIES IN
PARIS.
A FRENCH LADY,—living with
her mother and her daughter in a pleasant
location close by the Champs-Élysées—offers the
comforts of a home and motherly care and atten-
tion, together with the advantages of the best
education and excellent music-teaching, for **TWO**
YOUNG CHILDREN, or for a **YOUNG LADY**
under fifteen.
Address, **MADAME DE W.**, care of Mr. Largier,
17, Rue de la Paix, Paris.

VENTNOR, ISLE OF WIGHT.
Water Residence to be Let, or in Apartments
furnished. The House, pleasantly situated,
has a southern aspect, faces the Sea, and is situated
from all north and east winds. Plans and views
showing its situation, &c.; can be seen and particu-
lars had of **S. Juddenhall, 1, Paragon Place, New**
Kent Road, London, or **Blinda House, Esplanade,**
Ventnor.

SHIRTS.—International Exhibition.
Class 27 C. No. 4572. Prize Medal and honour-
able mentions 1851 and 1862. Shirts, Collars, Flannels,
and every description of underclothing manu-
factured on the premises.
J. BRIE AND CO.,
43, Conduit Street, Regent Street, W.
The only Shirtmakers admitted as Exhibitors at the
International Exhibition of 1862.

A. M. GAUTIER, Tailor, 229,
Rue de la Chausée d'Antin (Paris).

MRS. E. PRESTON,
31, BURY STREET, ST. JAMES, S.W.
Furnished Apartments and Bed Rooms to Let.
References to Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, Hon. J. E.
Macfarland, and Henry Hotze, Esq.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED
BY
WILLIAM FREEMAN,
102, FLEET STREET.

SHIFTING SCENES: and Other Poems. By **J.**
STANTAN BIGG. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.; hand-
somer bound, 6s.
POEMS OF TRUTH AND FANCY. By **S. R.**
KEDMAN. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
THE WEARMOUTH ABBOTS. (Second Edition).
A Tale. Illustrative of Saxon Christianity. Fcap.
8vo. cloth, 3s. 6d.
JESUS THE SOUL'S NEED. By **C. A. PORTER.**
Royal 32mo. paper, 8d.; cloth, 1s.
PROGRESS: or, The International Exhibition.
By the Rev. **J. ANDERSON**, Author of "Self-
made Men." Royal 32mo. paper cover, 3d.
THE FATHERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.
By the Rev. **S. BEALE.** Crown 8vo. cloth, 1s. 6d.
THE TRUE THEORY OF A CHURCH; or, The
Right of Principle of Christian Confederation,
Elucidated and Developed by the Rev. **F. G. HORTON.**
Crown 8vo. sewed, 6s.
DECISION AND CONSISTENCY. Exemplified
and Honoured in the Life of Daniel and his Three
Friends. By **THOMAS COLEMAN**, Author of "Two
Thousand Confessors." Fcap. 8vo. cloth, 2s. 6d.
GOLD OR GRACE: WHICH IS THE BEST?
By the Rev. **SAMUEL WALKER**, Curate of St.
Matthew's, Cornhill. Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.
HOW THEY GOT THERE. By the Rev. **W.**
BARKER. Being an Answer to "How Did They
Get There?" Crown 8vo. sewed, price 2d.
IN THE PRESS.
ESSAYS, CRITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND MIS-
CELLANEOUS. By **S. F. WILLIAMS.**
PUNCH IN THE PULPIT. (Second Edition).
TO BE, OR NOT TO BE? or, Man's Present and
Future Condition Considered.
JESUS, OUR ARK.
London: William Freeman, 102, Fleet Street.

European and Confederate States
Advertising Agency.

THE object of this Agency is to
effect a direct trade alliance between the
European and the Southern Press, through the
medium of advertising. The most practicable mode
of introducing the Merchants, Manufacturers, Cap-
italists, Insurance Companies, &c., of Foreign Coun-
tries, to the Southern Trade, is by an organised,
classified, and liberal system of advertising.
Trade, like time and tide, waits for no man. The
commerce of the world will not pause in ruinous in-
action, but will commence its irresistible ebb and
flow the moment peace is established. One of the
most dangerous, corrupting, and insidious means to
be used by the North will be the medium of adver-
tising in Southern papers. Advertising Agencies
are already organised in every Northern city, and
only bide their time. We must see to it that our
papers are so filled with Foreign Advertisements
and the advertisements of Southern Importers,
Dealers, and Manufacturers, that there will not be
space left in any Southern newspaper for the ad-
vertisement of a single Yankee notion. Then will
our papers present to their readers a faithful
mirror of Dealers, Manufacturers, &c., in the Old
World, and of our business men at home, and thus
attach to Southern interest that mightily lever "the
Press," and disrupt the tie which, by means of
Northern advertising, has had so much influence in
binding the South to dependence upon its enemies.

Through the medium of a liberal advertising
patronage, our Southern editors can be maintained
against the stagnation in their business, which pro-
ceeds from interrupted or disorganised trade.

The object of this Agency is threefold:—
1st. To advertise European Merchants, Manu-
facturers, Hotels, Railroads, Insurance Companies, &c.,
&c., in Southern papers.
2nd. To advertise Southern business, property,
&c., in European journals.

3rd. To advertise home industry and Southern
commerce in our own papers, and thereby build up
the cities of our Confederacy, instead of those of
our enemies.

Our arrangements abroad are all completed. We
now address you this preliminary Circular, to ask
you to send us duplicate copies of your paper, ac-
companied by a private letter (which shall be
strictly confidential), stating your terms of adver-
tising, &c.

We will soon appoint agents in each important
seaboard and inland city. Atlanta, at present, is
selected for the Central Office, on account of its
geographical position. We respectfully ask for this
enterprise your hearty co-operation and assistance,
and guarantee, in return, strict integrity in all
business transactions.

By order of the Board of Directors,
WILLIAM H. BARNES,
SUPERINTENDENT.
Atlanta, Ga., August 24, 1861.

Louisiana Mutual Insurance Company.

OFFICE:
Iron Building, corner Camp and Natchez Streets.
Amount of Premiums for the year end-
ing 28th February, 1861..... 600,528 70
Amount of Profits for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 213,750 74
Amount of Assets for the year ending
28th February, 1861..... 866,420 98
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying Six per cent.
interest on outstanding Scrip, and have ordered
the redemption of Fifty per cent. of the Scrip Issue
of 1859.
Interest and redeemable Scrip payable on and
after the second Monday of May next.
Certificates of Scrip for the year 1861 deliverable
on and after 1st June, 1861.
CHARLES BRIGGS, President.
R. P. JANVIER, Secretary.
New Orleans, March 20, 1861.

Home Mutual Insurance Company of
New Orleans.

OFFICE:..... 78, Camp Street.
Amount of premiums for year ending
31st December, 1861..... 433,725 47
Amount of Profits for year ending 31st
December, 1861..... 282,908 58
Amount of Assets on 31st December,
1861..... 1,338,306 77
The Trustees have declared a Scrip dividend of
FIFTY PER CENT. after paying Six per cent.
interest on all outstanding Scrip, and have resolved
to redeem the Scrip of 1857.
Interest and redeemable Scrip, payable in cash on
and after 10th February next.
Certificates of Scrip, for the year 1861, deliverable
on and after 15th March, 1862.
A. BROTHER, President.
JAMES H. WHEELER, Secretary.
New Orleans, January 11, 1862.

Merchants' Mutual Insurance Com-
pany of New Orleans.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors held this
day it was resolved to declare a Scrip dividend of
TWENTY PER CENT. on the net earned pre-
miums of the last year, and also pay Six per cent.
interest on the outstanding Scrips of the Com-
pany. Scrip Certificates to be issued on and after the
first day of August next.
DIRECTORS.
Geo. Connelly. J. N. Nevins.
John Pemberton. S. O. Nelson.
P. Maspero. C. H. Slocumb.
P. Pont. B. F. Vignard.
C. Ronold. R. O. Vignard.
G. Miltenberger.

Citizens' Mutual Insurance Company
of New Orleans.

The Board of Trustees, have resolved to pay an
interest of **SIX PER CENT.** in cash on the out-
standing certificates of profits to the holders thereof,
or their legal representatives, on and after the
second Monday in February next; also, to declare a
dividend of Twenty per cent. on the net earned
premiums of the Company, for the year
ending 20th November, 1861, for which certificates
will be issued on and after the second Monday in
February next.

TRUSTEES.
Geo. W. West Vice.
M. Masson.
President. R. P. Hunt.
Martin Gordon, jun.
A. Miltenberger. Cesarre Olivier.
J. Levey. A. Echm.
Jas. A. White. Muna Augustin.
Douglas West. Omer Gaillard.

WEBER BROTHERS,
Commission Merchants,
SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA, C.S.A.

PAYNE, HUNTINGDON AND
CO., NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A.,
Cotton Factors.

MOSES GREENWOOD, NEW
ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Cotton
Factor and Commission Merchant.

MCDOWELL, WITHERS, AND
CO., MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A., Com-
mission Merchants.

GARLAND GOODE, MOBILE,
Cotton Factor and Commission Merchant.

BOYKIN AND McRAE, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

MILLER AND BATIE, Exchange
Brokers, MOBILE, ALABAMA, C.S.A.

R. AND D. G. MILLS, Cotton
Factors and Commission Merchants,
GALVESTON, TEXAS, C.S.A.

ROCHFORD, BROWN, AND
CO., Cotton Factors, NEW ORLEANS,
LOUISIANA, C.S.A.

R. W. RAYNE, NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA, C.S.A., Commission Mer-
chant, offers facilities to European Consignors o
Boots and Shoes to supply the markets of Tennes-
see, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. Specifi-
cations furnished of goods suitable to these markets.

ANDREW LOW AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

CHARLES GREEN,
Commission Merchant, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

H. D. WEDE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

JAMES CHAPMAN,
Commission Merchant, CHARLESTON.

N. A. HARDEE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

J. W. ANDERSON AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA.

R. N. GOURDINE AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Charleston.

J. H. ASHBIDGE AND CO.,
Shipping and Commission Merchants, NEW
ORLEANS.
Office—No. 80, Tower-buildings West, Liverpool.
Agents—Liverpool and New Orleans Mail Steam
Navigation Company.

S. A. PLUMMER AND CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Hardware,
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, C.S.A.

H. O. BREWER & CO.,
MOBILE, ALABAMA,
General Commission and Shipping Merchants.

G. FOWLER,
ENGLISH BOOKSELLER,
(From the Palais-Royal),
279, Rue St. Honoré, (near the Rue Royale)
PARIS.

WARWICK AND BARKSDALE,
GALLEGO FLOUR MILLS.
This immense establishment of capacity to manu-
facture 1000 barrels of Flour per day, purely for
South American Market. RICHMOND.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
FREDERICK IRON WORKS
Manufacturers of Locomotive and other Engines,
all descriptions of Machinery, Rifled Cannon, &c.,
RICHMOND.

DUNLOP, MONCURE, & CO.,
General Commission Merchants,
RICHMOND.

A. G. MILWAINE, AND CO.,
Commission Merchants, Tobacco, Cotton,
Grain, and other produce, PETERSBURG,
VIRGINIA.

C. W. WHITE,
Commission Merchant,
ST. THOMAS, WEST INDIES.

HAMILTON AND GRAHAM,
Importers, Wholesale Dealers in Dry
Goods, &c., PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA.

H. LEVY AND SON,
Commission Merchants, MOBILE.

Crescent Mutual Insurance Company,
New Orleans.

OFFICE:
Corner of Camp and Commercial Place.

TWELFTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.
Amount of Premiums for ten months
ending 30th April, 1861..... \$31,876 14
Profits for ten months to 30th April,
1861..... 237,238 27
Assets, 30th April, 1861..... 1,422,350 95
The Trustees have declared a Scrip Dividend of
THIRTY PER CENT. after paying interest at the
rate of Six per cent. per annum on all outstanding
Scrip, and have resolved to redeem Forty per cent.
of the issue of 1858, payable as follows:—
Twenty per cent. 10th June, 1861.
Twenty per cent. 9th September, 1861.
Scrip Certificates for the year 1861, deliverable on
and after the 12th day of August next.
THOMAS A. ADAMS, President.
G. W. SPRATT, Secretary.

The Index,

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS,
LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

Published every Thursday Evening.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Subscriptions, Twenty-six Shillings per annum.
Stamped, Thirty Shillings per annum.

Nos. I. to XXVI. NOW READY.

Office:—102, Fleet-street.

In this great metropolis, on the native soil of free
speech and a free press, every interest—political
social, religious, literary, scientific, benevolent
commercial, however remote, however small the
class to which it addresses itself—has long had its
recognized representative in Journalism, through
which it seeks to obtain a share of the public
attention. The one solitary exception has hereto-
fore been in the case of the Confederate States of
America. Engaged in a life-and-death struggle
against a vastly superior foe—hemmed in on all
sides, quite as effectually by the deserts of the Far
West and of Mexico, as by the enemy's armies and
navies—they suffer even more from that intellectual
blockade which excludes them from communion
with the rest of mankind, than from the com-
mercial difficulties of obtaining their much needed
supplies. The disruption of the American Union—
despite repeated warnings—started Europe with-
out at once awakening it to a full consciousness of
the reality and importance of the event. So little
had the internal politics of America entered into
the routine of European thoughts, that even now—
when the effects are undeniable and irrevocable—
the causes still remain a mystery and a riddle to by
far the greater portion of the intelligent European
public. When the catastrophe occurred, the
Northern States had the ear of the Governments
and of the peoples; and so zealously have they
retained it, so ingeniously and persistently have
they pleaded their cause, so imperfect and dis-
torting was the medium through which alone the
South's voice could be heard, that Europe may
fairly be said to have listened to but one side of the
quarrel. It is true that the respectable portion of
the English press has treated the weaker party in
that spirit of fair play upon which every English-
man prides himself; and as the struggle pro-
gressed, has evinced a painstaking study of a per-
plexing subject, which stands in honourable con-
trast to the slipshod and indecorum of American
Journalism. But this has not supplied the want, so
long and keenly felt, of some organ of Southern
interests and Southern opinions, to which the
Statesman, the Journalist, the Merchant, and the
public at large might look for reliable intelligence
of the progress of events, and for valuable indi-
cations of the manner in which the South itself views
and weighs the importance and bearing of these
events.

"This want is one of the principal objects of
"THE INDEX" to supply as far as possible. The
measure of success which may reward the effort will
necessarily depend upon the co-operation of the
friends, and of the private, as well as official, rep-
resentatives of the South in Europe. This co-
operation has been most generously accorded us.
There is a large amount of Southern intelligence
which reaches Europe through various private
channels. Still more important information is
obtained from Northern sources, which finds no
outlet through the muzzled press of these States.
Much of such valuable material has already been
placed at our disposal, and we have a reasonable
prospect of making "THE INDEX" the receptacle
and depository of all, or nearly all, that is available
in the United Kingdom and on the Continent. Our
arrangements are such that our friends may rely on
this respect upon a scrupulous and sound dis-
cretion, and the inviolable sanctity of private
communications.

While we have thus frankly explained one of the
principal objects of "THE INDEX," it may be
necessary to state—in order to prevent a possible
misapprehension—that it is not the sole object.
Literature and General News—in fact, every ingre-
dient of a Weekly Journal—will command our
earnest attention; and it will be our unremitting
endeavour to make "THE INDEX" worthy of that
liberal patronage which is promised us in advance.
"THE INDEX" will be represented by competent
Correspondents at the different capitals of the Con-
tinent, at Washington, and at Havannah. It is our
design, also, that "THE INDEX" should partake of
the character of a Magazine, without departing
from its proper sphere as a Review of current
events.

For the leaders and literary contributions, we
shall enjoy the valuable aid of the pens of gen-
tlemen already favourably known to the public.

The Cotton Market will monopolize much of our
space, and is entrusted to hands theoretically and
practically familiar with the subject and all ques-
tions bearing upon it.

It is superfluous to add that "THE INDEX" is
necessarily committed to the advocacy of the prin-
ciples of Free Trade.

Subscribers will be furnished with handsome
Covers for each Half-Yearly Volume.

A full list of the original "INDEX" Subscribers
and a carefully prepared Table of Contents will
accompany the concluding number of each Volume.

Subscriptions and Advertisements to be sent, and
Post-office Orders made payable to
WILLIAM FREEMAN, 102, FLEET ST., E.C.

Printed by **HENRY F. MACKINTOSH**, of 11,
Crown-court, Fleet-street; and Published for
the Proprietors by **WILLIAM FREEMAN**, 102,
Fleet-street, London E. C.—October 23, 1862.



BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 07770 163 7



